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H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

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RAYMOND D. HAVENS

WILLIAM KURRELMEYER

KEMP MALONE

JOSÉ ROBLES

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TO THE MEMORY OF
CHARLES CARROLL MARDEN
1867-1932

PROFESSOR OF SPANISH IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, 1905-1917

MANAGING EDITOR OF MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES, 1911-1915

PROFESSOR OF SPANISH IN PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, 1917-1932

PRESIDENT OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, 1932

CHARLES CARROLL MARDEN

In dedicating this volume to Charles Carroll Marden the editors of MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES would express their admiration for the high quality of his work and their warm regard for him as a colleague and a friend. He was one of the first Americans to achieve notable distinction in Romance linguistic studies. In his special field of Old Spanish text-construction he was recognized as a master both in Europe and in this country. His *Fernan Gonçalez*, his *Libro de Apolonio*, and his editions of Berceo made lasting contributions to knowledge. If we cannot add his *Alixandre*, it is only because he was stricken before his edition of it was completed. The bibliography that follows shows the general range of his activities as author of learned articles, of searching reviews, and of text-books that give to students the benefit of his command, not only of living Spanish, but of the history that lies behind it. He was a frequent contributor to MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES and assisted in its editorial work long before he took charge of the journal in 1911. His interest in it continued after he resigned the position of Managing Editor and the last of his publications was the long and admirable review that appeared in its pages as recently as January of this year.

Marden had to the end a most active and critical mind, a profound knowledge of his subject, and very exacting ideals of scholarship. The resourcefulness he displayed in discovering and getting possession of the Berceo manuscript and the generosity with which he presented it to the Spanish Academy are typical of his character. His influence on Spanish studies in America was exerted not only through his publications, but through his teaching in various universities and the counsel he was ever ready to give to those who sought it. He was a friend on whom one could count, a man who never compromised in his quest for the truth. He has left a gap in the ranks of scholars that will not be filled in our day.

H. C. L.

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F. COURTNEY TARR

Princeton University

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Modern Language Notes

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LOPE DE VEGA'S *DOZENA PARTE*

The *Dozena parte de las comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio. A Don Lorenzo de Cardenas, Conde de la Puebla, . . . Año [escudo de los Cárdenas] 1619. . . . En Madrid, Por la viuda de Alonso Martin. A costa de Alonso Perez, mercader de libros* was declared by La Barrera¹ to be "la única edición de esta parte." But Salvá² and, later, Pérez Pastor³ register two 1619 editions, of which the second, in place of the Cárdenas coat of arms ("dos lobos pasantes, uno sobre el otro, y orla con castillos y leones alternados"), has as its *escudito* a prancing centaur with drawn bow (Sagittarius) encircled by the legend "Salvbris sagitta a Deo missa." Salvá, who prints a reduced facsimile of the *Sagitario*, considering it one of Lope's personal emblems, his *marca tipográfica*,⁴ declares this

¹ *Catálogo del teatro antiguo español*, Madrid, 1860, p. 443 b. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 319: "No se conoce reimpresión alguna de esta *Docena parte*."

² *Catálogo de la Biblioteca de Salvá, escrito por D. Pedro Salvá y Mallen*, Valencia, 1872, I, p. 542.

³ *Bibliografía madrileña . . .* Madrid, 1891-1907, nos. 1638 and 1639.

⁴ "Alusivo quiza a la inspiración que tuvo para mudar de estado." Of the signs of the zodiac depicted in a flower bed of *El jardín de Lope de Vega* (*Obras sueltas*, I, p. 482), Lope significantly accords individual attention only to Sagittarius:

¡ Qué es ver por el Zodiaco el humano
Sagitario, *dulcísimo Poeta*,
y el arco de Beocia armado *en vano*!
No pudo la figura estar perfeta,
que treinta y una estrellas no cabían
en una cifra a un círculo sujeta.

In addition to the eight works mentioned by Salvá (*Ibid.*) as published by various printers, the *Sagitario* was used also on Lope's 1618 *Peregrino* and *Partes IX, XI and XIII*.

second edition "parecidísima a la otra hecha en igual año por el mismo impresor: están copiadas a plana renglón, pero son perfectamente diversas."

Pérez Pastor goes further: "Edición igual a la anterior y hecha por mitad con la *Parte XI*, en casa de Juan de la Cuesta⁵ y de la viuda de Alonso Martín. Las diferencias más notables son los escudos de la portada y las demás hojas de preliminares." This supposition that half of the second edition of *Parte XII* was printed by Juan de la Cuesta and only the other half by Alonso Martín's widow is, however, by no means clearly established either by Pérez Pastor's quotation, apropos of *Parte XI*, of a *Nota del libro de la Hermandad de Impresores de Madrid*: "Capillos de casa de Alonso Martín, 6 Mayo 1619 . . . Mas se traxo de dicha casa 44 reales de los libros de capilla de Agricultura, las Obras del P. Avila, 11^a y 12^a Partes de Comedias, de dos impresiones"; or by his interpretation of this entry: "Suponemos que las dichas Partes se imprimían una en casa de Juan de la Cuesta y otra por la viuda de Alonso Martín."⁶

Apparently no more than confirmation of the fact that, for some reason, both of these books were twice printed in their entirety at just about the same time, it seems unwarranted to interpret the *dos impresiones* of this official note as meaning that *Partes XI* and *XII* were printed half on the Cuesta press and half on the Martín, as is more clearly proved by Pérez Pastor⁷ to have been the case with the curious *Parte XIII*, which, however, unlike *Parte XII* has distinct foliation, signatures and typographical ornaments for each half.⁸

Buchanan, in his excellent comments on the *Chorley Catalogue* (*M. L. N.*, xxiv, p. 168), has declared regarding the *Parte XII*: "Most assuredly there were not two issues in this year. The two editions are identical, except for the shield on the title-page. Salvá, commercial bibliographer as he was, grossly exaggerated when he

⁵ On the *Sagitarium portada*, Cuesta's name does not, however, replace that of Martín.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, No. 1577. Cf. No. 1704: "se hizo [la *Parte XIII*] por mitad en las imprentas de Juan de la Cuesta y de la viuda de Alonso Martín."

⁷ *Proceso de Lope de Vega* . . . , Madrid, 1901, pp. 286-88.

⁸ It is the first half of *Parte XIII* (preliminaries and first 6 comedias) that Pastor attributes to the Martín press.

called these *diversas*." But variants kindly recorded for me by my colleague Mr. Harry W. Rogers indicate that for all of the *comedias* included in the *Dozena Parte*, textual differences between the first and second editions (which I shall designate, respectively, as A and B, but without implying the anteriority of the former) may be considerably more important than has hitherto been supposed, that the latter should be considered as more than merely "otra tirada, a lo menos, de los preliminares con la portada."⁹ Although the two volumes show in general the same foliation, signatures, guide-words and page arrangement, certain superficial errors and minor differences are sufficient to demonstrate that the entire text proper must also have been printed twice:

B differs from A in that folio 42 is erroneously numbered "31"; 277, "270"; 175, "715"; 208, "028"; and 144 has no folio number at all. Folio 26 of B has "N₂" instead of, as in A, the correct signature D₂; on 156 the type of signature V₄ is very much larger and heavier than in A; and on 259 the signature is "KK" instead of K_x. In B, folio 278^v reads at the top "obejuna" instead of *Ouejuna*; the final *a* in the *Ouejuna* at the top of 265^v, 267^v, 270^v and 272^v has a prolonged "tail" distinctly different from that of A; and on the versos of 263-272, this *Ouejuna* is followed by a period instead of a comma as in A. There are at least 27 equitably distributed instances of difference in the guide-words at the bottom of pages: In B folio 10^v omits *Au*, 14 has *Otoi* instead of *Oton*; 40, *tengan*, not *ten*; 40^v, *y trae*, not *tray*; 45, *quo*, not *que*; 55, *pero*, not *perro*; 70, *que* under second column instead of first; 74^v, *mientras*, not *mientra*; 75, *Zor*, not *Zorr*; 78, *hu*, not *huc*; 109^v, *Ca*, not *Car*.; 123^v, *piuar*, not *piuardo*; 144, *don*, omitted by A; 146^v, *y alli*, not *y alla*; 161^v, period, not dash, after *por*; 163^v, *Reyn.*, not *Rey*; 171, no dash after *Vayan*; 233, *esta*, not *est*; 238, dash, not period, after *quan*; 240, *TRAGI-*, not *TRA.*; 243, *Di*, not *Dim*; 252^v, *y y*, not *y ya*; 254, *sere*, not *sere-*; 259, *Y-sab.*, not *Isa*; 259, *me* upside down; 262, *Tragicomedia*, not *Tragicacomedia*.

Wider and more interesting differences occur on folio 140^v in the guide-words *TRA-* of B and the *COME-* of A; and on folio 164^v in the *Fin de la Tragicomedia del Marques de Mantua* of B

⁹ *Obras de Lope* . . . Real Academia, Nueva ed., v, p. viii, note.

and the *Fin de la Comedia del Marques de Mantua* of A. Other especially good evidence of two different printings is the decorative device at the top of folio 262^v, the beginning of *Fuente Ovejuna*. This scroll-like headband is in each edition composed of 20 slightly separated ornamental pieces of two different sorts (represented below by B and G), of which the one is the symmetrical opposite of the other, so that usually they are arranged in balanced pairs. In A the order of these pieces is:

B G B G B G B G B G B B G B G B G B G G

But in B:

G B G G B G B B G B G B G B G B G G G B

Owing to the inaccessibility of the *Dozena Parte*, I have been able to make a complete comparison of the two texts proper for only one of the twelve plays included, *Fuente Ovejuna*, the last and most important. But this limited collation of A and B has been rewarded by the discovery in B (fol. 273b) of one whole line (v. 1497¹⁰) that is lacking in A and in all the modern editions of the one play examined:

harto desdichado fui;

This verse, completing an otherwise imperfect *redondilla*, occurs in the B *Fuente Ovejuna* between *sola una honda tenía* and *pero que le hayan echado* of Act II, scene xvi.¹¹ This extra line makes it necessary in B to print Barrildo's speech *Haríalo por reír*, the last line of this page in A, as the first line of the next page (*the vuelto*), and this accounts for the difference between the guide-word *Barr.* in B and that of *Men.* in A, where a speech by Mengo begins the next page.

B furthermore affords, in this same scene, a reading of the stage direction, 1474-¹² *y Esteban alcalde* that is quite superior to the *Esteban y Alcalde* of A, so edited by Sr. Castro¹³ as to give the erroneous impression that the Alcalde is "[Juan Rojo]" rather than Esteban himself.

¹⁰ Verse numbers are those of my forthcoming edition of *Fuente Ovejuna*, D. C. Heath & Co.

¹¹ Ed. Hartzenbusch, III (BAE. xli), p. 643 a; 2nd Castro ed. (*Colección Universal*), Madrid, "1919," p. 98.

¹² Fol. 273a.

¹³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 97.

Four other readings in B seem to me preferable to those of the A *Fuente Ovejuna*:

- v. 8. *no le sobra* instead of *no le sabrá* (fol. 262v; Hartz. 633a).
- v. 776. *tirando . . . a algún corzo* instead of *tirando . . . algun corzo* (fol. 268; Hartz., 637c).
- v. 1549. *la niña en cabello baja* instead of . . . *cabellos . . .* (fol. 273v; Hartz., 643b).
- v. 2131. *Sale el Maestre y* [as frequently, *y* has the value of "accompanied by"] *un Soldado* instead of *Salen . . .* (fol. 278; Hartz., 647c).

And perhaps also:

- v. 18. *como le aborrecen todos* instead of . . . *lo . . .* (fol. 263; Hartz., 633a).
- v. 750. *descuydo pongo* instead of *cuidado . . .* (fol. 267; Hartz., 637c).
- v. 1023. *¡Cielos! ¿Que por esto pasas?* (possibly addressed to Esteban) instead of *¡Cielo! . . .* (fol. 270; Hartz., 639c).

In v. 1507 of B (fol. 273v; Hartz., 643a). *por envidias, ni celos* confirms my suspicion that in A there is a final *s* before the comma, but so faint as to have lead modern editors to read *envidia*.

B is at times, however, more carelessly printed than A, and suffers the following additional typographical errors:

- v. 260. *ver florecer* for *ven . . .* (fol. 264v; Hartz., 634c).
- v. 285. *díras* for *daras* (fol. 264v; Hartz., 643c).
- v. 1140. *aquí teneys aquí* for *aquí teneys* (fol. 270v; Hartz., 640b).
- v. 1609. *disculparse* for *disculparle* (fol. 274; Hartz., 643c).
- v. 1641. *llevadle* for *llevadla* (fol. 274; Hartz., 644a).
- v. 1743. *le compren* for *la . . .* (fol. 275v; Hartz., 644c).
- v. 1779. *ecñis* for *ceñis* (fol. 275v; Hartz., 644c).
- v. 2338. *dandole* for *dandoles* (fol. 280; Hartz., 649b).

Cotarelo, apropos of *La firmeza en la desdicha*¹⁴ speaks with tantalizing casualness of having utilized "las tres ediciones de la *Parte XII* de Lope," but in his editing both of this play and obviously of others,¹⁵ he has correctly only "algunas erratas que se

¹⁴ *Obras de Lope . . .*, Real Academia Nueva ed., v, p. xxix.

¹⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. vii-viii, x; iv, pp. xiv-xv; vi, p. xviii; vii, p. xv. "Aunque el impresor fué en parte Juan de la Cuesta," Cotarelo here clearly follows Pérez Pastor in assuming that the second edition is textually absolutely the same as the first. Cf. also Angel González Palencia, *ibid.*, ix, pp. liv-lv, and Cotarelo, *xii*, p. xv: ". . . Esta tirada u otra exactamente igual se repitió en el mismo año sin más diferencia que suprimir en la portada el escudo del conde de la Puebla por otro del impresor, con el

deslizaron en la primera impresión madrileña," without collation with even the second (Sagitarium) edition. His "tres ediciones" are apparently a lapsus calami for the three *ejemplares* cited by Rennert and Castro.¹⁶

The differences noted above, particularly the *Fuente Ovejuna* variants, will suffice to call attention to at least two points: first, that the two editions of Lope's *Dozena Parte* must have been issued in their entirety in quite distinct impressions, and could not, as assumed by Pérez Pastor, have been a half-and-half product with only six *comedias* done on each press, and with differences merely in the *escudo* of the *portada* or in the preliminaries; and second, that, consequently, the textual variants probably afforded by B for all of the *comedias* of this *Parte*¹⁷ may well merit scholastic consideration.

In act I of the first play, *Ello dirá*, I have noticed some interesting variants between the text of B and that published in vol. V of the Academy's *Nueva edición*. But I have not had an opportunity to determine whether these variants are differences between A and B or merely typographical errors in the Academy edition. In any event, they afford such noteworthy, if not preferable, readings that a complete collation of A and B will be made as soon as possible. B has:

Sagitarium . . . Pueden verse ejemplares de los dos tiradas en la Bib. Nac. de Madrid, R. 13. 863 y 14. 105."

¹⁶ *Vida de Lope de Vega*, p. 449. Mr. Rogers' diligent search in the Biblioteca Nacional has brought to light four copies of the *Dozena Parte*. According to his notes, one of these, apparently a third but incomplete copy of A, with several obvious errors in the last 280 lines, which have been copied in by hand, agrees, however, with B in reading *sobra* instead of *sabra* (v. 8), and correctly reads *corona*, instead of, like both A and B, *coronado*, in v. 493 (fol. 266; Hartz., 636a). This must be an error, although elsewhere my own collation of A and B shows Mr. Rogers to have been most exact. A copy of the Sagitarium edition, still rarer than the Cárdenas, may be examined, under the most gracious auspices, in the Rennert Collection now owned by the University of Pennsylvania.

¹⁷ The *Dozena Parte* affords the only 17th century text we possess of any of the 12 plays included except *La desdichada Estefanía*, for the known manuscripts of all these *comedias* are limited to mere copies in the Parma (all the 11 rarer plays), Ilchester (2) and Biblioteca Nacional (1) collections. The Ilchester *Fuente Ovejuna* ms. derives from A.

assi for *ah si*, p. 41b, l. 22.

muessa for *muesa*, p. 42a, l. 11.

trocándonos los for *trocándonos de*, p. 43b, l. 18.

pueda for *puedas*, p. 44a, l. 38.

enternecerle for *enternecerla*, p. 45b, l. 26.

le desalabo for *me desalabo*, p. 47a, l. 29.

soy for *fuí*, p. 47a, l. 38.

C. E. ANIBAL

Ohio State University

TIMONEDA'S (?) *AUCTO DE LA QUINTA ANGUSTIA*

In the June issue of *MLN.*, 1929, pp. 385 ff., we had the pleasure of drawing attention to the recently discovered *Ternario* of Juan de Timoneda, printed at Valencia in 1558, and of pointing out the implications of the find.¹ Our hope that also the second *auto* of the three might be printed has not been realized, but the third, the *Aucto de la Quinta Angustia* has just now unobtrusively appeared in a volume of the 'Biblioteca de clásicos amenos,' published by the Editorial 'Razón y Fe,' together with some *pasos* of Lope de Rueda, Madrid, s. a. An anonymous *Nota al lector* precedes the *auto*, which is printed with modernized spelling and punctuation in the first 29 pages of the volume. Such as it is, intended evidently as reading for the devout, rather than as a text for the use of scholars, the reprint should be welcome, for it reveals, as Father Olmedo's study in *Razón y Fe* did not, that the edition in the *Ternario* of 1558 differs in several ways from that of 1552, as reprinted by Professor Crawford (*Rom. Rev.*, III, 1912, pp. 280-309). Whether the additions are due to Timoneda (the title-page reads: *Nuevamente compuesto y añadido y mejorado por Juan de Timoneda*) may never be determined; but we find here, for the first time, an *introyto* of 40 lines, spoken by Hieremias, and, before the soliloquy of Joseph, a new introductory scene of 40 lines between Joseph and Nicodemus, accompanied by their two servants. Elsewhere, in various places, there are six additional *quintillas* and two new *redondillas*; the lament of Magdalena and part of the

¹ It was evidently not superfluous to do so, for the latest Spanish editor of Timoneda's *Patrañuelo* (Clásicos Castellanos, 1930), is still unaware of the existence of the new *Ternario*.

villancico: *Si me adurmiere, madre*, have been shifted; the stage-directions are somewhat more detailed, and, as we had hoped, quite a few lines offer better readings than the edition of 1552. Indeed, a *variorum*-reprint of the *Quinta Angustia*, as an appendix to the religious plays of Timoneda, will have to take proper cognizance of the *Ternario*.

Moreover, we may now add, the editor should also examine, if only for its bibliographical interest, a still unknown edition of the *Quinta Angustia*, preserved in the Library of the Duke of T'Serclaes, in Madrid, similar in essentials to the known edition of 1552 and printed, strangely enough, in the same town and in the same year, but by another printer. The printer, Pedro de Valpuesta, is no better known to bibliographers—Gutiérrez del Caño, Burger or Haebler—than was his colleague Juan de Juan. The title reads as follows:

* Aucto Agora nueuamēte/hecho sobre la quinta Angustia q̄ nuestra señora paso / al pie de la cruz muy deuoto y contemplatiuo en el qual / se introducēlas personas siguientes. Nra señora Sant/Juā y las tres marias Joseph abarimatia Nicodemus / Pilato Page Centurio. [The preceding lines are enclosed in a 'box' open at the top. Below this are four small woodcuts separated by a design in the form of a large roman III.] * Entra Josepho y dize.//

* At these two points there is a small ornamental leaf.

Colophon: "Fue impresa la presēte obra en la muy noble y mas leal/ciudad de Burgos, en el Arrabal de vega en casa de Pe/dro de Valpuesta Impressor Año. M.D.L.2." // Roman letter, 4°, four leaves, the last two pages blank. *Sigs.* Aii, aiiij, aiiij.

JOSEPH E. GILLET

Bryn Mawr College

THE FIRST ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF *WERTHER*

The first English translation of Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* was printed for James Dodsley in Pall Mall in 1779, five years after the appearance of the German original. Through one of the curious coincidences of scholarship two persons recently arrived independently at the conclusion that the translator was the

Reverend Richard Graves of Claverton, and though there was some difference in point of time between the publications of their respective articles, each was convinced of his hypothesis by the same evidence. The document constituting the evidence was a simple autograph receipt bearing witness as follows:

20. June 1780. Received from James Dodsley forty pounds, in full for the copy-right of "The Sorrows of Werter." Richard Graves.

Mr. William A. Speck, the late curator of the Goethe Collection in the Yale Library, accepted this testimony as proof that Graves was the translator of *Werther*, and endeavored successfully to acquire the autograph for his Collection. He then published his conclusion.¹ It so happened that Professor Alan D. McKillop had seen in a Tregaskis Catalogue of 1925 the advertisement of the autograph receipt which ultimately came to Yale, and drew from it the same conclusion. He did not, however, publish his views until after the appearance of Mr. Speck's article, which failed to come to his attention, but upon his subsequent discovery of Mr. Speck's priority, he made a courteous acknowledgment.²

In his original paper, Dr. McKillop fortifies the evidence in the receipt by showing that the assignment of the translation to Graves had been made before. He cites Carré's quotation of the Rev. Edward Mangin's statement that "The English translation of the 'Sorrows of Werther' is by the Rev. Richard Greaves (*sic*), of Claverton, near Bath," and he refers to Shum's ascription of the work to Graves in his *Catalogue of Bath Books*.³ More important is his recognition of the fact that the verses called *Werter to Charlotte (A little before his Death)* and included in the 1784 edition of the translation were written by Graves. Graves later published them in *Lucubrations* (1786), where he also printed some more *On Suicide*, which were reproduced in an edition of the translation in 1789. The reason for their inclusion there is significant and will be stated presently. Graves's continued interest in "Werter" adds strength to a belief in his original responsibility for the translation.

¹ "Revealing Two Secrets of the Sorrowful Werther," in *The Literary Digest International Book Review*, May, 1926, 381-82.

² Dr. McKillop's first article was printed in *MLN.*, XLIII (1928), 36-38. His apology to Mr. Speck was included in the same volume, p. 467.

³ *MLN.*, XLIII, 37.

In all this discussion of the first English translation of *Werther*, however, one notice contemporary with Graves has been overlooked. In the essay on Graves in *Public Characters* is a statement of some account.

As to the "Sorrows of Werter," of which Mr. Graves has been said to be the editor, we understand, he only gave Mr. Dodsley the manuscript at the request of a particular [a]cquaintance, and that he does not even know who was the [t]ranslator, though he suspected the translation to have come from the pen of a very ingenious person of his friend's acquaintance.⁴

Had this notice been observed by those who have written upon the subject, it would probably have been judged false on the testimony of the autograph receipt, and such a verdict would be hard to disprove. It happens, nevertheless, to be substantially correct.

Richard Graves, unfortunately, was not the author of the first English translation of *Werther*. He was, I believe, simply go-between for the translator and James Dodsley. Authentic evidence for this assertion appears in a paragraph of an unpublished letter of Graves to Dodsley, dated "31 July, 1783," which reads,

A Bookseller here told me that when I gave you the Copy of "The Sorrows of Werter," I gave you as good as 500£. I answer'd, as it was given me, (tho' absolutely at my disposal) I could not, as a gentleman, make any advantage of it.⁵

It is possible to infer from this statement that Graves was given the proprietorship of the translation outright, but a paragraph from another letter, written nearly three years later, shows that he was merely made the translator's agent. Writing to Dodsley about his new work called *Lucubrations*, which is ready for the press, Graves mentions that in it are

Some Verses on "Suicide," which I wish could be prefix'd to any future Edition of Werter, as I have been censur'd by a Clergyman, for being instrumental in publishing it; Tho' I only convey'd it to you in preference to any other Bookseller to which the Translator might have sent it.⁶

⁴ *Public Characters of 1799-1800*, Dublin, 1799, 298-99.

⁵ Ms. Letter in the Bath Reference Library.

⁶ This paragraph is from one of a large number of Graves's letters, chiefly to James Dodsley, now in the possession of Miss Dorothea Skrine of Warleigh Manor at Bathford in Somerset. Miss Skrine very kindly permitted me to copy all of them. I refer to this collection as the Warleigh Mss.

In a letter which lacks a date, but which must have been written not long after that to which reference has just been made, Graves repeats his request to have the verses *On Suicide* accompany the translation. He thinks that in them he has set "ye common arguments against sel[f mur]der in a strong light," and he desires to justify himself with "some grave people" who have criticized him "for promotin[g a] publication which seems to fa[vour] the contrary practice."⁷

These committals in Graves's own hand form the basis upon which I rest my belief that Graves did not translate *Werther*. They seem to me irrefutable. They are not, I think, difficult to reconcile with the autograph receipt, which without them would remain evidence indisputable of the opposite view. I believe that Graves conducted negotiations between the translator and the publisher from the beginning. He commenced the business with Dodsley for his friend, and he continued in the capacity of agent. Dodsley's note on the receipt to the effect that "Mr. Graves afterwards rec'd as much more as made it 200£" renders that fact clear. And Graves's refusal to "make any advantage" from the transaction makes it reasonable to suppose that after receiving payment and signing for it, he delivered it where it was due. Why Graves never spoke of the translator by name is the real mystery.⁸

It will occur to some that possibly Graves did not wish to acknowledge a performance for which he thought himself likely to be rebuked, and sought, therefore, to avoid the imputation by creating the "translator" in whose behalf he was supposedly acting. To such a suspicion I can only reply that what Graves had to say in the letters quoted, tantalizingly little though it is, seems to me honest and unsusceptible of suspicion, and that from what I have come to know of Graves after considerable study of his career, I do not believe him capable of deceit of that kind. I believe explicitly, then, that Graves did not make the first English translation of *Werther*. As to who did I have now no suggestion to offer.

⁷ Warleigh Mss.

⁸ That Graves did not himself know who the translator was; that the translator was a friend of Graves's friend, as the passage in *Public Characters* affirms, and thus thrice removed from his publisher, is very strange and unlikely.

It is not a gracious office to upset the solution of a mystery so satisfactorily established, but evidence, though negative, cannot rightfully be with-held.

CHARLES J. HILL

Yale University

THE LONDON TIMES' ACCOUNT OF HEINRICH VON KLEIST'S DEATH

As the one hundred twentieth anniversary of Heinrich von Kleist's death approaches, one is reminded of the varied comments on his suicide published in German and foreign newspapers. Reinhold Steig reprinted a number of such articles from journals in which the ill-starred patriot and poet was both defended and vilified. Among other accounts Steig quotes one by Kleist's friend Adam Müller; this was published with a foreword in *Der Oesterreichische Beobachter* by Friedrich Schlegel. In part Steig's comment on Müller's statement reads: "Er breitet einen Hauch von Reinheit über Kleist's und seiner Freundin Leben, darin einverstanden mit dem Gewährsmann der Times, vom 28. December, 1811, der nachdrücklich dem Gerüchte widersprach, that love was in any respect the cause of this unfortunate affair."¹

The London Times of the above date is difficult of access. It is not to be found in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek or any of the Chicago reference libraries. Consequently it seems desirable to reprint the account from which Steig quotes only a few words. It appears without headlines and not under the caption of foreign correspondence, but is included in a column with items on the construction of Regent's Park, a threat of murder in the neighborhood of Charing-Cross, a robbery near Battersea, and a caution to bakers not to sell bread deficient in weight. The report on Kleist's death is as follows:

The attention of the people of Berlin has lately been very much occupied by the tragical adventure of M. Kleist, the celebrated Prussian poet, and Madame Vogel. The reports which were at first circulated with regard to the cause of this unfortunate affair, have been strongly contradicted by

¹ Steig, Reinhold: *Heinrich von Kleist's Berliner Kämpfe*. Berlin und Stuttgart: Spemann, 1901, p. 681.

the family of the lady; and it has been particularly denied that love was in any respect the cause of it. Madame Vogel, it is said, had suffered long under an incurable disorder; her physicians had declared her death inevitable; she herself formed a resolution to put a period to her existence. M. Kleist, the poet, and a friend of her family, had also long determined to kill himself. These two unhappy beings having confidentially communicated to each other their horrible resolution, resolved to carry it into effect at the same time. They repaired to the Inn at Wilhemstadt, between Berlin and Potsdam, on the border of the *Sacred Lake*. For one night and one day they were preparing themselves for death, by putting up prayers, singing, *drinking a number of bottles of wine and rum*, and last of all by taking about sixteen cups of coffee. They wrote a letter to M. Vogel, to announce to him the resolution they had taken, and to beg him to come as speedily as possible, for the purpose of seeing their remains interred. The letter was sent to Berlin by express. This done, they repaired to the banks of the *Sacred Lake*, where they sat down opposite to each other. M. Kleist took a loaded pistol, and shot Madame Vogel through the heart, who fell back dead; he then re-loaded the pistol, and shot himself through the head. Soon after M. Vogel arrived, and found them both dead. The public are far from admiring, or even of approving, this act of insanity. An apology for this suicide, by M. Peguilhen, Counsellor at War, has excited unanimously indignation among all who have the principles either of religion or morality. The Censorship has been blamed for having permitted the circulation of an account of this tragedy, in which the suicide and the murder were represented as sublime acts. Some have, even gone so far as to express a wish to see M. Peguilhen punished, for having, as a public functionary, preached up such principles. The husband has also been blamed for having given *éclat* to a catastrophe over which it would have been better to draw the thickest veil.

This same statement had appeared in a number of Paris newspapers such as the *Journal de l'Empire* of December 17th, *Le Moniteur Universel* of December 18th and the *Gazette de France* of December 19th. *The London Times* evidently published a translation from *Le Moniteur Universel* but made no acknowledgment of its source. For at the head of the columns in which the item on Kleist is printed, there appears this statement: "Last night we received *Moniteurs* of the 18th and 19th inst. The only paragraph worth extracting is the following with regard to the expedition against Batavia, and which we know to be entirely false:—" In the main, the English translation is a fairly faithful reproduction of the French account. A tendency toward puritanical, moralizing sensation-mongering is in evidence in the use of italics in the sentence "For one night and one day they were preparing themselves for death, by putting up prayers, singing, *drinking a number*

of bottles of wine and rum, and last of all by taking about sixteen cups of coffee." The French version contains no such italics.

To offset the sensational, garbled accounts of Kleist's tragic end, Professor Georg Minde-Pouet's objective publication of documents bearing on the author's untimely death should be given a careful reading. This appeared under the title of *Kleist's letzte Stunden. Teil I: Das Akten-Material*. It constitutes volume 5 of the *Schriften der Kleist-Gesellschaft* (Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1925).

JOHN C. BLANKENAGEL

Ohio Wesleyan University

THE CUES IN *AUCASSIN ET NICOLETTE*

The words "Or se cante" and "Or dient et content et fabloient" in *Aucassin et Nicolette* have been much discussed¹ but no one, so far as I know, has suggested what seems to me the most plausible interpretation of them, namely that they are the cues alternately addressed to each other by the singer and reciter entrusted with the performance of the *chantefable*.

At the beginning of the piece there need of course be no cue and accordingly we find the opening song unaccompanied by any prefatory "Or se cante." At the end of this song occur the words "Or dient et content et fablent" which are bound to the prose section following them by a *que*. The presence of this *que* shows that the preceding words were to be spoken aloud and were not intended to serve merely as a written direction to either the performer or the reader. Here, by exception, it appears that the reciter himself pronounced his "cue," for here alone in the text these words have an indisputably active meaning² and here alone

¹ Cf. among others G. Paris, *Poèmes et légendes*, p. 99; Meyer-Lübke, *ZfRP* xxxiv (1910), 518; Aschner, *ZfRP* xxxv (1911), 742, and Roques, 2nd ed. *CFMA*, vi-vii. Aschner and Roques seem to me to have effectively disposed of Meyer-Lübke's suggestion that *Aucassin et Nicolette* is a play and that these words are stage directions.

² "Or dient et content et fablent que li quens Bougars de Valence faisoit guere . . ." etc. No other example of the connecting *que* appears in the text and the distinction between the active use of the three verbs here and their indefinite value elsewhere seems to have been insufficiently stressed. I

in the manuscript they have a line to themselves with a large red initial to mark their beginning. Throughout the rest of the work, that is, after the first prose section, the words seem to have an indefinite meaning similar to that of "Or se cante"³ and throughout the rest of the manuscript the large red initials always appear *after* the cues.

In fact the disposition of "Or se cante" and "Or dient et content et fabloient" elsewhere in the manuscript shows that for the scribe at least "Or se cante" was to be joined to the prose portions and "Or dient et content et fabloient" to the parts in verse. Our modern editions have unfortunately obliterated this arrangement, but a glance at F. W. Bourdillon's photo-facsimile (Oxford, 1896) or at the reproductions in the editions of Roques and Suchier will make clear what is meant. It will be seen that each verse and prose section begins with a large red initial, that the statement "Or se cante" occurs without hiatus of any sort after the last word of the prose portion (usually on the same line with it), and that the words "Or dient et content et fabloient" are regularly compressed into a small space at the end of the musical staff containing the words and melody of the refrain, to which indeed they appear to form a sort of conclusion.⁴

The disposition of these statements in the manuscript, their absence preceding the initial song, the fact (shown by the word *que*

assume that after the opening song had been concluded, the second performer stepped forward and introduced his prose recitation—and himself—with the statement "Now they say and relate and recite that . . ." On the meaning of these words elsewhere, see note 3.

³ "Now there will be recitation" corresponding to "Now there will be singing." Cf., for example, xxxvi where "Or dient et content et fabloien" is immediately followed by "Or lairons d'Aucassin, si dirons de Nicolette." On the use of the active forms in the plural with the same *valeur d'indéfini* as the reflexive singular of "Or se cante," see Roques, *op. cit.*, p. vi. I do not believe, however, that there is any such differentiation in the meaning of the three verbs as Roques suggests: *dire*, *conter* and *fablier* (*fabloier*) are regularly interchangeable in old French and each of them is frequently used in opposition to *chanter*. Here their unvarying repetition parallels exactly that of "Or se cante" and both statements have every appearance of being formulas. Before X, indeed, a section composed largely of conversation, the third verb, which supposedly refers to the element of dialogue, is, by exception, omitted.

⁴ A few negligible errors in the miniation and musical notation (cf. Bourdillon, *op. cit.*, p. 2) in no way affect the conclusions reached here.

before II) that they were obviously to be spoken, the appearance that they give—by their unvarying repetition—of being formulas, and the absence of any other explanation which satisfactorily accounts for them all lead me to believe that these words served as cues, that beginning with the first prose section and continuing throughout the rest of the piece, the person entrusted with the recitation indicated to his companion, the singer, when the moment to begin had come by saying “Or se cante” and that the singer in his turn told the reciter when he was to perform by pronouncing the words “Or dient et content et fabloient.” It would follow, if this view is correct, that *Aucassin et Nicolette* was destined for performance by two persons and that the plural pronoun in the next to the last line (*no cantefable*) is to be taken literally.

GRACE FRANK

Bryn Mawr College

SOUFFLETS ET COUPS DE POING DANS LA COMÉDIE DU XVII^e SIÈCLE

S'il est une description faite pour tenter le dictionnaire c'est celle du soufflet “à main ouverte sur le beau milieu de la joue” où se complaît un personnage de Molière.¹ L'allure du passage compromet néanmoins l'autorité qui lui est attribuée. Il s'agit là d'un soufflet digne d'être cité: le plus emphatique des soufflets assurément, mais non pas le seul soufflet usité au XVII^e siècle.

Au théâtre en particulier le mot avait une très large acception, comprenant les coups de la main, ouverte ou close, sur la figure. Entre gens qui mesuraient leurs violences le soufflet variait de la tape (à notre sens actuel) au coup de poing, et s'adressait à tel ou tel endroit du visage selon les personnes. Au surplus, le coup de poing, éterné par la première tragédie française, préconisé des femmes, accrédité par son usage dans la société, fut un aussi légitime accessoire de comédie que la sorte de soufflet décrite plus haut.

¹ “. . . vous savez ce que c'est qu'un soufflet lorsqu'il se donne à main ouverte . . .,” *le Sicilien* 12. En ce qui concerne le XVII^e siècle nos dictionnaires contemporains s'en tiennent à des citations du même ton. Il convient d'ajouter que leur jugement s'accorde avec celui du *Dictionnaire* de 1694.

Pour ce qui est de la destination du coup, certains dégâts — meurtrissure de lèvres, saignement de nez — marqueraient assez que le soufflet ne visait pas uniquement à la joue.² Au reste, Arlequin a dénoncé, avec une ampleur égale à celle des définitions favorisées par nos lexicographes, une façon de soufflet qui en voulait à toute la figure :

Il a claqué bien fort. Juste Ciel, quel outrage !
Me planter un soufflet au beau milieu du visage !
Colaphiser ainsi mes lèvres de corail.³

Aussi bien le soufflet en pleine figure (ou sur le front), qui dans l'ancien théâtre avait été châtiment de domestique,⁴ conservait une signification particulièrement humiliante. C'est ainsi que l'entendait don Alphonse, qui, suspectant le mérite de son antagoniste, médita de lui faire une grosse injure :

Il me prend grande envie,
A ce fat le plus grand que j'ay veu de ma vie,
De donner un soufflet au beau milieu du front.⁵

Jodelet a saisi la nuance ; il s'indigne surtout de ce que l'agresseur lui a " d'une seule main couvert toute la face. " ⁶

Quant au coup de poing à la figure, il se recommandait d'un illustre précédent. La Cléopâtre de Jodelle avait châtié un officier de sa maison en lui " froissant du poing les os " :

Lors que la royne, et triste et courageuse.
Devant Cesar aux cheveux m'a tiré,
Et de son poing mon visage empiré . . .⁷

L'exemple ne fut pas perdu. Les reines de tous étages employèrent dès lors l'arme du poing. L'on y recourait comme au dernier argument :

² Cf. Boisrobert, *les Trois Orontes*, III, 7 : Philippin saigne du nez à la suite d'un soufflet que lui a donné Amidor. On trouve un exemple de pareil soufflet dans les *Mémoires* du Cardinal de Retz (Hachette, 1870), I, 204.

³ *Le Théâtre Italien ou le Recueil de Toutes les Scènes Françaises* . . . Mons, Antoine Barbier, 1696, p. 344.

⁴ Cf. Remy Belleau, *la Reconnue*, I, 1.

⁵ Scarron, *Jodelet duelliste*, II, 2.

⁶ *Id.*, III, 1.

⁷ *Cleopatre Captive*, III.

Pour se faire justice on n'ira pas plus loin,
Laissez luy moy pocher les yeux à coups de poin.⁸

L'on en usait indifféremment pour commander aux inférieurs,⁹ pour réduire un mari,¹⁰ intimider un galant,¹¹ taquiner un amoureux.¹²

Si les femmes ont beaucoup brandi leurs poings sur la scène du XVII^e siècle, elles ont été largement payées de retour. Sancho se faisait obéir de sa fille en menaçant de lui casser la machoire.¹³ George Dandin médita d'accommoder à la compote le visage de sa femme.¹⁴ Arnolphe . . .¹⁵ Mais il est superflu d'accumuler les exemples, l'auteur de *Gil Blas* ayant relevé le trait: "J'ai mis, en déclamant, le poing sous le nez de ma princesse."¹⁶

Il est à peine nécessaire d'ajouter qu'entre hommes le poing fut un procédé courant, entendez dans les différends des gens du meilleur monde.¹⁷ Le théâtre n'a pas d'illusions sur les aménités sociales contemporaines. Quand des gens de qualité se donnent des coups de pied¹⁸ les coups de poing ne sont pas une affaire.

La scène n'a pas eu en effet à se mettre en frais d'invention sur cette matière. Le proverbe: "Jeu de mains, jeu de vilains" n'a pas grand crédit dans la société du XVII^e siècle. Telles historiettes débitées sur les planches se réclamaient d'incidents authentiques. Pour n'en citer qu'une, rappelons l'anecdote contée dans *l'Homme à bonnes fortunes* de Baron (IV, 6):

. . . nous l'avons vu—c'est un gentilhomme qui parle d'un autre gentilhomme—nous l'avons vu quereller une femme . . . ; je crois même qu'il lui a donné quelques coups de poing . . . Ne trouves-tu pas cela plaisant?

Il suffit de donner aux personnages de ces gracieux ébats leurs

⁸ Boisrobert, *la Belle plaideuse*, v, 1.

⁹ Cf. Rotrou, *la Sœur*, v, 1; S. Chappuzeau, *l'Académie des femmes*, II, 3; *la Comédie des comédiens*, III, 6; IV, 4.

¹⁰ Cf. Grevin, *les Esbahis*, v, 4.

¹¹ Cf. La Fontaine, *le Florentin*, I, 2.

¹² Cf. Scarron, *la Fausse apparence*, v, 7.

¹³ Cf. Gaultier, *Basile et Quitterie*, I, 4.

¹⁴ Cf. *George Dandin*, II, 4. Voir Claude de Lestaille, *l'Intrigue des filous*, v, 6; Regnard, *le Divorce*, III, 6.

¹⁵ Cf. *l'École des femmes*, v, 4.

¹⁶ *Gil Blas*, II, 8.

¹⁷ Cf. Corneille, *Mélite*, v, 1; Molière, *Tartuffe*, v, 4.

¹⁸ Cf. Baron, *le Coquet trompé*.

noms de ville pour reconstituer l'aventure du comte de la Vauguyon et de la présidente Pelot.¹⁹

Le mot *soufflet* n'était parfois sans doute qu'un euphémisme pour désigner un coup de poing. Une servante, qui, selon le texte, a reçu un *soufflet*, se plaint des vivacités de son maître en des termes qui n'indiquent point qu'elle ait été souffletée au sens du dictionnaire :

Voilà tous mes profits, et tous mes avantages :
Ou des pieds, ou des poings, il a payé mes gages.²⁰

S'il sied de craindre que la victime de pareilles brutalités n'ait pas la tête à ce qu'elle dit, on ne saurait du moins récuser les témoignages de menaces qui marquent pleinement la confusion des termes soufflet et coup de poing :

Je ne sais qui me tient, tant je suis animé,
Que quelques bons soufflets donnés à poing fermé . . .²¹

Sçais-tu bien . . . que je te pourrois bien donner un soufflet à poing fermé au beau milieu du visage.²²

Ce n'est pourtant pas dire que le soufflet à main ouverte et le soufflet à poing fermé eussent égale signification. Les raffinés d'honneur faisaient une distinction très nette :

(Il) M'a donné sur la joue un coup plus fort que jeu.

—Un soufflet !

—Point du tout.

—Mais un coup sur la joue !

—Ce n'est qu'un coup de poing, et lui-même l'avoue.²³

Jodelet a longuement ruminé la distinction des injures, et l'axiome qu'il cite a d'autant plus d'autorité que lui-même ne put en la circonstance s'en appliquer le bénéfice :

¹⁹ Cf. *Molière*, éd. Grands Écrivains, vi, 550. V. Fournier (*Du Rôle des Coups de Bâton*, Paris, 1858) a brièvement signalé l'emploi du poing dans le théâtre et dans la société du XVII^e siècle, cf. pp. 85-86, 102-103, 130. Cf. *Historiettes* de Tallemant des Réaux, 3^e ed., I, 374; Furetière, *le Roman Bourgeois*, éd. Jannet, 247; *Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz*, éd. cit., II, 516-517; *Correspondance de R. de Rabutin*, Paris, Charpentier, 1858, IV, 226.

²⁰ *Les Trois Orontes*, v, 7.

²¹ Regnard, *le Joueur*, I, 10.

²² La Chapelle, *les Carrosses d'Orléans*, 17.

²³ Quinault, *la Mère coquette*, I, 4.

Un coup de poing est plus honnête qu'un soufflet.²⁴

Il est naturel que dans un répertoire où les coups à la figure sont monnaie courante on ait été porté à désigner d'un seul terme diverses façons de frapper. Toujours est-il qu'en ce qui concerne le théâtre du XVII^e siècle le soufflet ne se doit pas définir aussi catégoriquement que le font nos dictionnaires. Les exemples qu'ils en donnent sont de ceux que l'on pourrait appeler des soufflets qualifiés.

MAURICE BAUDIN

New York University

A CORRECTED READING OF ONE OF VOLTAIRE'S NOTES ON ROUSSEAU'S *EMILE*

It is well known that certain marginal notes by Voltaire on Rousseau's *Vicaire savoyard*, first reproduced in part by J. Gaberel in his *Rousseau et les Genevois* (1858), were published in full by M. Bernard Bouvier in the *Annales Jean-Jacques Rousseau* for 1905. The original volume containing these notes is now in the Archives Jean-Jacques Rousseau in the Bibliothèque publique at Geneva,¹ having been given to that institution by a descendant of the Constant family several of whom in the eighteenth century had been neighbors and friends of Voltaire.² An examination of this copy of *Emile* which in some way passed through the hands of Voltaire shows that M. Bouvier made an error in transcribing a very significant note in Volume III at the bottom of page 189 after the close of the *Vicaire savoyard* itself.³

M. Bouvier reproduced this note as: "tout le texte des quatre volumes est fort plat,"⁴ an obvious contradiction of the favorable

²⁴ Jodelet duelliste, II, 3; cf. III, 1.

¹ J.-J. Rousseau, *Emile*, A Leipsick, Chez les Hérit. de M. G. Weidmann & Reich, 1762, Vol. III. Call-Number, OR 35.

² *Annales Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, I (1905), pp. 272 ff. Cf. Perey and Maugras, *La Vie intime de Voltaire aux Délices et à Ferney*, Paris, 1885, p. 192, n. Cf. Voltaire, *Œuvres* (Moland), XXXVIII, 540; XXXIX, 13, 373-74.

³ After the third line of the third paragraph following the end of the *Vicaire savoyard*. The paragraph begins: "Quand nous en sommes venus là, . . ." Cf. Rousseau, *Œuvres* (Hachette), II, 287.

⁴ *Annales Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, I, 284.

opinions expressed by certain previous notes of Voltaire on the same text.

What Voltaire actually wrote was: "tout le reste des quatre volumes est fort plat,"⁵ a general estimate which harmonizes exactly with one expressed by the Patriarch of Ferney in a letter to Damilaville on June 14, 1762: "J'ai eu son *Education*. C'est un fatras d'une sottie nourrice en quatre tomes, avec une quarantaine de pages contre le christianisme, des plus hardies qu'on ait jamais écrites."⁶ Thus he emphasized his contempt for all of the four volumes except part of the *Vicaire savoyard*. The accuracy of this corrected reading is shown by the fact that Voltaire used a long s, not to be confused with an x. The r also is clear and does not resemble a t. We have therefore, not a sweeping contradiction, but a confirmation of his opinions expressed elsewhere.

GEORGE R. HAVENS

Ohio State University

HERNANI, IV, 2

At a certain point in the Monologue of Don Carlos, while the King of Spain is giving expression to his passionate aspiration to the Empire, he is suddenly reminded of the mighty popular forces which are at the base of that nicely-balanced pyramid; the reflection fills him with a sense of awe¹ and diffidence.²

The treatment is entirely sensational. It begins with an auditive image—

1524 Un grand bruit, pleurs et cris, parfois un rire amer,
 Plainte qui, réveillant la terre qui s'effare,
 A travers tant d'échos nous arrive fanfare!
 Les hommes!—Des cités, des tours, un vaste essaim,
 De hauts clochers d'église à sonner le tocsin!

This development, since the Fourth Act was written from September 15 to 20, 1829, it seems natural to associate with the inspiration of "Ce qu'on entend sur la montagne," dated July 27

⁵ Rousseau, *Emile*, Leipsick, 1762, III, 189.

⁶ Voltaire, *Oeuvres* (Moland), XLII, 136.

¹ ll. 1523-1544.

² ll. 1545-1560.

of the same year, in which the poet, after interpreting the Voice of Nature, proceeds to render that of Humanity, in these terms:

Cependant, à côté de l'auguste *fanfare*,
 L'autre voix, comme un cri de coursier *qui s'effare*,
 Comme le gond rouillé d'une porte d'enfer,
 Comme l'archet d'airain sur la lyre de fer,
 Gringait; et *pleurs, et cris*, l'injure, l'anathème,
 Refus du viatique et refus du baptême,
 Et malédiction, et blasphème, et clameur,
 Dans le flot tournoyant de l'humaine rumeur
 Passaient, comme le soir on voit dans les vallées
 De noirs *oiseaux* de nuit qui s'en vont *par volées*.³
 Qu'était-ce que ce *bruit* dont mille *échos* vibraient?
 Hélas, c'était *la terre et l'homme* qui *pleuraient*.

(*Feuilles d'Automne*, v)

Next, the popular masses are visualized as an ocean, lapping the feet of the pyramid of Empire.

For lines 1529-1536, Mr. J. A. Hess has suggested the possibility that Hugo used a passage in Goethe's *Egmont*.⁴ It appears to me unlikely. It is admitted that the general idea is the same in both texts—i. e., the impotence of the mighty to contain the formidable latent power of the masses. It is a further point of similarity that these forces are compared to the waves of the ocean. But the resemblance does not go deeper than that, and cannot therefore suffice to entitle the speech of Margarete von Parma in *Egmont* to be viewed as a source of the words of Don Carlos; on the contrary, there must be quite a number of texts, prior to *Hernani*, in which the power of the people had been compared to that of the ocean, together with reflections upon the impotence of

³This comparison suggested the metaphor "un vaste essaim" (l. 1527).

⁴In *Modern Philology*, xxvii, 197. The proposed source reads: "O was sind wir Großen auf der Woge der Menschheit? Wir glauben sie zu beherrschen, und sie treibt uns auf und nieder, hin und her." V. Hugo's lines are:

1529 Base de nations portant sur leurs épaules
 La pyramide énorme appuyée aux deux pôles,
 Flots vivants, qui toujours l'étreignant de leurs plis,
 La balancent, branlante, à leur vaste roulis,
 Font tout changer de place et, sur ses hautes zones,
 Comme des escabeaux font chanceler les trônes,
 Si bien que tous les rois, cessant leurs vains débats,
 Lèvent les yeux au ciel . . . Rois! regardez en bas!

rulers to govern it.⁵ To establish a parallel, more precise textual evidence is needed; and the distance is great from Goethe's commonplace to Hugo's vision of a storm-beaten pyramid with the thrones swaying like mere stools at the top. There is in *Hernani* no more characteristically Hugolian passage than this, with its magnificent eloquence and masterly rhythmic movement; it is difficult to believe that he is indebted for its conception to any source other than his native genius for imagery.

The lines immediately following continue the image, only to confuse it.

1537 Ah! le peuple!—océan!—onde sans cesse émue!
 Où l'on ne jette rien sans que tout ne remue!
Vague qui broie un trône et qui berce un tombeau!
 Miroir où rarement un roi se voit en beau!
 Ah! si l'on regardait parfois dans ce flot sombre,
 On y verrait au fond des empires sans nombre,
 Grands vaisseaux naufragés, que son flux et reflux
 Roule, et qui le gênaient, et qu'il ne connaît plus!

The concluding verses are a *remaniement* of a description of a shipwreck in *Canaris* (*Les Orientales*):

Grands mâts rompus, traînant leurs cordages épars . . .
Qu'un flux et qu'un reflux d'hommes roule . . .

improved by a reminiscence of *Job*. vii, 10.

But line 1539 offers a particular problem with which I propose to deal. It appears to contain a rather obvious antithesis of the type strength and gentleness, best represented perhaps by the description of the wind, in *Tristesse d'Olympio*,

Remuant le chêne ou balançant la rose.
 (*Les Rayons et les Ombres*)

Beyond that intention, however, the precise idea to be conveyed is not quite apparent. The *MS.* reading is clearer:

1539 Vague qui brise un trône et respecte un tombeau.⁶

⁵ It is, in fact, a commonplace of the Classics. Cf. *qui in hac tempestate populi iactemur et fluctibus*, Cicero, *Pro Plancio* 4. 11; *hoc omne tempus post consulatum obiecinus iis fluctibus qui per nos a communi peste depulsi in nosmet ipsos redundarunt*, Cic. *de Or.* 1. 1. 3; *fluctus civiles*, Nepos, *Atticus* 6; *illae undae comitiorum*, Cic. *pro Plancio* 6. 15; *mensor civilibus undis*, Hor. *Ep.* 1. 1. 6.

⁶ See P. et V. Glachant, *Essai critique sur le théâtre de V. Hugo* (1902), vol. I, 247.

It leaves only to be explained the motive for opposing a *throne* to a *grave*. Here is an evident ellipsis, the substance of which I suggest is supplied by a reading of the later poem *A la Colonne*, where the following verses occur, inspired by the grave of Napoleon:

. . . Le peuple est une mer aussi.
S'il ne garde aux tyrans qu'abîme et que tonnerre,
Il a pour le tombeau, profond et centenaire
(La seule majesté dont il soit courtisan),
Un long gémissement, infini, doux et sombre.
(*Chants du Crépuscule*, 9 octobre 1830)

Hernani 1539 is a dynamic version of this image, a transposition from the auditive to the visual sphere. The reading of the *MS.* is evidently superior to that of the edition;⁷ it can be reproached only with being too condensed. How are we to account for the genesis of the final text? It seems logical to infer that the word *tombeau* first evoked *berceau*, by an association, (a) of rime, and (b) of antithetic meaning; and that being unable to use the contrast *tombeau-berceau*, the poet then corrected *respecte* to read *berce*.

DAVID OWEN EVANS

University of British Columbia

L'ÉVÉNEMENT AND L'EXPIATION

In composing the first section of *L'Expiation*, Victor Hugo sought details of the retreat from Moscow in Chateaubriand's pamphlet *De Buonaparte et des Bourbons* and in Ségur's *Histoire de Napoléon et de la Grande Armée en 1812* (published in 1824). From these sources, as is well known, he obtained certain facts and certain impressions. With this material he set to work, and with his own imagination and theatrical sense he created a narrative which is at once a drama and an unforgettable vision.

No part of that vision remains with greater vividness in the

⁷ Contrast the felicitous correction of the line immediately preceding from:

Où l'on ne peut cracher sans que tout ne remue

to

Où l'on ne jette rien . . .

—a model of good taste!

reader's mind than the terrible curtain of snow, incessantly falling, stretching out in endless monotony, bringing inevitable tragedy upon Napoleon's great odyssey. Hugo introduces the snow immediately: « Il neigeait »; and by the simple repetition of that phrase he depicts in large measure the struggle of the Grande Armée with the elements. And no part of that narrative would seem to be more the creation of Hugo's own imagination, the product of his own genius. It is nevertheless highly possible that « Il neigeait » . . . « Il neigeait » . . . « Il neigeait toujours » comes from an outside source and is not the offspring of the poet's imagination.

On November 4, 1848, the Constituent Assembly adopted a constitution for the Second Republic. Hugo voted against it for reasons explained in his newspaper, *L'Événement*, on November 5. On the 18th a public ceremony was held at the Place de la Concorde to proclaim the new Constitution. It was reported in *L'Événement* that evening under the title of "La Fête de la Constitution":

Il neigeait.

Nous avons rêvé quelque chose de solennel et de grand, une de ces fêtes où l'âme du peuple s'exhale par deux cent mille voix émues, une pompe à la fois simple et grandiose, un beau soleil, un cortège d'hommes illustres, la religion qui n'est elle-même qu'une constitution éternelle, bénissant au nom de Dieu la loi nouvelle faite au nom de la nation; nous avons reporté nos souvenirs jusqu'à ces jours sublimes de la Fédération de quatre-vingt-neuf et des distributions d'aigles sous l'Empire. Nous avons rêvé. . . .

Il neigeait.

La place de la Concorde . . . offrait pourtant au ciel le plus charmant coup d'œil. . . .

Il neigeait.

A huit heures, malgré la profusion de billets ministériels et municipaux, les tribunes étaient loin d'être garnies. . . .

Il neigeait.

Aussi, la lecture de la Constitution par M. Armand Marrast a-t-elle été une sorte de monologue ou de confession à voix basse. . . .

Il neigeait toujours. . . .

It might conceivably be thought that Hugo wrote this article himself, for we know that a number of articles in *L'Événement*, despite denials on his part, were the work of his pen. I do not believe that this particular article was composed by the future author of *L'Expiation*. In the first place, the writer refers to scenes that took place during the First Republic and the Empire. If this remark be taken in its most literal meaning, obviously Hugo is not the author, for he was not born till 1802. But a more important

point is that the article in question is a mere piece of reporting and as such would doubtless have appeared too unimportant for Hugo to bother with. The few articles he contributed to *L'Événement* were on subjects in which he was passionately interested, such as the abolition of the death penalty, the freedom of the theatre and the press, and the candidacy of Louis Napoleon. It seems hardly likely that he would have been keenly concerned about the proclamation of a constitution against which he had voted. What is more, there is little or nothing of Hugo's style in this article. If the first paragraph contains something of the poet's thought and expression, the rest reveals nothing—neither metaphor nor antithesis—which betrays Hugolian authorship. It seems reasonable to conclude that Hugo was not the author.

But apparently he did read the article; apparently he was struck by the method used by the writer to depict the background of falling snow; apparently the item lodged in his memory. Four years later, confronted with the problem of describing the tragic retreat from Moscow, he used with tremendous effect a detail taken from an insignificant piece of newspaper reporting by a possibly insignificant and mediocre reporter.

ELLIOTT M. GRANT

Smith College

FLAUBERT ET LA PHRASE FINALE D'UNE VIE

Les derniers volumes parus, VII et VIII, de la nouvelle édition Conard de la *Correspondance* de Flaubert posent un petit problème de sources.

La plupart des critiques qui se sont occupés de Maupassant ont accordé beaucoup d'importance à la phrase-conclusion que prononce Rosalie à la fin d'*Une Vie*: "La vie, voyez-vous, ça n'est jamais si bon ni si mauvais qu'on croit." Ils y ont vu une orientation nouvelle de la pensée de l'auteur, le début d'une attitude moins pessimiste, moins systématique, envers la vie, une séparation nette d'avec Zola et le naturalisme. Rappelons qu'*Une Vie* fut publiée en feuilleton par le *Gil Blas*, du 25 février au 6 avril 1883, et parut en librairie peu après.

Or, le 18 décembre 1878, Flaubert écrivait à Maupassant une lettre très brève, qui vient seulement d'être publiée, et où il dit

notamment: "Il était dit qu'aujourd'hui serait un bon jour: 1° votre lettre et 2° un peu d'argent sur lequel je ne comptais plus. Les choses ne sont jamais ni aussi mauvaises ni aussi bonnes qu'on croit." ¹

S'agit-il, entre cette dernière phrase et la conclusion d'*Une Vie*, d'une simple coïncidence, d'un rappel inconscient, ou d'une transcription presque mot pour mot?

Les partisans de la coïncidence pourraient faire valoir qu'il est peu vraisemblable que Maupassant se soit souvenu, à quatre ans de distance, d'une phrase d'une lettre assez peu importante de Flaubert. Au surplus, ne s'agit-il pas là d'un lieu commun qui appartient à tout le monde, et auquel d'ailleurs, Maupassant a donné une forme sensiblement différente de celle de son maître?

Cette réserve prudemment sceptique ne nous semble guère défendable. Maupassant conserva cette lettre comme toutes celles qu'il reçut de Flaubert; il a pu la relire à l'occasion. Pour n'être pas très originale, la phrase en question ne court pas les rues; nous ne l'avons rencontrée nulle part ailleurs dans la *Correspondance* de Flaubert. Si Maupassant l'a modifiée quelque peu pour la placer à la fin de son roman, la ressemblance n'en reste pas moins incontestable.

L'hypothèse du rappel inconscient échappe par définition à toute espèce de vérification, et présente en outre l'inconvénient de ne rien expliquer. Nous ne la mentionnons que pour mémoire.

Il semble, en définitive, plus simple d'admettre que Maupassant ait été frappé de la phrase de Flaubert et l'ait retenue, qu'il l'ait notée ou non sur le moment même.

Ce qui rend la chose plus plausible encore, c'est qu'il était lui-même en train de composer un roman. Il en avait fait part à Flaubert dès la fin de l'année 1877; ² il lui en communiqua le plan, et celui-ci s'en déclara "enchanté" au mois d'août 1878; ³ il continua d'y travailler les semaines suivantes, puisque, à la fin de septembre 1878, Flaubert lui écrit: "Il faudra m'apporter à Etretat tout ce qui est fait de votre roman." ⁴

Quel était ce roman? Mr. Maynial écarte à juste titre *Boule de*

¹ *Correspondance*, VIII, 170.

² *Revue de France*, 15 juillet 1928, p. 243.

³ *Correspondance*, VIII, 136.

⁴ *Id.*, VIII, 152.

Suif, et presque aussi péremptoirement *Une Vie*;⁵ ce serait une œuvre qui n'aurait laissé aucune trace, alors que l'on a retrouvé dans les papiers de Maupassant les brouillons des ouvrages auxquels il ne donna pas suite ou qu'il jugea indignes d'être publiés. D'ailleurs, dès le printemps 1880, certains amis de Maupassant savaient que celui-ci travaillait à un livre qu'il comptait achever bientôt, et qui s'appellerait *Une Vie*.⁶ Aussi est-il très vraisemblable de penser que le roman dont il s'occupait en 1878 était une première ébauche d'*Une Vie*. Il remarqua dans la lettre de Flaubert du 18 décembre 1878 une phrase qui correspondait à l'inspiration générale de son œuvre, qui peut-être même l'aïda à dégager plus nettement celle-ci, et quatre ans plus tard, il en avait fait sa conclusion.

Les modifications qu'il y apporta se justifient aisément. C'est Rosalie qui parle; "la vie," expression plus concrète, et qui répond au titre de l'ouvrage, remplace le trop général "les choses," mais surtout, la coupure, "voyez-vous," et la reprise familière, "ça," montrent bien que nous avons affaire à une femme du peuple. La phrase, par ailleurs, gagne à ces changements une cadence mélancolique et résignée qui convient tout à fait à la situation, et elle s'enrichit ainsi d'une toute autre portée sentimentale que la réflexion de Flaubert. Cet exemple pourrait servir à une étude comparée de l'art des deux écrivains, et des procédés discrets, presque insensibles, par lesquels ils arrivent à donner une valeur humaine et poétique aux propos les plus insignifiants.

JEAN CANU

Bryn Mawr College

⁵ E. Maynial, *La vie et l'œuvre de Maupassant*, p. 100.

⁶ H. Alis, "Chronique littéraire, Chez Guy de Maupassant," *La Revue Moderne et Naturaliste*, cité par Auriant, "Un ami de Maupassant, Harry Alis," *Mercure de France*, 1^{er} mai 1931, p. 609-610.

A NOTE ON THE TECHNIQUE OF ANATOLE FRANCE

It is a matter of common knowledge that Anatole France borrowed from the *Journal* of Grace Elliott¹ an episode which he used in *le Livre de mon ami* (1885) and which again constitutes the whole substance of the story *Madame de Luzy* in *l'Etui de nacre* (1892). It is not so commonly known that his first use of the episode—that in which Mistress Elliott hides the marquis de Champcenetz between the mattresses of her bed during a search for aristocrats in 1792—occurred in Chapter III of *les Autels de la peur*, a roman-feuilleton which Anatole France published in *le Journal des débats* in March, 1884.² And no one has as yet compared the four versions of the story to study Anatole France's alteration of an historical anecdote for fictional purposes and his subsequent improvement of his own version. Rarely are we given such an opportunity to examine, without recourse to manuscripts, three distinct forms of a story by the same author.

It is interesting to observe that the *Autels de la peur* and the *Livre de mon ami* versions derive directly from Grace Elliott's *Journal*, while the *Madame de Luzy* version is very obviously rewritten from Chapter III of *Les Autels*.

Because the episode as treated in *le Livre de mon ami* is condensed to four pages (Part II, Ch. III), and because it follows the *Journal* more closely than does either of the other two versions, it may be left aside as unprofitable to study.

The successive alterations in the story concern content and form. The changes in content are most strikingly brought out by comparing the *Journal* and *les Autels*; the changes in form show chiefly Anatole France's improvement of his own style upon rewriting the story after a lapse of eight years and are best illustrated by quoting parallel phrases from *les Autels* and *Madame de Luzy*.

The account in the *Journal* is briefly as follows:

In the evening of September 2, 1792, after trying unsuccessfully to smuggle Champcenetz out of Paris, Mistress Elliott leaves him in temporary hiding while she goes into her own house to reconnoiter, for she has a

¹ *Journal de Mistress Elliott sur sa vie pendant la révolution française*, Bibliothèque des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France au XVIII^e siècle, ed. Barrière & Lescure, 1867; XXVII, 302 ff.

² Chapter III appeared March 7th and 8th.

Jacobin cook. Having sent the cook out on a trumped-up errand, she admits the fugitive and with the aid of a faithful *portier* hides him in her bedroom, between the mattresses of her bed. She herself goes to bed, has twenty candles lighted in her room, and orders the cook to bring up food and wine and to sit up all night.

At quarter of four in the morning the cook rushes up to say that the garde nationale has arrived to search the house. In her Jacobin enthusiasm the cook conducts the soldiers through the house and brings them finally to Mistress Elliott's bedroom, forty of them. Chivalrously they allow her to stay in bed, confining their investigation to cursory proddings and prying. Some of them indulging in coarse jests, one even making so bold as to sit on her bed, they remain in her room for an hour. After their departure Mistress Elliott and her maid proceed to pull Champenetz out, half-smothered, dripping with perspiration, unable to pronounce a word.

The most momentous difference between the Elliott account and the episode of *les Autels* is in the introduction of Marcel, the suitor, who (instead of a "portier fidèle") helps to hide the fugitive and to put the soldiery off the scent by posing as a lover disturbed. He is a young man, under his lady's influence an ardent *modéré*; and his narrative of his own politico-journalistic activities occupies most of the installment of March 7th. Just as he begins to press his suit, he and Mme d'Avenay (who plays the rôle of Mistress Elliott) hear approaching the shouts of the garde nationale in pursuit of some aristocrat. Stepping out of the salon, they find on the landing Franchot, the old "philosophe," quaking with terror. They take him to Mme d'Avenay's bedroom, hide him between the mattresses, and Madame, seeing that she must get into bed, realizing that it is only seven o'clock (this is another change from the Elliott version) and that her cook and the garde would think it unnatural for her to be in bed at that hour, commands Marcel to give his clothes an appearance of disorder.

From there the two accounts run more or less parallel: the guards come, a dozen (instead of forty) led by Colin the butcher; they rummage for a time; two remain and, joined by a third, drink with Mme d'Avenay while the others are ransacking the cellar. (Mistress Elliott had immediately offered the whole deputation wines, pastries, and liqueurs.)

The only other important change in the *Les Autels* version is that the first-person account by Mistress Elliott is transposed into the third-person.

In rewriting this chapter of *Les Autels de la peur* as the inde-

pendent story, *Madame de Luzy*, Anatole France first changes back from a third-person to a first-person narrative; but, whereas Mistress Elliott had been the original narrator, the first-person now becomes the suitor, but he remains anonymous. The names are again altered: Mme d'Avenay becomes Mme de Luzy, the fugitive becomes Planchonnet (much closer to the original Champcenetz than Franchot has been).³

The story is then condensed from the 2500 words of the two feuilleton installments to less than 1500. On the other hand, there are more separate paragraphs. The condensation entails, of course, the elimination of many things. There is in the final version no description of the young man, suitor, and narrator. Likewise, most of his account of his own activities is omitted; there is no reference to *les Autels de la peur*, the pamphlet which Marcel presents to Mme d'Avenay. Many non-essential bits are struck out. Describing Franchot's terror, Anatole France had first written:

En attendant, il ne pouvait se tenir debout. Dans l'anéantissement de toutes ses facultés, il ne se survivait encore que par un sentiment d'épouvante et de surprise. Il ne comprenait rien en vérité à sa disgrâce. C'était un homme étonné.

The final version has only the two short sentences:

En attendant, il ne pouvait se tenir debout. C'était un homme étonné.
Upon the announcement that the garde is coming, Mme d'Avenay says to her cook:

Eh bien! qu'ils montent. Faites-leur visiter toute la maison de la cave au grenier. Priez-les seulement d'entrer tout doucement dans la chambre bleue pour ne pas effrayer mon petit enfant qui dort avec Nanon.

Mme de Luzy mentions no child asleep in the "chambre bleue"; but the child and Nanon turn up again in *le Petit soldat de plomb*, along with the "Prière d'Orphée ouverte sur l'épinette" that figured at the beginning of Chapter III of *les Autels*.

There are further omissions: notably a naïvely indecent question addressed by Mme d'Avenay to the leader of the garde, the episode in which three soldiers remain upstairs to drink with Mme d'Avenay—some 200 words—and the philosophical but anticlimactic

³ Mme d'Avenay remains the lady of the *Anecdote de Floréal an II*, one of the other stories rewritten from *les Autels*. Marcel and Franchot turn up in *l'Aube*.

speech of Franchot after he has been dragged out from between the mattresses:

Si je croyais en Dieu, je ne lui pardonnerais pas d'avoir fabriqué des créatures semblables à celles que vous venez de voir. Pour moi, il m'a suffi de les entendre. Ce sont des scélérats dépourvus de toute philosophie.

There is just one bit of amplification: the whole point of the ruse is expanded from:

Il faut qu'ils vous prennent pour mon amant, lui dit-elle.

to:

Il faut que vous soyez mon amant et qu'ils nous surprennent. Quand ils viendront, vous n'aurez pas eu le temps de réparer le désordre de votre toilette. Vous leur ouvrirez en veste (with a footnote on the phrase *en veste*), les cheveux épars.

More interesting are the stylistic changes, the improvements instituted by Anatole France eight years after his first writing of the story. Some of these appear as a tightening of construction. For example:

Les Autels: -Allons dans la salle à manger, dit Fanny, qui semblait plus calme à mesure que le danger se rapprochait. Nous pourrions voir à travers les jalousies . . .

Madame de Luzy: Madame de Luzy semblait plus calme à mesure que le danger se rapprochait.—Montons au second étage, dit-elle; nous pourrions voir, etc.

Les Autels: A ce moment la peur fit une espèce de miracle. Franchot cessa de trembler et de râler.

Mme de Luzy: Tout à coup, par une espèce de miracle, Planchonnet cessa, etc.

Les Autels: Il regarda tour à tour la belle aristocrate au lit et le jeune homme en veste, sa cravate défaite.

—Peste! dit-il . . .

Mme de Luzy: Tournant alternativement ses regards sur madame de Luzy et sur moi:

—Peste! dit-il . . .

Les Autels: Colin se grattait l'oreille et regardait Marcel du coin de l'œil.

Mme de Luzy: Lubin, se grattant l'oreille, me regardait du coin de l'œil.

The vocabulary-changes are the most numerous, the most interesting, and largely self-explanatory. We shall conclude this study with the exposition of twenty-seven changes which illustrate

for the most part a successful attempt to make the picture more precise. The *Madame de Luzy* reading is the second in each case.

. . . regardait le soleil *sanglant* descendre à l'horizon.
 . . . regardait le soleil descendre à l'horizon *sanglant*.

(In September 1792 Paris itself was so *ensanglanté* that the horizon was more likely than the sun to be figuratively blood-red.)

. . . de ce que vous m'avez dit
 . . . des paroles que vous avez prononcées

(They were words of prophecy, very definite words.)

. . . *étendant* tout autour de vous une main prophétique
 . . . *promenant* autour de vous une main prophétique
 . . . depuis que votre main . . . m'a montré la voie, je l'ai *sui*vie hardiment
 . . . depuis que votre main . . . m'a montré la voie, j'ai *mar*ché hardiment

(*Marché* attributes more resolution to the young man.)

. . . dit Fanny, pâle, un doigt sur la bouche.
 Pâle, *immobile*, elle tenait un doigt sur la bouche.
 . . . d'une voix faible comme un souffle
 . . . d'une voix étouffée
 . . . l'ennemi des *cours* et des rois
 . . . l'ennemi des *prêtres* et des rois

(It is the old "philosophe" who so styles himself; how much more the word *prêtres* adds to the characterization!)

En entendant ces paroles . . .
 En entendant ce dialogue . . .

(Between the lady and her Jacobin cook.)

Marcel l'alla ranimer un peu
 . . . je parvins à grand'peine à le ranimer
 . . . ayez confiance en moi; je suis rusée.
 . . . fiez-vous à moi. Rappelez-vous que les femmes sont rusées.
 . . . comme s'il s'agissait de quelque arrangement domestique
 . . . comme si elle eût été occupée d'un soin domestique
 . . . *arrangea* les trois matelas de manière à . . .
 . . . *disposa* les trois matelas, etc.

(The mattresses were *disarranged* for a purpose.)

Marcel saisit le vieillard et le coula dans l'espace ménagé entre les matelas.

J'aidai Planchonnet à se couler dans l'espace, etc.

Fanny fronça le sourcil. Le lit, ainsi bouleversé, avait un air suspect. En nous regardant faire, madame de Luzy secouait la tête. Le lit, etc.

Elle réfléchit quelques secondes . . .

Elle demeura ainsi pensive quelques secondes . . .

(What she had been thinking has been explained; so that the second expression is far neater.)

. . . lui ordonna de donner l'apparence du désordre à ses vêtements.

. . . m'ordonna de retirer mes souliers, mon habit et ma cravate.

. . . la troupe descendit du grenier

. . . la troupe *civique* descendit du grenier

(The word *civique* reminds the reader of their mission.)

Une main rude secoua la porte.

Un poing rude secoua la porte.

—Qui va là? demanda Fanny (d'Avenay).

—Qui frappe? demanda Emilie.

(This Emilie, just by the way, is not mentioned elsewhere in *Madame de Luzy*, or in Ch. III of *les Autels*, or in the *Elliott Journal*.)

Pourtant, cette rencontre l'avait mis en gaieté.

Mais, en dépit de ses maximes, cette rencontre, etc.

. . . prenant le menton de la jeune femme

. . . prenant le menton de la belle aristocrate

(It is a butcher who takes the lady's chin in his hand.)

. . . cette bouche-là n'est pas faite pour marmotter toute la nuit des *Pater* et des *Ave*.

. . . pour marmotter jour et nuit des *Pater*.

Il est certain qu'il est ici.

Il est ici, j'en suis sûr.

. . . prends les clés et conduis partout ces messieurs.

. . . prends les clefs et conduis partout M. Lubin.

(The latter distinguishes M. Lubin from his subordinates and tickles his ex-butcher vanity.)

. . . quittant la cave inondée de vin

. . . sortant de la cave inondée de vin

Marcel les *suivit* jusqu'à la grille, qu'il *ferma* sur leurs talons, et courut annoncer à Fanny le délivrance.

Je les *reconduisis* jusqu'à la grille, que je *refermai* sur leurs talons, et je courus annoncer à madame de Luzy que nous étions sauvés.

Un long soupir lui répondit.

Un faible soupir lui répondit.

(The sigh came from a man who had been in mortal terror between mattresses for over two hours; it was probably more feeble than lengthy.)

WM. C. HOLBROOK

Northwestern University

MARLOWE'S RICE "WITH A POWDER"

The editor of the excellent third volume of the new Methuen Marlowe concurs with his general editor in finding a difficulty in *The Jew of Malta*, III, iv, 108, when Ithamore says he will carry the poisoned pot of rice to the nuns "with a powder." "There is not much sense," says Professor Case, "in this *with a powder* as the powder has already spiced the drench"; and Mr. Bennett suggests an emendation, "with a pox." But *NED.* gives this phrase = "impetuously", "violently." Since *The Jew* was probably written *c.* 1589, it seems worth while to note the occurrence of this expression a decade before the first citation, *c.* 1600, of *NED.*, as well as to explain its meaning in Marlowe's play. Ithamore is punning, for it is actually Barabas's "precious powder" that he is to carry in the rice "with a powder." Another sixteenth-century occurrence of the phrase may be found in Ben Jonson's *The Case is Altered* (*c.* 1597-8), I, ii, 19. Apparently it sometimes meant merely "in haste." *NED.* doubts the identity of the substantive with the familiar "powder" (*pulverem*). But since "powder" often meant "dust", is it not possible that "with a powder" = "violently", "hastily", from the evidence of a rider's haste afforded by the dust on his clothing or the cloud of dust at his heels?

HAZELTON SPENCER

REVIEWS

ALFONSO EL SABIO, *General Estoria, Primera Parte*, edición de ANTONIO G. SOLALINDE. Madrid, 1930. 8vo., pp. lxxxii + 828. (Junta para ampliación de estudios e investigaciones científicas. Centro de estudios históricos.)

ANTONIO G. SOLALINDE, *Adiciones y correcciones al primer volumen de la "General Estoria" de Alfonso X*. Revista de Filología Española, 1930, pp. 422-424.

The text of the "Primera Parte" of this hitherto unpublished *General Estoria* of Alfonso el Sabio occupies 768 closely printed double column octavo pages, and is approximately the same length as the entire *Crónica General* of the same author. The complete text of the former work will consist of five similar volumes, which fact will give some idea of the great task that the editor has set himself. Furthermore, the five volumes of text are to be followed by two supplementary volumes, one devoted to the sources and historiographical method of King Alfonso, the other to a grammar and vocabulary of the text itself. The mechanical labor and editorial equipment envisaged in such an individual undertaking are little short of appalling; on the other hand, the results attained in this first volume show that the completed work will be a lasting monument to mediaeval erudition and modern scholarship.

In his admirable introduction Solalinde characterizes the broad field covered in the many works of King Alfonso as author and compiler, works which had as their goal:

determinar la conducta del ser humano, es decir, averiguar lo que el hombre hizo en tiempos pretéritos, señalar la calidad e índole de sus acciones al estar sometidas éstas a poderes ultravisibles—influencia astral o divina—, fijar los deberes ciudadanos.

This general estimate of Alfonso's cultural activity is amply justified in his *Crónica General, Siete Partidas, Libros de Astronomía, Cantigas de Santa María*, not to omit even the *Septenario* and *Libro de las Cruces*. Solalinde puts the *Libro de Ajedrez* "al margen de esta cerrada clasificación," but it comes well within the plan if we regard it not merely as a work of diversion, but as a mental and educational training for princes. In such a diversity of products as that enumerated above we naturally look for a diversity of method, and in fact the *General Estoria* reveals a technique that differentiates it clearly from Alfonso's other works. His aim was to write a history of the world, and he describes his own method:

despues que oue fecho ayuntar muchos escriptos e muchas estorias de los fechos antiguos, escogi dellos los mas uerdaderos e los meiores que y sope; e fiz ende fazer este libro, e mande y poner todos los fechos sennalados tan bien de las estorias de la Biblia, como de las otras grandes cosas que acahesçieron por el mundo, desde que fue començado fastal nuestro tiempo (p. 3b 26).

Add to this his religious faith and his belief in the marvelous and we have, as the editor points out, the basis for interpreting Alfonso's world history as he conceived it, and an explanation of the euhemerism which humanizes the pagan deities and makes them a part of the material happenings of the ancient world.

While Alfonso planned to bring the history down to his own time, in reality the narrative stops with the parents of the Virgin Mary; but as the only extant manuscript of the last part is incomplete, it is impossible to say how far the original work came. The "Primera Parte", which is now accessible in print, brings the narrative down to the death of Moses and is obviously and naturally based on the Pentateuch, supplemented by the works of Pedro Comestor, Eusebius, Saint Augustin, Bede, and other Christian, Jewish and Arabic commentators. Nor is this all, for a similar extensive use of sources is seen in the treatment of Greek, Latin and Oriental mythology, in which authors like Lucan and Statius are supplemented by literature as represented by Vergil, Ovid, Cicero, Horace and even the mediaeval works of Geoffrey of Monmouth, John Garland, Lucas of Tuy and such romances as the *Roman de Troie*, *Roman de Thèbes*, *Ovide Moralisé* and the *Libro de Alexandre*.

Alfonso is careful to cite meticulously his authorities, but in some few cases the citation is rather vague:

Sobresta razon cuenta un auctor en un libro que compuso de las estorias de la nuestra ley e de las fabliellas de los gentiles (134a 55);—Otrossi dixo desta razon un maestro vessificador este otro viesso (160a 38).

Among his collaborators Alfonso doubtless had persons who knew Latin and Arabic as well as French and Hebrew, since the sources necessitated knowledge of these several languages. Possibly a list of his collaborators may have been included in the missing final pages of Part VI, but at present we have no light on their names. In his introductory study Solalinde makes it clear that his conclusions concerning sources, date of composition and similar matters are at times tentative and subject to revision when he shall have published the remaining four parts of the text.

As to the date of composition of the *General Estoria*, we know that the first four parts were already finished in 1280 and that the composition of part five and of the uncompleted part six probably occupied the years 1280 to 1284, the latter being the year of Alfonso's death. As to when the work was begun, Solalinde points out that on p. 581a there is a moralizing passage that might possibly refer to the ingratitude of Alfonso's brother Philip and his rebellion

in 1270. The only other evidence deduced consists of two references to the first half of the *Crónica General* which is supposed to have been begun in 1270, but the evidence on this latter point is not regarded as final. Consequently, Solalinde offers the tentative conclusion that the *General Estoria* was begun about 1272.

There are nine extant manuscripts of the "Primera Parte" and of these manuscript A was written by one of the official scribes of King Alfonso. Unfortunately the last signature of the Ms. is lost, and with it probably the *explicit* which gave the date of composition. Ms. A naturally forms the basis of Solalinde's edition. In addition to the extant Mss. there is a record of several lost ones and to these might be added "*La General Estoria*" which formed part of the library of Gómez Manrique.¹ A facsimile page of each Ms. is published and an additional page of Mss. A and D, E and G'.

But the most exacting task involved in Solalinde's study is the thirty pages devoted to the classification of the Mss. on the system of Dom Quentin. Here he has strikingly shown his breadth of vision, independence of judgment and attention to details. This, so far as I know, is the first time that the Dom Quentin method has been tested for a Spanish text, and the detailed application will be read with profit by all those who are interested in critical editing or in the broader question of the Bédier and Quentin schools. The results of Solalinde's study show that the Mss. fall into two well defined groups and possibly three, and doubly justify the selection of the royal Ms. A as the basis for the edition.

The foregoing remarks will give some idea of the historical and analytical features of Solalinde's introductory study, but only those who read understandingly the study itself, can gain a fair idea of the scholarly method, accuracy of detail and soundness of judgment that underlie his treatment of Alfonso, the collaborators and the *General Estoria*. This brings us to a consideration of the editing of the text itself. In this connection it should be borne in mind that the text of the *General Estoria* is of monumental importance from a triple point of view according as we regard it from the historical, literary or linguistic side. Furthermore, thinking of its enormous size, the large number of Mss., and the unbelievable labor involved in preparing an edition, it is unlikely that the text will be re-edited within the present cycle of academic life. Hence it is especially desirable that the edition be definitive from the threefold standpoint just mentioned. The editor, facing the many and great problems he has encountered, is naturally feeling his way in this first volume, and tells us frankly that his conclusions and deductions in regard to literary and historical items are subject to revision as his work progresses, and the same doubtless holds true for details of editing. He himself sets no date for the completion of his work, but it is fair to presume that it must extend over a

¹ Cf. *Cancionero*, ed. A. Paz y Melia, Madrid, 1885, II, 332-33.

period of years. Consequently, the following remarks on the edited text of the "Primera Parte" will apply, at times, to the plan of the entire work.

In stating that "esta edición no es crítica," Solalinde shows a modesty that is unfair to the edition. He means simply that he has not endeavored to reconstruct the archetype, but has reproduced the text of the authoritative royal Ms. A, introducing corrections only when they are justified by obvious errors of the scribe, and with but few exceptions it will be noted that such corrections are corroborated by the reading of the other Mss. In short, he has followed the only logical method under the circumstances. It should be said further that the other Mss. show no tendency to give readings widely variant from A, and this is in sharp contrast to the situation in the Alfonso's *Crónica General*.

Coming now to a consideration of the edited text, Solalinde calls attention to the fact that for pages 1-54 the variants are placed at the foot of the page, while the variants for the remaining 712 pages are placed in an appendix. The change in method is due to the fact that the first section was printed or ready for the press while the editor was in Spain, and had access to complete photo copies of all the Mss.; the latter part was set up after he had come to the United States where photo copies were not at once accessible to him. While the relegation of a large portion of the variants to an appendix makes their consultation difficult, we are grateful to the editor for making this textual material accessible in any form. The variants published as an appendix occupy pages 771-820—a mass of material that might be greatly simplified for consultation. The editor calls this section "Variantes y Correcciones." The "correcciones," which run into hundreds, consist of "errores de A" and "errata en el texto." The large number of "errores de A" is due to the complicated system of recording such errors: sometimes as footnotes to the text (in which case a special system of cross-reference by asterisk is used), sometimes by means of the aforementioned "errores de A". A reduction of this triple machinery together with the placing of the "errata en el texto" in a separate section, would relieve this mass of detail and simplify the handling of the variants themselves.

In setting forth his system of recording variants, Solalinde says:

He eliminado las variantes ortográficas, la mayoría de las modernizaciones y casi toda alteración en el orden de las palabras. Al comenzar cada manuscrito he recogido mayor número de variantes de estas dos últimas clases, a fin de caracterizar las distintas copias, pero paulatinamente he ido despreciándolas, al considerar ya expuesta dicha caracterización (p. 1).

But he adds:

si doy algunas modernizaciones y alteraciones en el orden de los vocablos es a título de curiosidad y, por consiguiente, en mis variantes no podrá estudiarse la evolución del lenguaje con toda la amplitud requerida para esta clase de trabajos.

This method of introducing variants that occur at the beginning of a Ms. and gradually reducing them to the point of elimination, offers serious difficulties for the reader who is endeavoring to get a concrete idea of the character of the several Mss., and often leaves him in a state of uncertainty in regard to specific problems. As an illustration let us take one of the most important passages from the standpoint of establishing the date of the *General Estoria*; namely, the reference to the *Estoria de Espanna* (or *Crónica General*) which occurs p. 57 b 18:

los uandalos, los alanos, e con estos fueron los hugnos e los silingos, como lo auemos departido en la nuestra Estoria de Espanna.

This citation may refer to either 4a53 or 207ab of the *Estoria de Espanna*,² but in neither passage does the word order correspond to that of the text of the *General Estoria*, nor does the word "hugnos" occur. A study of accessible material shows that change of word order was especially characteristic of the Ms. B and one can but wonder if Ms. B might be a help in this connection. The question of what to include in his variants is probably the most difficult problem that the individual editor has to decide for himself. Nevertheless, the readers' problem would have been much simplified if the present editor had given an analysis of the linguistic traits of the several Mss. This information one naturally looks for in the editor's lengthy description of the various Mss., but information of a linguistic or paleographic character is here almost totally lacking. It should be noted, however, that in treating the classification of Mss. the editor has furnished some interesting items, especially for the Aragonese Ms. G-G'.

In taking Ms. A as his basic text, Solalinde has followed the Ms. in regard to the more or less arbitrary union of two or more words, and the similar separation of words into their component parts. In this again we have a question of editorial judgment. But it should be borne in mind that the fundamental purpose of a printed text is to make it accessible to the reader and in so doing every legitimate item of simplification and systematization is an advantage. When a mediaeval scribe shows a conscientious and systematic method of linking or disjoining words, his method is worthy at least of consideration. When, however, as in the case of Ms. A, we find incoherence and lack of method in many cases, there is a decided advantage in choosing as a norm the mediaeval type that corresponds to modern word-division. The examples of linking, *quelo*, *enel*, *dela*, *alos*, *aque*, cited by Solalinde, p. XLV, give no inadequate idea of the difficulties to the modern reader, when the linking produces such forms as *agrand*, *agradados*, *aun*, *alas*, *calo*, *departe*, *effaz*, *ellos*, or when through disjoining we get *a oro*, *en*

² Edición de R. Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1906.

sucho, en longado, a cortar, en casado, en lleno, en cendio, a cordar, a costar, por fidiada, to cite but a few of the numerous examples.

In the division of syllables *ll* is regarded as a digraph, although we find occasional lapses as in *del-los* 671b13, *contral-la* 525b8. But *nn* as a palatal is equally a digraph in old Spanish, and we are surprised to find this fact consistently disregarded, cf. *duen-na* 359a54, *sen-nal* 533b24, *tan-ner* 623a42, etc. Likewise *ff* is a digraph as shown by its use as initial in *ffijas* 683a2, *fferezeos* 715b20, etc., and Solalinde recognizes this fact in his division *Godo-ffre* 203a31, but as a general rule he disjoins *ff* in its many occurrences in the printed text, cf. *sof-friessen* 627b25, *gaf-fezes* 534b30, etc. Similarly he regularly disjoins the frequently occurring *ss*, with the result that *pa-ssauan* 199a50 attracts attention as a striking exception. While *sc* should be regarded as inseparable in old Spanish, the text shows a consistent separation, *offres-cien* 649a40, *meresciera* 620a49, *aluoros-çado* 641a19. As to *cc*, so frequently used in *peccar, peccado*, the editor is probably right in dividing it, since it is clearly a Latinism. Finally, the *cr* resulting from *cer* not infrequently lacks a cedilla in the text; thus in contrast to forms like *estableçras* 725b48, we find *offrescra* 637b52, *perescrie* 638b34, *offrescras* 725a16, *crescra* 671a54, *nascra* 730b15.

Regarded as a whole, the text gives evidence of the accuracy and judgment that we naturally expect from the training and previous labors of the editor. It is surprising, however, to see that the text does not contain the foliation of the basic Ms. This is all the more surprising in the light of the modern edition of Alfonso's other great historical work, the *Estoria de Espanna*, by Menéndez Pidal. The importance of the foliation is too obvious to call for discussion, though it may be noted that the importance is illustrated by two examples cited by Solalinde himself. He tells us that after the word *si* of p. 301a18, the scribe has omitted the words *vos lo diere Dios de aquí adelante sera muy bien e* "quizá por salto al pasar de la col. a la b, pues ahí se separan las columnas." A second example is furnished when he states that quite a number of the pages of Ms. A are stained or discolored, and calls attention to the bad condition of folio 218 verso, which is partly missing, and that of the opposite page, 219 recto, which has suffered on account of the manuscript having been left open for a time at this point. (p. XXVI).

In the transcription of a text prepared by such an editor and published under such auspices, we should expect accuracy of the highest order. We are not disappointed in our expectations. Only two errors have been noted that are attributable to the editor: *guaderedes* for *guadaredes* 430a38, and *aueredes* for *auredes* 643b40. The same accuracy can not be attributed, however, to the royal copyist of Ms. A. In addition to the errors recorded by Solalinde, we note:

ensenmara(n) 20b17; *ya* for *y auia* 21a17;—*tomar cabeça* for *tornar cabeça* 43a12, cf. 8a37, 15a10, etc.;—*si(n)* *non* 57b14;—*manera* for *manner* 132a36;—*entrar le [la] casa* 131a11;—*podio* for *podie* 211b34; this seems to be the only example of preterit *podio* in the text, in contrast to the frequently used *pudo*; furthermore *podio* is probably a form that is distinctively Riojan;—*nos* for *uos* 227a37;—*lo* for *los* 257a3;—*contien[d]en con las nuues del cielo* 254b52, cf. 275b34;—*tra[y]en* 307b35;—*ellos* for *ello* 315a51;—*los fallaua uerdad[eros]* 328a49, cf. *todas las fallaua uerdaderas* 326a48;—*et [vieron] que* 406a19;—*cosa noble* for *cosa mueble* 408b42, cf. 406b46;—*deuiedes* for *desuies* 424a6, cf. 424a14;—*auedes* for *auedes oydo* or *auredes* (which is the current future form of *oyr*) 481b22;—*mueuen* for *mueren* 514a33;—*ella, e comer e beber* for *ella en comer e en beuer* 531b15, cf. 531a51;—*si* for *se* 538a49;—*estado [e] orden* 591a26, cf. 591b36;—*enquella* for *en aquella* 592b49;—*aqualles* for *a quales* 708b37;—*fizier[ed]es* 720a27;—*guiauan* for *guiaual* 753b30.

There are cases where a faulty reading is retained in the text without the designation "error de A", and the reader must rely on the evidence of the recorded variants; for example:

si mas [si] non 62a31;—*ias* for *ge las* 125b51;—*ti* for *te* 317a33;—*trabaiaron se quanto podrien [a or de] entrar adentro* 195a38;—*salto* for *salio* 245b34;—*seruendo* for *sembrado* 339a24, in the sense of 'sown but not yet sprouted';—*enguna* for *en alguna* 424b33;—*meior fuera (que mas ualdrie) servir a los egipcianos* 352a19;—*Sennor, el miedo e el pavor por la grandes de tu braco [entre] en ellos* 357b24;—*mesudo* for *mesurado* 400b50;—*joglarez* for *joglares* 753b8.

By no means the least difficult task in editing a prose text like the *General Estoria*, is the punctuation, and in this task Solalinde has succeeded to a remarkable degree. Rare are the passages where the meaning is not clear—or as clear as is humanly possible in the text in question. The adoption of one further principle of punctuation would, in the opinion of the reviewer, add materially to clarity of the thought expressed; namely, the use of a comma after *si non* when it means 'otherwise'. Take for example the following illustrative passages:

"unos bestiglos que buelan . . . matan a los omnes en tierra, si pueden con ellos, e *si non* alcanse enel aer" 309b2;—"e non lo tardedes *si non* puede se enfriar el pueblo de los coraones que agora tienen" 388a50;—"E si fuesse ell animalia de las que El uedara comer . . . que la preciassen, e si la quisiessse el qui la daua en diezmo que fizesse por ella como dixiemos delas animalias prometudas, e *si non* ge la tolliessen por otre" 587b32;—"e nol des por ello mudado lo que te demandare, *si non* puede se el querellar a Dios por ti" 724b22. The same holds true for *si mas non* and the less frequently used *si menos non*:

"e pues que nol quieres maldezir todo, ca dizes que te lo uieda Dios, *si mas non* maldi del dalli" 670a31;—"e seer les a el su Dios sanudo por ello, *si mas non* algun poco" 673b43.

In some few miscellaneous cases a modification of the present punctuation might add to the clarity of the text; thus the insertion of a comma after *llorasse* 228a32, *arena* 317b24, *otro* and *Cornel* 360a53, and of a colon after *nombres* 529b33; omission of comma after *cosas* 387b48; transfer of comma from *destos* to *ciento*

316b7; comma instead of period after *coraçones* 308b54. In the sentence "el rey Faraon Meffres Axemis, de quien dixiemos, ya ante desto en cuyo tiempo murio Josep" 272a24 is a reference to a previous statement on p. 263b, and there would be a gain in clarity by omission of comma after *Axemis* and *dixiemos* and insertion after *desto*; and it seems probable that we should read "assi como cuenta(n) maestres Pedro, e otros dizen que" 534b23.

For the many words whose meaning or etymology is discussed by the *General Estoria*, the editor uses spaced letters "para las palabras no españolas" (p. XLVII). It would be to advantage if a similar device were used for Spanish words in the following cases:

"por ende puso el rey a la uilla Alfoym, e quiere dezir tanto como obra de setenta dias" 219a53;—"Onde dizen en nuestro language yro e arco por parte de alguna cosa de que se siruen los omnes muy bien en sus cosas" 35b16;—"E diz aqui Moysen cercano por omne de su ley" 407a51;—"e por aquel descende entiende se destella" 519b24;—"la fiesta del cordero que a nombre phase, que es tanto como passada, como uos dixiemos o uos departiemos de las sus fiestas mayores" 698a49.

To come now to the *General Estoria* itself, Solalinde has set forth clearly in his introduction the purpose and plan of the history of the world of Alfonso's—a history which was intended to serve both as a supplement and an introduction to the *Estoria de Espanna*. In the *General Estoria* the compilers followed the strictly chronological method, and that the method presented difficulties from the standpoint of consecutive narrative is manifest. Furthermore, the work aimed to be critical in that it takes as its sources not only the Bible and its commentators for the Christian world but the histories of the Pagan world as well. The problems resulting from this broad basic treatment were two: first, the recognition of the Pagan gods as historical characters with the consequent attempt to humanize them; second, the attempt to coordinate and rationalize the divergent opinions in regard to the interpretation of disputed points of Old Testament history. We must bear always in mind that the early Christian world as treated in the Old Testament is the basis of Alfonso's "Primera Parte", and while his work is not a translation it follows closely the Biblical narrative, though amplifying both this and the sources of profane history, and even adding interesting personal commentary and reflections.

In following the chronological method the compilers have the difficult problem of synchronizing the history of the pagan world with that of Christendom. Consequently, we find frequent breaks in the narrative when the exigencies of the method require a shifting of scene, thus:

Agora dexamos aqui la estoria de Moysen (313b1).—Agora dexamos aqui estas razones de como Moysen fizo lo que nuestro Sennor le mando, e tornaremos a la estoria de Egipto, e contar uos emos como fizieron des-

pues del casamiento de las duennas, de que uos auemos ya dicho (432b6).—Agora contar uos emos del regnado que se començo de nueuo en Grescia en esta sazón (313b23).—Et assi sabed que daqui adelante contaremos las estorias por los annos de Josep (187b42).—Agora finquen aqui estas razones deste rey Nicrao, ca adelant fablaremos mas del, e tornaremos a la estoria de Josep (210a24).—Agora dexamos aqui estas razones, ca despues diremos dellas, e tornaremos a la estoria de la Biblia (81b46).—Mas agora dexamos aqui estas generationes e tornaremos a la razon de Abraham (107a37).—Agora dexamos aqui estas razones ca de cada uno destos quatro: Saturno, Juppiter, Neptuno et Pluton, dioses entre sus gentiles, diremos aun mas adelant en sus lugares que perteneschiere (157b55).—Agora dexamos aqui la estoria de la Biblia e contaremos de los fechos de los gentiles que fueron en aquella sazón (191b30).—Agora dexamos aqui la estoria de la Biblia, e queremos tornar a contar de los linages del rey Juppiter que eran ya en essa sazón (205a24).—etc. etc.

While the above method has its virtues, it detracts from enjoyment of the romantic narrative of the Pentateuch and of the interesting characters of mythology. The story of Danao and Ypermestra breaks off on p. 693, is resumed on p. 762 and again discontinued p. 763 with the following explanation:

Agora, porque las razones del rey Danao e del rey Egisto e de sus fijos e de sus fijas duraron mas de L. annos, e las vnas dessas razones cuentan los sabios en sus ystorias en los vnos dessos annos e las otras en otros, segund que fueron viniendo, e lo que finca aqui dellas viene en los annos de adelante, nos otrosi lo que finca dexamos para en los sus tiempos; onde tornamos en este logar a contar de la razon de Moysen e diremos de la su muerte e del su acabamiento (763b, 44).

This method of narration has, to be sure, its parallel in the *Crónica General*, but with this striking difference: the subject matter of the *Crónica General* falls into three well defined but closely related phases of history; namely, Moorish Spain, Christian Spain and the several and varying kingdoms of the latter. Consequently, the problem of coordinating the material was simpler than in the *General Estoria*, and what were verbal justifications of method in the *General Estoria*, became practically two fixed formulas of transition in the *Crónica General*:

A los quarenta et quatro annos no fallamos que conteciesse ninguna cosa que de contar sea (109b52)

and

Agora dexamos aqui esta razon et diremos del rey don Alfonso (452a39).

In addition to the frequent breaking off of the narrative with reference to what is to follow, there is the inverse process: "Son continuas las remisiones a lo que se ha expuesto y a lo que ha de dejarse para después, pues no quieren repetir las materias" (p. XVIII), and Solalinde calls attention to a curious reference in *Genesis* which cites a passage in *Leviticus* as having already been written. Nevertheless, Solalinde's statement that "no quieren repetir las materias" is somewhat misleading. To be sure we do find such statements as,

e fazemos lo por que lo non digamos dos vezes, aqui e alla (423b31);—e qui estas razones quisiere, ca y las fallara dichas complida mientre, cate las alli (543a6);—por que non seamos tenudos que de nuestro somos dobladores de la razon (288a29);—e si lo dixiessemos alla e aqui, doblar se ye la razon, que serie enoio (621a46); and the longer and rather naïve explanation, p. 579a5-21.

Nevertheless, there are frequent repetitions such as those that characterize *Leviticus* and *Numbers*; also repetitions by summary as in 319a53—319b7; and even repetition by single sentences as in 316a30, 35 and 371b36, 42.

The "Prólogo" to Book X (p. 265), states that "Este deceno libro desta General Estoria fabla de los departamientos que ay de los annos desta seruidumbre," etc., but the second paragraph, in reality, concerns the mechanism of the entire *General Estoria*, in so far as it treats the division of the work into books and chapters:

E estos departimientos de las razones desta Estoria por libros son, por que los qui los leyeren que non tomen ende enoio de luengas razones. Por esta razon misma son los titulos y los capitulos en los libros, e por departir por y razon de razon, e por los titulos yr mas cierto a la razon que omne quiere en el libro.

This reference to chapter titles raises the interesting question as to their provenance, for in many cases they vary from the subject or language of the chapters themselves. At times a key word of the title is at variance with the contents of the chapter, thus, in Chap. II (p. 170), "*Del logar o fue Rebeca a demandar conseio a Dios*" etc., the "logar" is merely mentioned in the text, and the construction is "fue por demandar" at the end of the preceding chapter.—Chap. XV (p. 223), has *culuebras*, whereas the text uses only "serpientes".—Chap. III (p. 266) *Del conto de los annos* whereas Chap. I (p. 265) and Chap. X (p. 269) have the feminine form "cuenta".—Chap. XVIII (p. 370), *De Dionis Mataton, el fijo de Semele, e de la uinna que este Dionis planto*, whereas the text does not mention "Mataton"; also the text uses the phrase "poner uinna" instead of the "plantar uinna" which is found in the chapter title.—Chap V (p. 468) and Chap VI (p. 469), the form *díos*, whether singular or plural, is used in the title whereas *dioses* is used in the text.—Chap. VIII (p. 524), the priest is called *Abiuz* in the title but "Abiud" in the text.—Chapters LVI and LVII (pp. 586-87) use the word *remeymiento* which is not found in the text.—Chap. XIII (p. 645), the title has *soruio* while the text has "sumio" and "trago".—Chap. XIII (p. 751), the title has *Barlaam* while the text has "Bilham."—Chapters VII, VIII, IX (pp. 756-757), *Tacriza*, and *Tecriza*, while the text has "Tacriza"; cf. also "Tatriza" of Chapters XII and XIII.

But the errors in the chapter titles do not stop here, for in many instances the titles are inaccurate entirely or in essentials. Chapter XIII (p. 95), entitled *De Aram e de su generacion*, consists of only

four lines, the contents of which are repeated as the first paragraph of Chapter XV (p. 96).—Chap. XIX (p. 298) has a title, *De la entencion de Amran en este fecho e commo ouo donna Thermut el ninno*, whereas the text contains no treatment of how Thermut procured the child, which is the subject of Chap. XXI (p. 299), *De commo ouo donna Termuth el ninno*.—The title of Chap. VII (p. 659) speaks of the copper snake "*que mataua a las otras serpientes*", whereas the killing of the other snakes is absent from the text.—Solalinde's commentary shows that for Chap. XVI (p. 245) "por error se copió la rúbrica del capítulo siguiente, se tachó y se puso también la de éste en *D*"; that the title of Chap. I (p. 743) belongs to the following Chapter; that in Chap. XX (p. 248) the title and first line of the text have the error "*Beniamin*" for "*Effraym*"; that in at least fourteen additional cases, mentioned in the variants, there has been omission or confusion of chapter titles in one or more manuscripts.

If we take the previous material as a whole, it seems evident that the chapter titles, in their present form, must have suffered at the hands of the rubricators. There are two possible reasons for the present conditions: first the rubricators had to copy, at times, marginal notes "*escritos en letra muy pequeña*" (p. XXV); second, the copyist of A left inadequate space for the titles as evidenced by the two facsimiles of Ms. A.

The laxness of the copyists of the Mss. finds a striking parallel in the lack of coordination that crops out at times on the part of the compilers themselves. Mention has already been made of the Prologue to Book X, which logically should have belonged to Book I, in that it describes the method of the entire work. Similarly, an extra book is inserted between *Genesis* and *Exodus* in order to treat certain phases of the sixty-four years preceding the birth of Moses. But the reasons for inserting this new book are not set forth until Chapter XI of the book itself:

todo lo contaremos como lo y fallaremos, assi como las estorias lo dixieren, mas nin lo contamos a la estoria de Josep, nin a la del Genesis, nin otrossi a la de Moysen, nin a la del libro Exodo, e entrel noveno e ell onzeno libro desta estoria, o viene entre estas dos estorias destos dos sanctos padres et principes Josep e Moysen, ca alli es el tiempo dello; e fazemos ende un libro por si como de las otras razones, e tenemos que ua muy bien ordenado desta guisa (270b43).

Also, among the very numerous cross-references and citations by the compilers, errors are not infrequent, for example:

"Quando los annos de la fambre se començaron regnaron estonces en Assiria, e en Sithonia et en Argos los reyes que diximos en el capítulo ante deste, e este Pharaon Nicrao en Egipto" (p. 225a31), but the "capítulo ante deste" does not contain the information attributed to it. Again, of the "ciudad de Sol", which is called "*Eliopoleos*" (p. 220a14), we read that "*le puso nombre Ffaraon Nicrao, Eliopolis, que es tanto como la cuidad del*

Sol, assi comme lo auemos nos departido" (p. 299a27), and "de que fablamos ya et dixiemos que era Damatha la de Egipto" (p. 295a50). Likewise, on the just mentioned page 299a, the city in question was built "entre los ojos de los manantiales del Nilo" whereas in the detailed description of the building of the city (p. 218b) "los ojos" plays no part. Indeed this page 299 seems especially inaccurate, for in speaking of Pharaoh's daughter, "dixien le el nombre que uos auemos dicho muchas vezes ante desto e este nombre es Termuth", whereas instead of "muchas uezes," Termuth is mentioned previously only once and that in the already mentioned faulty addition to the title of Chapter XIX (p. 298b). Inversely, on page 321 the vision on Mount Oreb is given as the time when Moses was eighty years old, but the first narration of the vision does not occur until page 323.

Even when there are no specific cross-references, we note inconsistencies in the narrative; thus on p. 375b God promises to send manna to the children of Israel, but in the same column, Moses, in transmitting God's promise, includes the statement that God "uos dara carnes a la noche." The "carnes" in question, in the form of "cordonizes" is not mentioned until the following chapter (p. 176a5).—On page 504b there is mention of the sacrifice "por salud", whereas this type of sacrifice is not recorded in the previous expositions on pp. 502a and 503a, although it is mentioned later pp. 520b and 539a.

Solalinde expresses the belief that Alfonso did not use, as a source, a Spanish version of the Bible. His reasons are that the collaborators knew Latin and that the only known Spanish version of the Bible that was contemporary with Alfonso differs from the text of the *General Estoria*. Solalinde's hypothesis is doubtless correct and is strengthened by the very inconsistencies in the *General Estoria* text. Alfonso's citations from the Bible show, at times, minor variations which would be inexplicable if he were quoting from a Spanish version, but would be explicable if we suppose that the author was making an impromptu translation of the Vulgate; cf. the variations pp. 249b19, 250b20; 324a33, 330b14; 379b44, 378b34. The Ten Commandments are given in Spanish pp. 397-98 with the rubric *De la palabras de la diez mandamientos*; the reader can compare the citations or quotations from the Commandments as found on pp. 400b, 403a, 404b, 407b50, 407b3, 398a31, 398a34, 406b49, 408a, 408b, 716a2. Finally, compare the following versions of the direct quotation of the same speech of Balaam's:

P. 666b10: "Si el rey Balaac me diesse su casa llena de plata e de oro, yo non podria mudar la palabra de mio Dios pora dezir mas nin menos de quanto digo."

P. 671b44: "Sim diesse Balaac su casa llena de oro e de plata non podria passar la palabra de mio sennor Dios por que yo diga por la mi boca ninguna cosa de bien nin de mal."

The style and sentence structure is often involved and obscure and would be unintelligible at times, but for the context. Two examples of the many will suffice for illustration:

E esto les mandaua el rey, cuydando que por el grand affan e el quebranto que alli tomarien, que fincarien tan cansados de la laour que en las noches de los dias dessa laour, nin aun en los dias que non labrassen, ca maguer los dias de las fiestas que ellos guardauan por la ley de sus padres dexauan ge las guardar, e que por tod esso que non aurién sabor de las mugieres, nin les uernie emiente dellas, nin podrien fazer fijos como solien, e yrien menguando daquella guisa (291a42).

Senhora, estas mugieres egipcianas son, e este ninno por uentura non a parentesco ninguno con ellas al mio cuedar, ca semeia que de los ebreos es, e por esso non quiere mamar a estas que son egipcianas e gentiles; e aun puede ser por uentura que es de ebreá e de algun egipciano; mas sea de quien quier, e pues que la uuestra merced es de querer le dar uida, ca tan noble fecho como este pertenesce a los reys e a las fijas de los reys, como uos sodes, de trabaiar uos desta guisa de fazer buenos fechos en los omnes que somos a uuestra merced, e de como quier que sea, mandad le adozir una de las hebreas e por uentura mamar la a (300a2).

At times the expression of a simple thought offers difficulty; thus, Joseph is relating to his brother how God had favored him: "e fizo me aqui assi como padre de Faraon" (234b13), which the context enables us to interpret as meaning 'and here he made Pharaoh just like a father to me.' Similarly, "fasta que Josep uisco" (p. 272a29) must mean 'fasta que Josep murio' or 'mientras que Josep uisco.' Note also how the object pronouns stumble and overflow in "E pues que fallaron las artes de los saberes a las ouieron acabadas de compoçar, e escreuir, e emendarlas e enderesgarlas" (258b13).

While, at times, the subject matter naturally conduces to weariness, repetitions and platitudes, notably in the fifty odd pages devoted to the Tabernacle, for the most part there is a background of interest in the subject matter itself and there are not lacking passages that compare favorably with the *Crónica General* or the *Siete Partidas*. In this connection, the story of Jupiter and Calexto (pp. 596-607) may be taken as an illustration. Nor is interesting and well devised material confined to the narrative side; it will be found as well in the expository and didactic parts, which are frequently not devoid of imagery and poetry, as in pp. 405b-406a, 705a5, 707b23, 709b21, etc. There may be even a trace of humor in "por que a aquellas dos oras fazen los fieles de Cristo confession de sus pecados, o al menos que la deuen fazer" (686a9).

A very special interest attaches to the language of the *General Estoria* and Solalinde is justified in calling attention to the great importance of the lexicography which "es inmenso, y en gran parte único" (p. XIX). This lexicography is not confined merely to new words, but includes new word-formations; for example, the compilers are especially fond of the adverbial phrase *a abte*, and in one instance make of it a substantive *a abtamiento* in "Pero

contiempra Origenes en esta razon dell *a abtamiento* daquel logar de Helin". (373b3), as well as *a abtezas* in "sus a abtezas" 668a53, "uestras a abtezas" 673b7, "nuestras a abtezas" 676a49, "aque-las a abtezas" 696a16. Somewhat on the same order of word-for-mation is the adjective *volunteros* formed on the adverb *volunter* 233b43, or the equally abortive adverbial phrase *al descubierta mientre* 728b28. These are, however, exceptional. On the other hand, there are words and constructions that stand out clearly as landmarks in the historical development of the language. A few outstanding examples will suffice to illustrate the importance of the *General Estoria* from this standpoint: *l'auie prouado por bueno*, 35a21, shows a rare case of the proclipsis that characterizes the first part of the *Crónica General*;³ similarly the anacoluthon with *si non*, 535a30:

que fuesse aquel uestido mostrado al sacerdot, e el sacerdot, despues que uiesse aquel uestido si lo pudiesse departir luego, si non quel encerrasse siete dias, como dixiemos del omne que era contannido,

which is abundantly illustrated in the *Crónica General*,³ and it may be of interest to cite a further example from Exodus XXXII, 32, in the *Biblia Medieval Romanceada*,⁴ "E agora sy rreleuares su pecado; e sy non, rrapame del tu libro que escreuiste."—The *General Estoria* shows frequent use of the imperfect indicative forms *pudie*, *pudien* (157a15, 131a18, etc.), in contrast to *podien* (278a35).—The pronoun *lo*, masculine and neuter, may suffer enclipsis as in *nuncal* 35b30, *sabiel* 87b3.—Both *dios* and *dioses* occur as plural forms, 111b51, 112b10.—The indefinite pronoun *algo* shows a plural form *algos* 253a50.—The abverb *poco* may become *poca* through influence of a following feminine noun 374b24.—*auredes* is frequently used as the future form of the verb *oyr* 295b31, 451a18, etc.—The neuter demonstrative is interesting in the many cases where it introduces a substantive clause and we even have an example of the neuter adjective modifying the neuter pronoun in *esto aquello* 486a19.—Interesting examples of pre- and post position of adjectives are seen in *desleales fijos* 745b12 and *ningun demudamiento otro* 260a43.

We find then in the language an important intermediary stage between the colloquial speech of the thirteenth century and the literary form of Alfonso's later prose masterpieces; just as we find in the historical form of composition an intermediate stage between the earlier *Anales* and the later chronicles and histories. In short, Solalinde's admirable edition of the *General Estoria* has made accessible a text which has a monumental value from its subject matter, and which has also a fundamental interest as showing the evolution of Spanish thought, style, language and historical composition. On p. LXXX, Solalinde gives his reasons for not

³ Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXII (1907), p. 231.

⁴ Buenos Aires, 1927, p. 116.

adding an index of proper names to this "Primera Parte". Let us hope that the importance of the text, the necessity of consulting it frequently, and the lapse of time before the appearance of the completed work, may lead him to modify this item of his plan in regard to the subsequent volumes.

C. CARROLL MARDEN

Princeton University

The Influence of Cervantes in France in the Seventeenth Century.

By ESTHER J. CROOKS. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1931. 271 pp. (The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, Extra Volume iv.)

Professor Crooks' scholarly volume appeared almost simultaneously with Maurice Bardon's *Don Quichotte en France au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècle*,¹ and the two works represent the most important studies yet published on the influence of Cervantes in France.² Although covering in part the same material, they possess essential differences in scope and method of treatment that make them mutually complementary.

Miss Crooks traces the influence of each separate work of Cervantes, including individual episodes of the *Quijote*.³ The results of her investigations support the generally accepted view that Cervantes forms no exception to the rule that Spanish literature furnished French writers of the seventeenth century chiefly with plot material for plays: "Not of striking importance to the novel is the master novelist; in the theatre, instead, is to be seen his true value in France" (p. 199). "More often from the *Novelas exemplares* than from *Don Quixote* ⁴ seventeenth century dramatists

¹ Paris, Champion, 1931, 2 vols. iv + 930 pp. (*Bibliothèque de la RLC*, No. 69).

² Max-Hellmut Neumann's Freiburg (1914) dissertation *Cervantes in Frankreich* (published posthumously in *Revue Hispanique*, LXXVIII, 1930, No. 173), is superseded by both Bardon and Crooks in their respective fields.

³ Bardon, on the other hand, divides his study into six separate periods: *Les débuts* (1608-1628), *L'époque de Louis XIII* (1620-1660), *L'Age classique* (1160-1700), *La fin du XVII^e siècle et le commencement du XVIII^e* (1700-1730), *Au temps de Voltaire* (1730-1780), *Les dernières années du XVIII^e siècle* (1780-1815). He discusses in detail in each the French authors influenced by *Don Quijote* and the opinions expressed concerning it.

⁴ Miss Crooks regularly uses *x* in these titles, even though she uses editions with modernized spelling for her textual quotations. There is a similar lack of consistency in the method of citing and abbreviating works consulted (for examples, see pp. 21, 49-50). On p. 60 both "Canto" and "Chant" are used in referring to *le Lutrin*, on p. 40 the same person is called both d'Assigny and d'Acigné, and Du Fresny (p. 109) is also called Du Fresney (p. 133).

derive plots, of which Hardy appropriates three" (p. 200).⁵ Of Cervantes' *novelas* the highly romantic *La gitanilla*, *Las dos doncellas*, *El amante liberal*, and *El curioso impertinente* are the ones most used (p. 200), since this type of story is especially adapted "in theme, development, and personages" to the tragi-comedy, the form used by Hardy, Rotrou, Scudéry, and Guérin de Bouscal in their plays based on the *novelas* (p. 182). In this connection, Miss Crooks fails sufficiently to emphasize that it is the death of the tragi-comedy that largely accounts for the decline of the influence of Cervantes (along with Spanish literature as a whole) on French letters of the classic age.

As for *Don Quijote* its direct influence likewise suffered a decided diminution after 1660.⁶ The novels of Scarron and Sorel, the plays of Pichou and Guérin, and the ballets and masques in which characters from *Don Quijote* appear, all occur before that date. For French men and women of letters of this period, Don Quijote is merely a ridiculous caricature, a cowardly braggart, a *Miles Gloriosus* typical of the hated enemy country.⁷ Even the writers of the classical age show little appreciation of the real significance of Cervantes' immortal creation.⁸

The most valuable portion of Miss Crooks' work, aside from the compilation of material, lies in the detailed analysis and comparative study of the French plays based on the works of Cervantes. But as a result genres others than the theatre have been somewhat too summarily treated. *Le berger extravagant* (pp. 64-67) and *Le roman comique* (pp. 70-71) receive much less space than the obscure plays of Pichou and Guérin (pp. 82-112).⁹ Du Bail's

⁵ The above is a fair specimen of the awkward style all too frequent in the book. See p. 79, l. 2 ff.; p. 112 l. 14; p. 158, l. 10; p. 162, n. 145; p. 182, l. 16.

⁶ Bardon shows much more clearly and in greater detail the difference between the first and second halves of the century with regard to the *Don Quijote*. (See especially I, pp. 209, 239, 265, 326).

⁷ Miss Crooks is inclined to make an exception in favor of Sorel—who "gives to Lysis, his copy of the hero, a high sense of the importance of his mission" (p. 201)—and Guérin—"who in his first dramatic imitation of *Don Quijote* makes the figure a braggart, though not a coward" and "who in his third comedy draws a truer picture of the generous, valiant, purposeful Knight" (*ibid.*). Bardon does not agree in the latter case: "Hélas! ce n'est que par instants que le don Quichotte de Guérin de Bouscal évoque à notre esprit le don Quichotte de Cervantes" (I, p. 201).

⁸ See Bardon, I, pp. 239 and 326. Miss Crooks makes an unjustified exception in the case of Boileau, saying "Boileau stands out in his conception of the fact that Don Quijote is a misunderstood character whose difficulties arise from the failure of his associates to grasp his meaning and appreciate his efforts" (pp. 52-3). This is based on an entirely gratuitous interpretation of a passage in Boileau's letter to Racine of August 9, 1687, a passage which she does not even quote! See Bardon, I, p. 226 for the proper interpretation of this passage.

⁹ Bardon devotes, in view of their literary importance, much more space to Sorel (I, 107-145) and Scarron (I, 93-105).

Gascon extravagant is dismissed with only a passing remark.¹⁰ Saint-Evremond—whom Bardon finds to be the one writer of the classical period who caught the significance of Cervantes' great work—receives scanty treatment, and P. Bouhours is mentioned only in passing. (p. 31).¹¹

Miss Crooks gives ample evidence of having covered thoroughly the extensive scholarly literature of her field. Previous false or improbable attributions are examined and usually rejected.¹² Consequently it is surprising to find that she does not rule out (p. 61) the three extremely improbable Cervantian reminiscences in Boileau proposed by Dreyfus-Brissac,¹³ and fails to include the undoubted echo of *Don Quixote* found in the well-known lines of *L'art poétique* (III, 39-42).

Un rimeur sans péril, delà les Pyrénées
Sur la scène, en un jour, renferme des années.
Là, souvent le héros d'un spectacle grossier,
Enfant au premier acte, est barbon au dernier.¹⁴

Other minor omissions and errors may be noted. The Spanish editions published in Brussels and Antwerp cannot properly be called "editions in Spanish published in France" (p. 14).^{14a} The statement that "Antonio Pérez's letters . . . formed the point of contact between Spanish Gongorism and French preciousness" is a chronological impossibility.¹⁵ The definite reminiscences of the Basilio-Quiteria trick found in Cyrano's *Le pédant joué* (v, 1) is passed over in silence, in contrast to the inclusion of far-fetched parallels such as that of Tristan l'Hermite's *Belle Gueuse* with *La gitavilla* and *El amante liberal* (p. 54). The greater part of the discussion of Molière (pp. 102-7) is aimed at bringing out the in-

¹⁰ See Bardon, pp. 160-165.

¹¹ Bardon's detailed study of Saint-Evremond (I, 277-301) forms, together with the following chapter on Pierre Perrault and Bouhours (I, pp. 304-326) his most important original contribution to the subject. (He has edited as his *thèse supplémentaire* the unpublished manuscript of Perrault: *Critique du Livre de Don Quichotte* . . . Paris Champion, 1931). Miss Crooks dismisses briefly (pp. 113-114) Saint-Evremond's *Opéra* and other references to him are scattered and incidental. The Perrault manuscript is unknown to her.

¹² See pp. 153, 162, 163, 176, 177, 178, 179, 181, 185.

¹³ Neither is any opinion expressed on the improbable parallels advanced by Reynier and Chasles (p. 78).

¹⁴ Compare *DQ*, I, 48—See Brunetière, *Évolution des genres*, I, 70 (ed. of 1890).

^{14a} This same error is repeated on pp. 17, 20, 198.

¹⁵ Pérez fled from Madrid in 1590, his letters (written in exile) were published in Paris in 1598 (and not translated until 1642), whereas Gongora's first "Gongoristic" poem was not written until 1609. Miss Crooks seems to be following Philarette Chasles (*Études sur l'Espagne* . . . pp. 250, 253) in attributing undue importance to Pérez. See Lanson, *Études sur les rapports*, etc. in *RHL*, 1896, pp. 47-52, who refutes Chasles quite conclusively, and shows the influence of Pérez to be relatively slight.

fluence of Guérin de Bouscal,¹⁶ rather than that of Cervantes, and is, to say the least, inconclusive, since the "parallel" passages cited are of the type that prove little or nothing.

Miss Crooks' method of treatment is especially adapted to the *Novelas ejemplares* and is consequently most successful in dealing with the influence of the latter on the French theatre. But some of the value of her detailed comparative study is lost by not quoting for the reader the passages involved.¹⁷ This defect is aggravated by the fact that the copious references—taking the place of quotations—are made, in the case of the *Novelas*, to the relatively inaccessible edition of Sancha (Madrid, 1783),¹⁸ instead of to the standard critical edition of Schevill and Bonilla (Madrid, 1922-25). In this connection one is tempted to inquire why references to the *Don Quixote*—to use Miss Crooks' spelling—are made to the Rodríguez Marín edition of 1916 instead of to the Academy facsimile of the original or to the latest critical edition (1929) by Rodríguez Marín? Why are the three quotations from *Don Quixote* on p. 61 given in French, but with page references to the Spanish edition?

Miss Crooks has been particularly zealous in bringing into her discussion of French plays possibly affected by Cervantes all probable parallels in contemporary Spanish, English, and Italian literature. Later occurrences of the same themes are also noted.¹⁹ These discussions are often quite long, and, when they occur in the body of the text instead of in the footnotes,²⁰ they seriously affect the continuity and clarity of her exposition. No use is made of this comparative material in the final chapter of conclusions. On the contrary, in that chapter the author continually compares the status of Cervantes in the 17th century with his influence in later periods of French literature, statements which may be true, but for which there is not basis in the main body of the work.²¹

The author has not always been careful to distinguish between possible borrowings and mere allusions or references. In Chapter II, for example, except for Saint-Amant's borrowings in *La cham-*

¹⁶ Miss Crooks' book is an outgrowth of her Johns Hopkins doctoral dissertation (1923) on Guérin de Bouscal.

¹⁷ Other places where direct quotations would be to the point are: pp. 27 (d'Urfé), 36 (Mareschal), 37 (du Perron), 52 (Boileau), 64 (Sorel), 98 (Guérin), 99 (Guérin), 111 (Dancourt).

¹⁸ For example, on pp. 142-3, 149, 156, 169-73.

¹⁹ Unfortunately, there is nothing systematic or exhaustive about these citations of later treatments. For example, in mentioning the nineteenth century manifestations of the Cardenio story, Miss Crooks omits Ventura de la Vega's *D. Quijote en Sierra Morena* (1832).

²⁰ See pp. 87-90, 109-110, 120-125, 144-146, 192-195.

²¹ For instance, "The use of the Spaniard (!) in poems, especially in burlesque verse. is more evident in the 18th century and is seen on several occasions, particularly in satire, in the 19th century poetry" (p. 199). Further cases: pp. 198 (top), 199 (top), 200 (end of paragraph), 202 (top).

bre du débauché and Boileau's possible imitation (in *Chant V of le Lutrin*) of the *Viaje del Parnaso*, the material consists of references and allusions of the type treated in Chapter I.²²

The nature of Miss Crooks' subject and her method of presentation afford her—unlike Bardon—no opportunity to present a unified picture of the influence of Cervantes on any single French author, except Hardy (pp. 135-153). Sorel, Scarron, Rotrou, even Guérin, all are necessarily taken up piecemeal. Although the difficulties faced by the reader under these conditions are somewhat mitigated by splendidly complete index, they are on the other hand increased by the total absence of cross references and by the long digressions and the lack of quotations already referred to. It is regrettable that the book is still further marred by an occasional badly organized discussion (such as the summary of the activity of Oudin and his fellows, pp. 8-12).²³ Lack of proper paragraphing,²⁴ needless repetition,²⁵ and awkward English²⁶ also detract at times from the force of the presentation. But these infelicities of style and arrangement—which unfortunately lend color to the contention of certain critics that American scholars neglect to put the results of their careful research into clear and effective form—do not seriously affect the value of Miss Crooks' useful contribution to Cervantian studies.

F. COURTNEY TARR

Princeton University

²² Similarly, the citations on pp. 81-2 really belong in Chapter I to bolster up the statement (p. 36) that Don Quijote is usually considered as a *Miles Gloriosus*.—Bardon's collection of references to the *Don Quijote* is only slightly more complete but is much more effectively handled. (i, 55-85, 267-325).

²³ See also pp. 87 and 93, notes 37, 51, 52, 58, 60 of Chapter IV, the *Curioso impertinente* (pp. 14, 15, 47, 116-127), pp. 175-6, notes 184, 187-9. No strict chronological order is observed in presenting the citations within the subdivisions of Chapter I.

²⁴ For example, pp. 3 (l. 29), 8-11, 31, 36-39, 169.

²⁵ P. 70, ll. 13-16 repeat *verbatim* part of note 36, p. 69; the quotation from *Don Quijote* given on p. 33 is repeated on p. 116, in connection with the same author (Robinet); note 138, p. 113, repeats p. 34 (text to note 57), which in turn repeats p. 29 (text to note 30); note 139, p. 113 repeats p. 68 (*Fausse Clélie*); note 140, p. 113 repeats p. 34 (text to note 53); p. 113, text to note 140, repeats note 53, p. 34; p. 131 (Marolles) repeats p. 26; p. 11 (Salazar) repeats p. 9 (*verbatim*); p. 17, ll. 4-10 repeat pp. 14 and 15; p. 23 (top) repeats note 89, p. 16; p. 56 (de Prade) repeats p. 29. These repetitions could have been avoided by cross references and by distinguishing more clearly between "allusions" and "influences."

²⁶ See note 5. Other cases are: p. 18 (note 134), p. 21, l. 4 ("the novel"), p. 53, ll. 15 and 17; p. 113, l. 14; 115, end ("cannon"); p. 141, n. 48 (dishonormment"); p. 144, ll. 5-6; p. 173 ("more excellent"); p. 181, end ("greatest imitative desires").

Bibliography of the Seventeenth-Century Novel in France. By RALPH COPLESTONE WILLIAMS. New York: The Century Co., for the Modern Language Association of America, 1931. Pp. xiv + 355. \$3.50.

The obvious need for a history of the French novel in the seventeenth century gave Dr. Williams the excellent idea of preparing the way for such a book by publishing a bibliography of the genre. He went about the undertaking with unflagging industry, not discouraged by the fact that he was frequently limited in French libraries to the dole of a few books a day. His results have been most handsomely published by the M. L. A. The book is printed in triple form, with the items, of which there are some thirteen hundred, arranged, first alphabetically by authors, secondly, chronologically by publications, and, thirdly, alphabetically by titles. Nearly one hundred additional titles are given in an appendix, devoted to doubtful cases. Moreover, shelf-numbers of copies found at the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Arsenal, and the British Museum are indicated in both the first and the second lists. The project is one designed to be of assistance to investigators interested in the seventeenth-century novel, in individual novelists, or in the origins of the fiction of later centuries, both in France and abroad.

Unfortunately this project has not been carried out so satisfactorily as one could have wished, for the author has been misled by a most inaccurate *Dictionnaire universel des Romans*, compiled about 1848 by a certain Delcro, into the inclusion of many books that no definition will make novels of. Moreover, Dr. W. has not consulted so thoroughly as he might have done such available sources of information as Bayer on Camus, Dulong on Saint-Réal, Woodbridge on Sandras de Courtilz (listed, but insufficiently utilized), Chinard on travel literature, and Roy's edition of *Francion*, works that would have modified his dates and added to the number of editions and translations cited. I find in his lists collections of *nouvelles* without any evidence that the individual stories are long enough to be considered novels; historical writings that seem to contain no more fiction than others that have been omitted; dialogues; satirical works; a play; and a few books that belong in the sixteenth-century. *Eromène*, assigned by Delcro to d'Audiguier, is a pastoral play by Marcassus; Bussy-Rabutin's *Carte géographique* is not a novel; Chevreau's *Tableau de la fortune* is a collection of moral discourses, supported by historical examples; Mlle de Gournay's *Alinda* must be merely a new edition of her *Pourmenoir*, first published in 1594 and describing the adventures of a princess named Alinda; Saint-Réal's *Cesarion* is a moral dialogue; M. Chinard assures me that Durand's *Voyage* is not a work of fiction. A great many other items I have no means of

investigating, but I should be very much surprised to find that the following titles are those of novels:

Vénus dans le cloître, ou la Religieuse en chemise, entretiens curieux; Les Malades en belle humeur ou lettres divertissantes; La morale galante, ou l'art de bien aimer; Voyage du monde de Descartes; Relation du pays de Jansénie; Les Entretiens curieux de Tartuffe et de Rabelais sur les femmes; Gustave Vasa, histoire de Suède; Les Privilèges du Cocuage, etc.

It should not be asserted that *le Triomphe de l'amour honnête* is not at the Bibliothèque Nationale, for I have examined it there myself and it is listed in the catalogue under the author's full name, Gillet de la Tessonerie (Y² 540). "Le Rivey (Pierre de)" is a misprint for Larivey, whose *Philosophie fabuleuse* first appeared in 1577 and should consequently not be listed here. *Les Amours de Cléante et de Cléonie*, 1634, should not be attributed to Mlle de Scudéry, who was then only sixteen years old and whose first novel is generally held to have appeared in 1641. I strongly suspect that *La Prazimène* (P., 1637. 8°. 4 vol. "1637-1643 t. II-IV entitled: La suite de Prazimène"), by Le Marie (read, Le Maire), and the same author's *La Prazinière*.—*Suite de la Prazinière* (P., A. de Somerville, 1638-1643. 8°. 4 vol.) are one and the same work. Two books by Sandras de Courtilz and one by Foigny are listed in the appendix as well as among the novels. The following productions, found in the appendix, should not have been included in either category:

Amour de Clythophon et de Leucippe, P., 1635. [A translation by A. Remy of this late Greek romance was published at Paris in 1625.] Gilbert, L'Art de plaire. [This is a poem.] Diverses fortunes de Cléagénor. [Apparently Sorel's novel, listed, p. 94.] Hexaméron rustique. [A dialogue.] Bourdeilles (Sieur de Brantôme), dames galantes. [Composed in the sixteenth century, not a novel.]

In short, the work is far from being definitive, but, despite its defects, it includes a great deal of information that is hard to obtain elsewhere, so that it should prove to be a useful starting-point for numerous monographs. Properly used, it will render much service and ought to be found in all libraries where advanced work is carried on in any modern European literature.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

Fouke Fitz Warin, Roman du XIV^e siècle. Édité par LOUIS BRANDIN. Paris: Champion, 1930. Pp. xi + 117. (Classiques français du moyen âge, no. 63.)

Fouke Fitz Warin is an historical novel of the beginning of the fourteenth century relating events that took place a century before. It has its counterpart in "Les Quatre Fils Aymon," and it is the prototype of "Robin Hood." The latest literary study of it is

by Professor Brandin,¹ the editor of the seventh and unquestionably the best edition of the story. As is to be expected, only the core of the novel is historical. Of the eleven Fulk Fitz Warins of history, Fulk I and Fulk II are here fused into one, while the hero corresponds roughly to Fulk III. The action moves rapidly and, relatively speaking, is very diversified. Fulk Fitz Warin is the leader of the outlaws in open revolt against King John. The reader follows the hero through one adventure after another, and admires him for both his brain and brawn. He is always upright in his actions, and counts several unscrupulous outlaws among his many victims. Certain episodes, such as Fulk's disguise as a monk, Jean de Rampagne's rescue of Audulf, the return to the King of James de Normandie disguised as Fulk, and the two captures of the King himself by Fulk's men, are really fascinating.

The style is picturesque and terse, though full of Anglicisms.² Sometimes the constructions used are asymmetrical, e. g., 28.19 and 58.4.³ "Si enpourys qu'il ne purreint pur pour mover pié" (4.19), is evidently intended to strike the hearer by its alliteration: "so frightened that they could not stir a foot because of their fright." "Il aveit conquis ce qu'ils eyns fust en prison mys" (23.18) means "he had conquered the place in which he had been imprisoned." "Qe je ne le deveroy ocyre en dormant" (66.3) is an Anglicism to be rendered "so that I should not kill him while he was sleeping."

We venture to suggest the emendation of certain details. On page vii of the Introduction, read: *aler pur, vodrez*. Brandin's careful reproduction of the MS.⁴ with some changes (pages 87 and 116) has produced an excellent text. On 15.20, one might read: "Sire, je ne sui nul borgeys; *ene* me conuséz poynt?"⁵ Misprints are as follows: for *auner* read *aüner* 19.23 (as Michel did in 1840)—for *haunca* read *haunca* 61.8 (cf. Godefroy, s. v. *hanchier* 2)—for *conuste* read *conust e* 78.6. The *Index des noms* renders conveniently accessible and supplements considerably the work of Thomas Wright, who edited *Fouke* for the Warton Club (London, 1855). More recent references on Geomagus would be helpful.⁶

¹ *Romania*, LV (1929), 17-44.

² Paulin Paris, *Hist. lit. Fr.*, xxviii (1877), 167, 185, concluded that the author was an Englishman who had never studied French in France.

³ Cf. G. Ebeling, *Abhandlungen* . . . A. Tobler (Halle, 1895), 344.

⁴ For the most recent description of the MS., see Paul Meyer, *Bull. Soc. anc. textes fr.*, XIX (1893), 38-56.

⁵ On this negative interrogative particle, consult Godefroy, s. v. *enne*; D. Behrens, *Beiträge frz. Wortgeschichte Gram.* (Halle, 1910), 424-6; *Mod. Phil.*, xxvii (1929), 155-7.

⁶ See A. Graf, *Roma nella memoria* . . . II (Turin, 1883), 507-563; P. Feuerherd, *Geoffrey of Monmouth und das Alte Testament* (Halle, 1915), 31-36; W. F. Albright, *Journal of Biblical Lit.*, XLIII (1924), 378-385; L. Sainéan, *La Langue de Rabelais*, I (Paris, 1922), 257-9; *PMLA*, XLVI (1931), 318.

Brandin is to be congratulated upon his full and useful glossary.⁷ The present edition is the fruit of serious scholarship and will be welcomed by all students of Old French literature.

RAPHAEL LEVY

University of Baltimore

La Vie de Saint Jehan Bouche d'Or, et la Vie de Sainte Dieudonnée (sa mère), pub. par HERMINE DIRICKX-VAN DER STRAETEN. Liège, Imprimerie de l'Académie, 1931 (Textes français du moyen âge). Pp. 196.

This dissertation makes available in convenient form the texts and all essential editorial material relating to one of the more or less interesting medieval saints' lives. The work is divided into two parts, each consisting of the text of one of the poems mentioned in the title, together with an introduction, notes, and a glossary. There is also, in conclusion, a bibliography of some sixty-five items.

La Vie de Sainte Dieudonnée is printed here for the first time from the single MS. in which it has been preserved (No. 3355 of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique). It is closely related to the *Miracle de Notre-Dame* dealing with the same legend, although in the *Miracle* the mother of Jehan is known as Anthure rather than as Dieudonnée. The poem consists of 712 Alexandrines, divided into 178 rhymed quatrains; it relates the legendary life of Sainte Dieudonnée, as well as numerous episodes in the life of Saint Jehan Bouche d'Or.

La Vie de Saint Jehan Bouche d'Or has been preserved in four different MSS., two of which have been published,¹ as well as the

⁷ The following suggestions may be useful for a second edition: *contenance, manière d'agir, conduite* 10. 15, 40. 16; *contrarius, querelleur* 30. 4, 49. 8 [cf. Bos, *Glossaire de la langue d'oïl*, s. v. *contralios*]; *cristienel, christianisme* 67. 17; *devyser, tracer le plan de* 58. 27; *encheson, raison* 8. 8, 49. 13; *finement, sincèrement* 67. 15; *honour, honneur* 9. 25—*onour*, *fief* 2. 26, 7. 15, 9. 6, etc.; *jogelerie, instruments de jongleur* 51. 24—*jogelerye, jonglerie* 44. 4; *joglere, escamoteur* 52. 28; *laundreit, à cet endroit, là* 27. 10—*saundreyt e landreyt, ça et là* 68. 22; *je ne pus meez, je ne pouvais faire mieux (que je n'ai fait), je n'y pouvais rien* 44. 28; *mes qe, quoique* 22. 14 [cf. Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye, s. v. *mais* 3. vii. 10, G. Dubislav, *Satzbeordnung . . . im Altfrz.* (Berlin, 1888), p. 30, and S. A. Wofsy, *Rom. Rev.*, xix (1928), p. 42]; *perye, réunion de pierres précieuses, pierreries* 79. 11; s. v. *plus*, for "le" read "la"; a *poy, presque* 15. 1, 23. 5, 24. 26, etc.; *repenty, cf. semblant*; for "se" read "se poeit"; *trible, sorte de pelle ou de fourche à trois pointes* 68. 13, 68. 15 [cited by Godefroy, s. v. *truble* 1]; *tro, très* 48. 13; *vodrez, cf. p. vii. No. 6; a son vueyl, de son propre chef* 56. 12; *yleoqe, là* 28. 17—*par yleqe, par là, de cette façon* 32. 6 [cf. English *thereby*].

¹ The version of the Bibliothèque d'Arras, No. 897 (anc. 587), was published by M. Caron in the *Mémoires de l'Académie d'Arras*, in 1861. That

variants of a third version.² It is a poem of some 900 octosyllabic verses, rhyming in couplets. In spite of its title, it would probably be more exactly classified as a "conte dévot" than as a "vie de saint," since the treatment of the material is decidedly more episodic than biographic; although the line of demarcation between these two medieval genres is no clearer than similar divisions in the modern field.

Three of the MSS. in which the Bouche d'Or legend has come down to us are of the thirteenth century; the fourth is dated 1370.³ It is this late fourteenth century MS. that Madame Van der Straeten has chosen—unfortunately, it seems to me—as the basis for her edition. She has transcribed it with a minimum of calibration and interpolation from the three other MSS. An avowedly critical text of *La Vie Saint-Jehan Bouche d'Or* should, it seems, have been achieved in this edition, with probably one of the Arsenal manuscripts as the basis of it. The editor does not propose a solution for the difficult problem of the identification of the author of the poem, who names himself "Renaut." Her treatment of the language and the versification of the poems is adequate.

In a fifty-page section of the Introduction to the first of the two poems, she discusses with great clarity and completeness the whole complicated problem of the relation of the Bouche d'Or legend in Old French to the actual events in the life of Saint John Chrysostom. Her thoroughly judicious conclusion, which she reaches after having reviewed the already considerable literature on the subject, is that this relation is very slight indeed, possibly non-existent. This section is perhaps the most valuable and original part of the whole study, and its contribution of most permanent value.

HERMANN H. THORNTON

Oberlin College

Claude Billard, minor French dramatist of the early seventeenth century. By LANCASTER E. DABNEY. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1931. The Johns Hopkins studies in Romance Literature and Languages. Pp. 130. \$1.25.

Dr. Dabney's dissertation is a precise and comprehensive study of the life and works of Claude Billard, a minor and yet significant playwright of the early seventeenth century. Billard belonged to

of the Arsenal MS. No. 3516 was published by Alfred Weber in *Romania* VI, in 1877.

² The variants of the Arsenal MS. No. 3518 (from Arsenal 3516) were published by A. Lüttge in *Romania* VII, in 1878.

³ Cf. Ernest Langlois, *les Manuscrits du Roman de la Rose*, Paris and Lille, 1910, p. 110.

a group of dramatists who, in a transition period, foreshadowed a subsequent important movement in letters, but who faded into oblivion through lack of originality. This monograph has very ably reconstituted the data concerning this early seventeenth-century playwright who stands out for having brought to the stage political dramas and patriotic themes long before their eighteenth-century vogue.

In his introduction, Dr. Dabney sets down impersonally the various past and present opinions and judgments concerning Billard, some in praise and others in derogation—very normal fluctuations of human fame and reactions of human psychology. The description of the dramatist's life, the listing of his works, and the discussion of his literary doctrines are carried out with exacting detail. The body of the dissertation is made up of a thorough analysis and examination, for both content and sources, of Billard's eight plays: *Polyxène*, *Guaston de Foix*, *Mérovée*, *Panthée*, *Saül*, *Alboin*, *Genèvre*, *Henry le Grand*. The author has also disproved many of the erroneous dates first set down by Parfaict *Frères*, and accepted by their successors.

However, as is natural, there are certain interpretations which are open to discussion. On page 81 there is an ambiguous usage of the expressions "safe mediocrity" and "the praise of mediocrity" both in the text and in the notes which contain several references to Seneca and Horace, and especially to the second *Epode*. I believe that Dr. Dabney meant to state "in praise of simple country life" of which Horace's second *Epode* is a panegyric, rather than of "mediocrity".

There is an inference on page 84 that Du Rocher, in his *Indienne Amoureuse*, was probably influenced by Billard's ending of *Genèvre*, in which the vanquished villain is condemned to the fire, instead of being killed in a duel as in Ariosto. But this ending may go back to a literary tradition which was reflected both in Billard and Du Rocher. Before Billard, Brantôme had stated that Renaud de Montauban "délivra de mort et de feu la Belle Genièvre . . . et fit porter à son meschant accusateur la peine qu'il vouloit faire sentir à cette belle créature", a text which Dr. Dabney quotes. It has been surmised that the same termination existed in the lost play *La Belle Genièvre*, which also precedes Billard's *Genèvre*. It is possible that Du Rocher was influenced by either of these two previous sources—rather than by Billard.

In the history of Billard's reputation, the circumstances surrounding the 1806 reprinting of Billard's *Henry le Grand* should have been mentioned and described, for they revolve about some interesting facts in politics. According to the *Bibliothèque dramatique de Monsieur de Soleinne* (no. 919), the reprint of this tragedy "fut faite en allusion aux tentatives qui eurent lieu à plusieurs reprises contre la vie de l'Empereur, et aussi à l'occasion de la tragédie de Legouvé sur le même sujet. Cette pièce n'est pas

mauvaise, et l'on y trouve surtout des détails historiques de la plus grande exactitude." Gabriel Legouv   (1764-1812) had composed a tragedy *La Mort d'Henri IV*, performed at the Th   tre-Fran  ais on June 25, 1806. It immediately gave rise to violent discussions in the newspapers, and attacks by the critics: Legouv   had dared to honor the old race of the Bourbons whose scions were in exile. This was both bold and perilous; naturally, Legouv   must have been accused of being a royalist. The author obtained Napoleon's permission to have the play read to him, for the dramatist thought that "there had always existed between heroes a tacit admiration". The play was recited by the tragedian Talma in the presence of the Emperor and the Empress Josephine, who burst into tears during one of the touching scenes. Legouv  's move was successful, since the Emperor allowed the drama to be presented, and offered the poet a pension which the latter refused with a great deal of dignity, stating that he was in comfortable circumstances. Then, Legouv   was accused of having falsified the historical facts and of having imputed, without proof, the murder of Henry IV to Marie de M  dicis. It was also claimed that he had altered and rendered unrecognizable the popular and traditional physiognomy of the "B  arnais". The poet replied unconvincingly to these reproaches in a brochure entitled *Observations historiques sur La Mort d'Henri IV*, in which he was unable to prove his historical accuracy. It is evident, then, that the reprint of Billard's tragedy *La Mort d'Henri IV* (1806) was a "pamphlet" in a political-literary quarrel. Billard, a contemporary of Henry IV, was said to possess "historical details of the greatest exactitude", which Legouv   lacked. (See *Oeuvres in  dites de G. Legouv  *, 1827, especially the *Notice sur Legouv  *, t. 3, pp. i-xvi.)

Dr. Dabney's conclusion is very well posed: "With the exception of Hardy and Montchr  tien, then, Billard is of importance at least equal to that of any dramatist of his time whose works have come down to us". The bibliographical list to which the author had recourse is full and scholarly. The dissertation was carefully edited. Considered in its entirety, this study is a credit to research on the seventeenth-century stage.

ELLIOT H. POLINGER

College of the City of New York

Claude Billard, Gaston de Foix, Republished with an introduction.

By ELLIOT H. POLINGER. New York: Institute of French studies. Pp. 70.

Dr. Polinger, in the introduction to his reprint of this play, places it among the few French plays of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries based on recent or contemporary French

history.¹ Billard took part in this movement to enlarge the field of tragedy with three plays, *Guaston de Foyx*, *Mérovée*, and *Henry le Grand*. The hero of *Guaston de Foyx*, as Dr. Polinger points out, was the nephew of Louis XII who lost his life through his rash daring at the battle of Ravenna in 1512.² Dr. Polinger correctly concludes that Billard was born in 1550, but neglects a proof discovered by Dr. Lancaster in Billard's *Songe de la Guerre*, written in 1609 or 1610:

Je ne regrette rien que d'auoir sur ma teste
Six fois dix de ces ans, qui m'exemptent du fer.

Although nearly all of the details of Billard's life are correctly reported, there is no mention of Billard's office as "Conseiller esleu pour le roy en Bourbonnais."³ From the list of Billard's works on p. 9, the *Songe de la Guerre* has been omitted. On the whole, however, the introduction, though brief, gives a fair presentation of Billard and his work. Its value might have been enhanced by a more extensive bibliography.

The text needs explanation. The editor does not tell us the source of his text, nor does he note the changes he has made. As compared with the original edition of 1610, he has consistently changed consonant *i* to *j* or to *y*; *u* and *v* have been distinguished. The character & is written *et*, and the tilde to represent a following *m* or *n* is replaced by the modern spelling. The diagraph *œ* in the original is reprinted as *o e*. One can approve most of these changes, for they make the text easier to read, but the editor should have explained them. One finds also a number of changes in punctuation and some fifty-two other changes. Five of these are obvious corrections (*ses* for *se*, p. 65, line 23, and *occasion* for *occosion*, p. 51, line 11), but the others (*tigre* for *tige*, p. 21, line 9; *retroné* for *retorné*, p. 37, line 19; *armes* for *ames*, p. 26, line 19, etc.) are evidently mistakes in transcription or in proofreading.

Although these differences detract from the value of the text as a reproduction of the original, they are not serious enough to prevent the edition from making the play available to those interested in the field but denied access to the original editions.

L. E. DABNEY

The University of Texas

¹ *Montgomery*, *tragédie* . . . included in the list of such plays, is not really a play.

² The information in the introduction concerning Gaston comes from the *Biographie Universelle*, but Billard's source was evidently Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia*, v, 294 ff., in the *edizione delle opere classiche italiane*, Milano, 1803.

³ See Billard: *Vers funèbres françois et latins sur le vrai discours de la mort du duc de Joyeuse*, Paris, Gilles Beys, 1587.

Rousseau, The Child of Nature. By JOHN CHARPENTIER. New-York, The Dial Press; Toronto, Longmans, Green & Co., 1931. Pp. 303.

Un ouvrage français qui a eu l'honneur de paraître à New-York avant de paraître à Paris (Perrin, 1931). Est-ce un honneur pour l'Amérique? On ne saurait dire. Quoique sorti d'une plume dont la réputation est loin d'être méprisable en France, le livre est annoncé avec un fracas de mauvais augure: un livre sur "this amazing person who invented modern education [*sic*] and repudiated all his own children," dont "Immanuel Kent [*sic*] kept his portrait in his study." Il y a, de plus, sur la couverture une grande figure de Dame Nature qui menace du fouet un tout petit Rousseau à genoux devant elle.

Pourquoi John Charpentier a-t-il cru devoir ajouter un ouvrage encore à la longue série des éreintements de Rousseau, c'est à dire ajouter une nouvelle preuve à la ténacité de l'emprise de Rousseau sur ceux qui en ont peur plus encore que sur ceux qui voient en lui un écrivain digne de quelque admiration? On ne comprend pas. D'ailleurs, il écrit: "It is best to forget the man" (300)—et lui-même l'étale devant nous en 303 pages in octavo. Ce n'est pas faire sa part pour faire "oublier" Rousseau.

Il serait inutile de reprendre en détail les chapitres de cet ouvrage qui ne se distinguent point par l'originalité. Constatons seulement le vice fondamental: l'auteur raconte la vie de Rousseau, et il en tire des conclusions sur l'œuvre philosophique de l'écrivain. Il prend les *Confessions* pour estimer la valeur du *Contrat Social* et d'*Emile*. Que dire? Simplement que M. Charpentier n'est pas le premier coupable—et ne sera sûrement pas le dernier; mais une erreur ne devient jamais vérité en vieillissant.

Quant à la vie, il la raconte à sa façon, à la façon de celui qui, détestant les idées de Rousseau, mais trouvant la tâche trop ardue de s'en prendre vraiment à elles, adopte la réfutation qui touchera le plus grand nombre: les personnalités. Même pour cela, il s'est documenté un peu à la hâte; on a même l'impression qu'il n'a consulté quelques auteurs (Michelet, Benedetto, Masson) que pour qu'on ne puisse pas l'accuser de n'avoir rien fait en ce sens. Et les auteurs cités ne l'ont du reste nullement rendu prudent dans ses affirmations. Comme esprit le livre rappelle surtout Lemaître, mais avec beaucoup plus d'assurance outrancière, et moins de talent. Ou encore c'est le ton de Carrère dans *Les mauvais bergers*—dont Rousseau était.

À la fin du volume, on trouve la note, un peu hypocrite, de la pitié pour ce pauvre Rousseau;—un peu hypocrite et un peu sottie. Rousseau n'a que faire de la pitié de M. Charpentier; c'est la pitié du roitelet pour l'aigle.

La conclusion, que Rousseau a fait tant de mal parce qu'il est

un rêveur, n'est pas nouvelle, certes; mais il faut reconnaître que la présentation est assez curieuse. Rousseau, aux yeux de M. Charpentier, est un de ces "esprits orientaux" auxquels M. Massis a fait récemment leur procès avec violence. Notre auteur avance de cet orientalisme de Jean-Jacques quelques preuves frappantes—sinon convaincantes; les voici: Le père de Rousseau était horloger au séraïl; Rousseau lui-même a un jour pensé se réfugier, loin de ses persécuteurs, en Turquie; Rousseau porta pendant des années le costume d'Arménien; Rousseau étendit sur la dépouille mortelle de Julie un voile oriental brodé de perles des Indes. . . . Et on comprend bien ainsi que le style de Rousseau fût "like none other, as that of the Prophets of Jehovah."¹

ALBERT SCHINZ

University of Pennsylvania

Port-Royal de Sainte-Beuve. By VICTOR GIRAUD. Paris: Mellotté, n. d. Pp. 310. (*Les Chefs-d'Œuvre de la Littérature Expliqués*).

M. Giraud is an authority on French critics, editor of the important posthumous Sainte-Beuve text, *Mes Poisons*, a specialist in Pascal and the history of the Church, and a member of the staff of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. On the present subject he writes with expected competence, and with the definiteness of one whose cosmos is well organized. He proposes to explain SB.'s *Port-Royal* to readers who have never opened the book and who perhaps never will. The book is indeed so formidable, in terms of length and theology, even for the professional student of French literature, that G. performs a more than ordinary service. At the same time, since the reader will turn to the text less often than to many others in this series of *Chefs-d'Œuvre Expliqués* (*Le Misanthrope, Le Père Goriot, Don Quichotte*, etc.), the commentator assumes more than ordinary responsibility.

There is a preliminary, and meagre, chapter on SB. before *PR.*; there are two brief but more adequate final chapters on SB. outside of his study of the Jansenists. The working bibliography of some fifty titles is valuable, but contains no reference to the

¹ On nous permettra de signaler ici un autre ouvrage qui a paru à New-York presque en même temps que celui de John Charpentier, et où il est beaucoup question de Rousseau: *In Defence of Sensuality*, par l'auteur de *Wolf Solvent*, John Cowper Powys (Simon and Schuster, N. Y.). Cette fois Rousseau est traité avec beaucoup de sympathie. La "sensualité" dont il est question, et que Rousseau a voulu rendre aux hommes, n'a rien de bas; c'est une sensualité *intégrale*, et où les joies que l'homme dérive de ses actes altruistes sont comptés aussi bien que les joies de l'homme qui boit, mange et aime. Le livre est "Dedicated to the Memory of that great and much-abused man Jean-Jacques Rousseau."

definitive bibliographical studies of Bonnerot.¹ In the body of the book various points not unfamiliar are made: SB. was a critic against his will, with a frustrated ambition to be a poet; his books are full of self-portraiture; he was, in philosophy and in conduct, fluctuating (G. is not); he was spiteful; his friendships suffered from erosion. There is a discreet reference to a *passion coupable* and a *livre odieux*; G. is understandably disapproving but his position is far from that of M. Benoit-Lévy who not long ago wrote six hundred pages on SB. and Mme Hugo in order to conclude that when a man has been so wickedly disrespectful of Hugo's wife, all of his writings should henceforth be forgotten. G. considers SB. a genius and *PR.* permanently significant.

He has a new theory concerning the psychology of SB.'s scepticism. The critic, he thinks, is always enthusiastic about a new doctrine, is easily swept off his feet, and later, by reason of the same sensitiveness that yields to the first enchantment, is easily offended, disillusioned, and prompt to wonder if he has not been duped. "Au fond, dans tous les accès de scepticisme de Sainte-Beuve, il entrait un peu de dépit amoureux" (p. 228). This is ingenious but supported by few texts, and indeed G. is not frugal in imagining what suits his own fixed position. A SB. *qui s'emballe* is far from the discreet gentleman who writes: "J'écoute, et je ne suis pas ému" (*NL*, III, 29); "Je comprends, j'écoute, je me laisse dire; je réponds faiblement plutôt par des doutes . . ." (*Lettre à l'abbé Barbe*, 23 mai, 1865); "je vois en petit" (*Mes Poisons*, 41). In fact G. himself in another connection speaks of SB.'s having "un besoin passionné et souvent assez malsain de constater partout des faiblesses et des misères" (p. 274). The situation is more complicated than G.'s theory suggests.

A disciple of organization, G., who has elsewhere commented upon Rousseau's "Jamais rien ne s'offre à moi qu'isolé" and upon what is fragmentary in the writings of Renan,² insists that SB. lacked powers of composition. He quotes the critic: "J'ai l'esprit étendu *successivement*, mais je ne l'ai pas étendu *à la fois*. Je ne vois bien à la fois qu'un point ou qu'un objet déterminé" (p. 200). Professor Wilmotte had previously emphasized this characteristic.³ It may have importance as a symptom and would seem to justify placing SB. in the line that begins with Rousseau and presently reaches Anatole France, who was so lacking in constructive imagination, according to Michaut,⁴ and devoted to *bibélots*, i. e. small objects.⁵ But there is another side, which G. neglects. There is abundant evidence in SB. of desire for organiza-

¹ In course of publication since November 1928 in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile*.

² RDM, 15 mai, 1921.

³ *S. B. et ses derniers critiques*, Paris, Champion, p. 26.

⁴ *Anatole France, étude psychologique*, Paris, 1922 (5e éd.).

⁵ Cf. Calmettes, P., *La Grande Passion d'Anatole France*, Paris, 1929.

tion, and one of the key-passages is in *PR.*: the critic attacks that poetry which consists only of beautiful details ("Depuis longtemps le détail triomphe . . . Erreur! le bel art ne se comporte pas ainsi") and proceeds from a consideration of art to remarks upon that element in human nature which gives centrality and unity.⁶

Elsewhere G. suggests that SB. objects to Taine's determinism because for SB. reality is so fluid, whereas in fact in a review of the *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise*⁷ he takes particular exception to Taine's statement that "l'esprit humain coule avec les événements comme un fleuve" and makes affirmations, well calculated to please G., about the essential and the changeless.

Closely related to this problem of diversity versus unity is the dualism represented in *PR.* by Montaigne and Pascal. "S'il est vrai, comme Sainte-Beuve l'a dit quelque part, qu'il y a en chacun de nous un Pascal et un Montaigne, un duel à mort s'engage alors en lui entre Pascal et Montaigne; et Montaigne tue Pascal en lui" (p. 53). Giraud is downright. His attitude recalls that of his distinguished predecessor, Brunetière: "Pas de nuances . . . il faut choisir."⁸ In the *PR.* itself, in a highly significant passage actually quoted by G., it is far from certain that all the honors lie with Montaigne (pp. 109-110). And the subtleties of the problem are well suggested by SB. in an important page in *Volupté* where he deplores the fact that "le phénomène ment perpétuellement à la loi."⁹

G. points out that *PR.* contains the germ of Brunetière's theory on the evolution of *genres* (p. 72) and a model for Taine's formula of the *faculté maîtresse* (p. 186). He might have extended the references: SB. comes back at least twice in the first volume of *PR.* to the evolution theory (I, 225, 245); many other remarks anticipate the doctrine of Taine (I, 55, 437; II, 514; V, 358, etc.); there are suggestions of Renan's device of making the past seem present by comparison with contemporaries (I, 228, 248; II, 174) and of Anatole France's theory of history (II, 45: "il est besoin d'un certain oubli"; V, 231: "dépouillons nos lumières acquises").

Much in the book calls for development or modification, not excluding the affirmation that SB. wrote *PR.* to take final leave of Christianity. In G.'s manner there is a touch of the pontifical.

⁶ *Port-Royal*, VI, 117-118. G. quotes indeed an intervening paragraph on p. 118 (G. p. 158) but leaves out the rest.

⁷ NL, VIII, 84.

⁸ Cf. *Pages sur Ernest Renan*, Paris, Perrin, p. 248.

⁹ Ed. Bibliothèque Romantique, I, 107. SB. is anticipating Benda, *La Fin de l'Éternel*. At the end of *Volupté*, II, 282, is a remark about an ideal fusion of immutability and life which is not remote from a point made by Santayana in *Genteel Tradition at Bay* (1931). G. makes no allowance for this side of SB.

But the book is stimulating, and quotations from *PR.* are so copious that the alert reader may furnish his own correctives.

HORATIO SMITH

Brown University

Psychologie de la Construction, dans la phrase française moderne.

By FELIX BOILLOT. Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1930.

Pp. xii + 307.

In a way this book is the focal point of M. B.'s style studies which have been appearing since 1923 in the *French Quarterly*, *Modern Languages*, and in independent volumes issued by the Presses universitaires. It is designed for students of literature who use the "explication de texte" method. The author appears definitely as a disciple of the school of Saussure which has also among its followers such eminent linguists as Vendryès, Grammont, Ch. Bally, Sècheyne, and Delacroix. For this group there is a sharp cleavage between the spoken and the written tongues; M. B. is concerned only with the written. He classifies the stylistic or individualistic traits of written expression into the three groups, found also in his predecessors: intellectual effects, emotional or affective, and sensory. Apparently word order is the most flexible medium, and such devices as rhythm, harmony, symmetry, ellipsis, and repetition are used where variation of order does not suffice. Most of the examples are drawn from seventeenth and nineteenth century writers, with particular emphasis upon La Fontaine. The author makes occasional use of Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Byron, and Rupert Brooke, when they furnish notable examples to his point.

This book is beautifully written and if example is really equal to precept it should be extremely useful. The American student may find the contents at times diffuse: the author is often suggestive rather than systematic, but this is not necessarily a fault. We are growing so accustomed to manuals, on this side of the water, that we expect nothing else. The chapter which gives an *aperçu historique* of stylistic constructions from the Old French period on, is not wholly satisfactory. It becomes evident that M. Boillot's interest is in critical rather than historical investigation. He has used admirable books of reference but does not always draw from them the most salient facts. The bibliography at the back is excellent though it lacks some of the recent German contributions such as Spitzer's *Stilstudien*. M. B. suggests (p. 291) that his book may be considered heretical throughout. Such is certainly not the case and we hope that it will become well known among literary students in America.

U. T. HOLMES

University of North Carolina

Deutsche Literatur in Entwicklungsreihen. Reihe Deutsche Selbstzeugnisse. Erster Band. *Die Entwicklung der deutschen Selbstzeugnisse.* Sechster Band. *Selbstzeugnisse aus dem Dreissigjährigen Krieg und dem Barock.* Herausgegeben von Dr. MARIANNE BEYER-FRÖHLICH. Leipzig. 1930. Reclam. 7 marks each volume.

The first volume of this series not only gives an outline of the material which is to be published in the other eight volumes of the series, but an historical survey of the autobiographies from the prototype of all personal confession, Augustin's *Confessiones*, to its secular antitype, Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. It analyses the change in the aspect of life of the German from the times of the feudal and religious *ordo* to the climax of subjectivism around 1800. Unity is brought into this diverse mass of documents in the only way it can be achieved, through their relation to the respective cultural period. The abundance of material discussed can hardly be indicated; it can only be duly appreciated, when the documents themselves are published.

So far only the sixth volume containing autobiographical material of the seventeenth century has appeared. The historian of modern literature will, of course, be most interested in the reprint of Uriel Acosta's *Exemplar Vitae Humanae* because of the presentation of this character by modern authors like Gutzkow and Kolbenheyer. For similar reasons the religious confession of Johannes Kepler from the year 1623 may be welcome. The other material does not transcend the limits of the century in this way, but it is not less characteristic for this period and its problems. The reflections and diary notes from the time of the Thirty Years' War, especially those written from the viewpoint of the little bourgeois and peasant are valuable supplements to Grimmelshausen's famous novel. The visions of Anna Vetterin taken from Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzergeschichte* on the other hand illustrate concisely and vividly the same conflict between spirituality and sensuality which Ermatinger finds to be a characteristic of the Barock period as exemplified in *Simplizissimus*. All social strata from the little bourgeois to statesmen and princes are represented in this volume. How the evolution of social and cultural tendencies is reflected in these subjective writings, the editor points out in the introduction, but this question deserves a closer analysis taking into consideration the other literary documents of the time.

F. W. KAUFMANN

Smith College

BRIEF MENTION

Handbuch der Englandkunde. 2 Teile. (Handbücher der Auslandskunde, herausgegeben von PAUL HARTING und WILHELM SCHELLBERG.) Frankfurt a. M.: Diesterweg, 1929-30. Pp. xv + 350; xii + 370. Planned primarily for teachers of English in Germany, this work will be of interest to all serious students of English history and literature. It is an impressive piece of coöperative scholarship. The general reader in quest of foreign points of view will find a more cogent account of British politics and society in Dibelius's *England*, a more subtle analysis of the national character in Cazamian's brilliant little monograph, *Pour qu'on connaît l'âme anglaise*, but the student will learn a great deal from following this careful survey. The editors explain that they have given individual contributors a relatively free hand, and accordingly the articles vary a good deal in method. Least useful to the American reader, and, one suspects, to the mature German student as well, is the bald encyclopaedia article with strings of names and dates, such as Aronstein's chapter on the drama. The most successful contributions balance precise detail with significant generalization (Müller-Freienfels on philosophy and science, Knapp on the fine arts, Levy on economic history, Becking on music, Riess on social life). Other chapters, which do not keep this balance, vary in merit: Vowinkel entangles the reader in an abstruse account of the modern novel; Deutschbein's discussion of national traits as expressed in language is somewhat speculative, but stimulates curiosity; Mackensen's treatment of folklore is desultory. The two volumes are handsomely and accurately printed. The bibliographies appended to each chapter are useful for recent German literature in the various fields; they do not always include the most important French and English works. The editors invite the reader to combine the material according to his own needs; to this end an index of subjects, not merely of persons, would have been valuable.

The Rice Institute

ALAN DUGALD MC KILLOP

Shakespeare: A Historical and Critical Study, with Annotated Texts of Twenty-one Plays. By HARDIN CRAIG. Chicago: Scott, Foresman, and Co., 1931. Pp. vi + 1194. \$4.00. Professor Craig attempts to present all the information about Shakespeare and his background needed by the ordinary student. The result is a large but by no means unwieldy volume, which combines the texts of the best plays with the information for which students are usually referred to "handbooks." The project was ambitious; the execution is remarkably successful. Here are digested the

results of those new methods in Shakespeare study of which many textbook writers, the bulk of this country's high school teachers, and far too many collegiate instructors still remain complacently unaware. Professor Craig's exposition, thoroughly informed, and clearly and pleasantly expressed, ought to prove directly influential in raising the level on which the study and teaching of Shakespeare are at present conducted.

Contemporary Drama. Selected by E. BRADLEE WATSON and BENFIELD PRESSEY. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931. *American Plays*, pp. viii + 522; *English and Irish Plays*, pp. viii + 443; *European Plays*, pp. ix + 458. An attractive series of pocket-size anthologies; each volume contains five or six well-selected plays.

Dramas of Modernism and Their Forerunners. Edited by MONTROSE J. MOSES. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1931. Pp. xvi + 741. Mr. Moses adds to his useful series of drama anthologies a volume containing sixteen plays and thirty-six pages of bibliography. There is also a prefatory essay which says many sensible things about the way of the modernistic drama, and about how and how not to read it. There are introductory notes on the various dramatists, on expressionism, and on the psychic drama. The authors represented range from Strindberg and Chekhov to O'Neill.

Modern British and American Plays. Edited by S. MARION TUCKER. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931. Pp. xvii + 946. \$4.00. The excellent drama series of Harpers, edited by Professor A. H. Quinn, gains an interesting addition in Professor Tucker's new volume. In a cogent introduction Mr. Tucker maintains the superiority of recent American drama to the British; but it is only too clear from perusal of these selections that, if the second great renaissance of the English drama is over, America is not yet, with the possible exception of Mr. O'Neill's works, producing a drama comparable to it. Twenty-three plays are included, of which sixteen were written since 1920.

Plays of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century. Edited by DOUGALD MACMILLAN and HOWARD MUMFORD JONES. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1931. Pp. x + 896. \$4.00. Messrs. MacMillan and Jones have prepared their volume of twenty-four plays with unusual taste. This collection is especially welcome because it contains a number of dramas which are not to be found in other anthologies. Among these are plays by Sir William D'Avenant, Dryden and Howard, Lee, Colley Cibber, Colman and Garrick, Kelly, Cumberland, and Kotzebue. The critical apparatus, however, is limited to a few footnotes.

H. S.

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JAMES FENIMORE COOPER AND THE BREAD AND CHEESE CLUB

The chief significance of the Bread and Cheese Club to the American literary historian is the light which it throws upon the spirit of New York letters from 1807 to 1830. When Washington Irving and James K. Paulding wrote in the first number of *Salmagundi*¹ that they were "laughing philosophers, and clearly of opinion that wisdom, true wisdom, is a plump, jolly dame, who sits in her arm-chair" and "laughs right merrily at the farce of life," they happily summed up the spirit that was to be the life and breath of Knickerbocker literature for the next twenty years. In such a spirit were written Irving's *Knickerbocker's History of New York* (1809), Paulding's *Lay of the Scottish Fiddle* (1813), Drake's and Halleck's *Croakers* (1819), and Halleck's *Fanny* (1819). On every hand, the New Yorker of that day seems to have indulged freely his love of burlesque, in which he included even himself as a fitting subject for merriment.² From this habit of mind, for example, sprang the "Ugly Club," founded in 1815 by a group of city dandies, some of a literary turn of mind, but all socially inclined, who for a time mystified the town with enigmatic contributions to the *Columbian*.³

By 1824, however, changes had come to the Knickerbocker school. Irving in 1815 had taken up his residence in Europe, and Drake had died in 1820. But James Fenimore Cooper was now to step

¹ January 24, 1807.

² For a Philadelphia comment on New York's habit of self-burlesque, see the *Literary Gazette*, I, 209 (April 7, 1821).

³ For an account of this club, see the present writer's *Fitz-Greene Halleck, An Early Knickerbocker Poet and Wit* (New Haven, 1930), 33-37.

in and give a renewed vitality to the social life of the group. A bluff, hearty fellow, hailing originally from the wilds of Otsego County, Cooper had come to New York in 1822 in pursuit of literary fame. Once in the metropolis, he began fraternizing with literary men. His novel *The Spy* had just been published by Wiley & Halstead; and the young author, as he made his visits to the bookstore of the firm, frequently met the leading authors of the day. In fact, Mr. Charles Wiley, the senior partner, had set aside a room of the store where his literary friends might the better enjoy themselves. Over the group who met in "The Literary Den," so christened by the members, Cooper seems to have presided.⁴

It was probably the success of these impromptu meetings that suggested to Cooper the founding in 1824 of the Bread and Cheese Lunch. It was of a spirit of burlesque and ingenuous fun-making that "The Lunch" was born. The aim of the organization was admittedly social, having as its objectives conversation and eating.⁵ What should have suggested the droll introduction of the Bread and Cheese it would be difficult to say; but in time they became the unmistakable insignia of the club. It was by their aid that the voting was carried on. "If a name," we are told, "was proposed for admission to membership, and any cheese was found on the plates, when the candidate was voted for, he was rejected."⁶ Dr. John W. Francis, an early member of the club, states that "the bread declared an affirmative; and two ballots of cheese against an individual proclaimed non-admittance."⁷ That the Bread and Cheese became in time the distinguishing mark of the club may be judged from an incident related by Cooper's daughter, Susan. In a procession forming part of the celebration at the opening of the Erie Canal, a carriage containing gentlemen of the club passed by Cooper's house displaying their canes to which were attached "slices of bread and cheese."⁸ We are likewise told by Cooper's

⁴ James G. Wilson, *Bryant and His Friends* (New York, 1886), p. 190; and J. C. Derby, *Fifty Years Among Authors, Books and Publishers* (New York, 1886), p. 294.

⁵ See Susan Augusta Cooper's account of the club in the *Correspondence of James Fenimore-Cooper* (New Haven, 1922), I, 49-50.

⁶ J. C. Derby, *Fifty Years Among Authors, Books and Publishers*, p. 294.

⁷ *Memorial of James Fenimore Cooper* (New York, 1852), p. 94. The good Doctor in *Old New York* (New York, 1865), p. 291, states that only one piece of cheese was enough to blackball a candidate.

⁸ *Correspondence of James Fenimore-Cooper*, I, 58.

daughter that at each meeting one of the members acted as host or "caterer," and that when Cooper himself assumed the office he always "wore a gilt key at his buttonhole";⁹ but on the meaning of the key Susan Augusta is silent.

"The Lunch" at first met every Thursday evening during the winter season, but later changed the day of gathering to Tuesday.¹⁰ For two years the club held its meetings at the restaurant of Abigail Jones, a popular colored cook of the city, whose establishment was located at 300 Broadway.¹¹ The club then seems for a short time to have met at the City Hotel, and for the remainder of its existence at Washington Hall.¹² The regular meetings of the organization

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 50.

¹⁰ Most commentators on the club agree that the meetings were held each week. See, for example, Dr. Francis in the *Memorial of James Fenimore Cooper*, p. 94. Dr. Francis, however, in *Old New York* (1865), p. 291, says that the club met "every fortnight." It is probable that before Cooper's departure for Europe in June, 1826, the meetings were held each week. Two consecutive advertisements of meetings were published in the *New York American* for April 13 and 20, 1826. With Cooper's departure, however, the club altered some of its routine, and it may be that they changed from weekly to fortnightly meetings. In any case, we know that in November, 1826, the day of meeting was changed from Thursday to Tuesday. See *Correspondence of James Fenimore-Cooper*, I, 107.

¹¹ See Susan Augusta Cooper's account of the club (*ibid.*, I, 50). Several advertisements of club meetings appearing in the *New York American* from November 3, 1825, to April 13, 1826, give 300 Broadway as the place of meeting, the last mentioning the name, "Abigail Jones." *Longworth's . . . City Directory* for 1824-25 and 1825-26 gives the address of Abigail Jones ("pastry-cook") as 300 Broadway. The directories for the two succeeding years indicate her removal from this address; and after 1828 her name disappears from the directory entirely. There is also evidence that during this period the club at times had other places of meeting. An advertisement in the *American* for October 24, 1825, gives the gathering place as Wiley's bookstore, and the time as one o'clock. This was probably a meeting called to transact some special business.

¹² Dr. Francis and William C. Bryant mention Washington Hall as the meeting place, saying nothing of the earlier meetings at Abigail Jones' establishment. Mary Phillips (*James Fenimore Cooper*, New York, 1913, p. 95) speaks of the founding of the club at the City Hotel. Of the meetings actually held at the City Hotel we know of but one—the farewell dinner tendered Cooper in May, 1826, when he was about to sail for Europe. Apparently during the last two years of the club's existence, the meetings were held at Washington Hall (282 Broadway). See the advertisement of the club meeting in the *American* or the *Post* for September 29, 1827.

were at times varied by what was called a "High" or "Grand Lunch."¹³ It was probably to these special meetings that the distinguished guests who so often graced the club, were invited.

The membership of the club included men from various professions; but all united in acknowledging the social supremacy of Cooper, their founder and "Constitution." There was young William Cullen Bryant, who in 1825 had come to the city as editor of the *New York Review*, and was soon to become assistant to William Coleman on the *Post*. Bryant later confessed to "being somewhat startled, coming as I did from the seclusion of a country life, with a certain emphatic frankness in his [Cooper's] manner, which, however, I came at last to like and to admire."¹⁴ There was also the poet and wit, Fitz-Greene Halleck, who became a life-long friend and admirer of Cooper; and Robert C. Sands, who in 1818 had written with a friend the Indian poem *Yamoyden*;¹⁵ who tried law as a profession for a time; but who finally drifted into journalism, and died at the age of thirty-three. And there was Sands' friend, dear old Anthony Bleeker, "one of the companions of Washington Irving."¹⁶ Bleeker, who sometimes wrote for the magazines, was an inveterate punster of whom a young lady once wrote to a friend "that she had gone into the country to take refuge from Anthony Bleeker's [*sic*] puns."¹⁷ To the great sorrow of the whole club, Bleeker died in 1827.¹⁸ "Were you not very much shocked to hear of poor Bleeker's death?" wrote a member to Cooper, then abroad. ". . . I have never known a man more regretted by his circle of acquaintance . . . He possessed a good heart and most happy temper, which had endeared him to all his friends, and at *our* meetings where we used to see both dis-

¹³ See the advertisements of club meetings in the *American* for April 20 and November 7, 1826.

¹⁴ *Memorial of James Fenimore Cooper*, p. 50.

¹⁵ Published in 1820.

¹⁶ A portion of Sands' toast to "The memory of Anthony Bleeker" at the dinner tendered Irving on his return to the United States in 1832. See the *New York Evening Post*, June 2, 1832.

¹⁷ See Bryant's "Reminiscences of Miss Sedgwick" in the *Life and Letters of Catherine M. Sedgwick* (New York, 1871), p. 441.

¹⁸ "The Members of the Lunch are particularly requested to attend the funeral of their late lamented friend and associate, Anthony Bleeker, Esq." Advertisement in the *American* for March 14, 1827.

played continually, we miss him very much.”¹⁹ To the club also belonged another of Irving’s companions, Henry Brevoort, who in a letter speaks of Cooper’s stubborn insistence on certain niceties of the French tongue, to the great amusement of Charles King and others of the club who were well acquainted with the language. Brevoort wonders whether Cooper, then in France, finds that the French are speaking their language correctly.²⁰ Charles King, who was at this time editor of the *New York American*, became in 1848 president of Columbia College. Nor should we fail to mention Gulian C. Verplanck, King’s associate for a time on the *American*—a lawyer of distinction and a lover of the arts and letters. Still other members were Nathaniel Carter, a newspaper editor and the author of a poem “The Pains of the Imagination”²¹ and Dr. John W. Francis, the eminent physician, who knew all the prominent New Yorkers of his day, and whose *Old New York*²² is a treasure house of reminiscence and commentary on the city of a hundred years ago. On the club roster were also the names of James De Kay, the distinguished doctor and naturalist, who ten years before had brought together Drake and Halleck; of William and John Duer, both lawyers of distinction; of John Wesley Jarvis, the portrait painter; of Professor James Renwick, the scientist; of Charles A. Davis, the merchant, who later wrote *The Letters Jack Downing*; of Charles Wiley, the publisher. Dr. Francis states that “the meetings of the Club (or Lunch) were often swelled to quite a formidable assembly by members of Congress, senators, and representatives.”²³

Probably the most important meeting in the annals of the

¹⁹ Letter of Jacob Harvey to Cooper, dated May 14, 1827. See *Correspondence of James Fenimore-Cooper*, I, 132-3. Quoted by permission of Mr. James Fenimore Cooper of Cooperstown, New York.

²⁰ Letter to Irving, dated January 1, 1827. See *Letters of Henry Brevoort to Washington Irving* (New York, 1916), I, 160-1.

²¹ See E. A. and G. L. Duyckinck, *Cyclopaedia of American Literature* (New York, 1855), II, 100; and J. W. Francis, “Reminiscences of Printers, Authors, and Booksellers in New York” in the *International Magazine*, v, 256 (February, 1852).

²² First published in 1857 under the title *New York During the Last Half Century*. In 1858 it was revised and enlarged as *Old New York*; and in 1865 reedited with a preface by Henry T. Tuckerman.

²³ *Old New York* (1865), p. 292.

"Lunch" was that held on May 29, 1826, in honor of Cooper, who was about to sail for Europe.²⁴ "The members," said the *New York American*²⁵ in commenting on the affair, "assembled in unwonted numbers, yesterday afternoon at 5 o'clock, at the City Hotel, to testify their regard for their founder and distinguished associate. The Chair was taken very punctually by Chancellor Kent,²⁶ as Caterer of the day. . . . The dinner and wines were admirable, and the spirits of the party were in keeping with them." "The cloth being removed," Charles King now addressed the Caterer of the evening in a speech of florid eloquence in which he praised Cooper and the use he had made in his novels of American history and scenery. After a toast had been drunk in Cooper's honor, the novelist rose and addressed the club:²⁷

I have been termed the Founder of this Club. I feel certain, Sir, that I may appeal with confidence to the distinguished strangers who have this day, favored us with their company, to know if there is reason to be ashamed of my work! It is not a little to have been the instrument of collecting from the materials of general society, such a mass of intelligence and reputation as is here assembled, and to have brought it, in this manner together, in free, social, unpretending, pleasurable, and I may add profitable communion. It is one of the acts of my life, Sir, in which I take great pride. I leave you prosperous and harmonious as an association, and I sincerely pray, that when the period allotted for my absence shall have passed, that I may be permitted to return, to find each individual among you filling his place at our board, as respectable as happy, and as well disposed toward his associates, as when I left him.

Later in the evening, Anthony Bleecker, secretary of the organization, had ample opportunity to indulge his love of punning. With mock solemnity Bleecker thus addressed the members of the Lunch:

To the sincere regret which I, in common with every member of the society, feel at the approaching departure of the worthy founder of our

²⁴ In the *New York Evening Post* for May 26, 1826, the committee in charge published a notice of the dinner to be given "to their distinguished associate Mr. Cooper."

²⁵ A very full account of the affair appeared in Charles King's paper for May 30, 1826. The quotations in this article having reference to the dinner have been taken from this account. A very brief notice of the event also appeared in the *Times* for June 1, 1826.

²⁶ James Kent (1763-1847), a noted New York jurist.

²⁷ Cooper's opening and concluding remarks, which are of less interest, have been omitted.

institution, is added an anxiety and concern which I am unable to suppress, even on this festive occasion. The office which I have had so long the honour to hold and to exercise, renders me peculiarly susceptible of this regret. As your secretary, gentlemen, it is to be presumed that I am more extensively acquainted with the state and condition of your records and laws than any other member; and, consequently, that it is my peculiar duty to apprise you of every incident and occurrence tending in the remotest degree to the loss or diminution of either. . . .

Neither our constitution nor our laws have ever been embodied, except in the body of our founder, and nobody, I am confident you will admit, has ever guarded them with a more vigilant eye, or expounded them with more wisdom and spirit. Like Ophelia in the play, he might say of our constitution, "'tis in my memory locked, and I myself do keep the key of it." Gentlemen, we are about to lose our best of keys,—a key of more importance than the one that now glitters on the breast of our caterer, and I fear we shall ere long have occasion to repeat the pun of the eloquent Burke, when, finding his bookcase locked up and the key gone, he facetiously exclaimed, "Oh here is another Locke on Human Understanding." . . .

But it is my heart felt wish that he may soon return. He is going to leave us; may the ship that bears him and the star by which he sails, be ever fortunate. May the pilot of his bark be as meritorious and as successful as his *own*. He is going to the land of *espionage*, but may he meet there no Spy but the one of his own creation. May Fame Pioneer him to the good city of Lyons, where his Lionel has already made him known, and may the "Last of the Mohicans" last to the latest generation.

During the course of the evening a motion was made by Cooper, and unanimously carried, that Washington Irving and Washington Allston, both then in Europe, should be made honorary members of the Lunch.

After Cooper arrived in Europe, he sent frequent letters to the club,²⁸ but unfortunately none of them has come to light. Their loss, however, is in part compensated by the preservation of a facetious missive, in mock official style, sent by the club to Cooper while he was in Paris in November, 1826. It begins:

To

"J" the Constitution of the "Bread and Cheese."

We your dutiful and affectionate Commissioners, most graciously nominated, appointed, authorized, and enjoined by our dear and ever venerated *Constitution*, to convoke and convene the Great Diet of the Bread

²⁸ See Mary E. Phillips, *James Fenimore Cooper*, p. 96; and the *Correspondence of James Fenimore-Cooper*, I, 132.

and Cheese Lunch, deem it our bounden duty promptly to communicate to Your Patriarchal Highness, an account of the measures and proceedings touching our momentous charge.²⁹

After mentioning at some length the first meeting of the season, which was held on October fifth, the letter continues in the same serio-comic vein:

At the fourth subsequent meeting, the arrival of the Commission being announced, it was instantly resolved, that a High Lunch be held the succeeding week, for the especial purpose of opening the Commission in due form:—

This was promptly carried into effect, and at the appointed hour twenty seven members were seen to surround the stately Loaf that sublimely surmounted the majestic Cheese, while six decanters of Madeira poured forth a rich and joyous libation to our ever honored *Constitution*.³⁰

In the course of the letter allusion is humorously made to the attention bestowed on Cooper by the royalty of France.

Having heard, Sire, of the distinguished attention paid to you by His Christian Majesty, as soon as he knew that the Father of the Lunch had arrived in his dominions, We intend very shortly to give his Majesty an expression of our gratitude for his goodness in this particular, by electing him an honorary member of the Lunch. Be pleased, Sire, when you next dine with his Majesty to apprise him of the intended compliment.

But the club, with the absence of Cooper in France, felt keenly the loss of its founder's vigorous personality. General James Grant Wilson was of opinion that the Lunch continued as an organization for about fifteen years.³¹ But there is no evidence to support such a statement. During the next three years it is probable that the members rallied with less and less enthusiasm to the support of the Bread and Cheese. The last recovered advertisement of a club meeting appeared in the *American* for November 28, 1828. Cooper himself in a letter written to a member in May, 1829, speaks as if he had heard nothing of the Lunch for a long time.³² Wilson has preserved in his life of Halleck an invitation dated April, 1831, which is addressed to the poet, and informs him of the

²⁹ *Correspondence of James Fenimore-Cooper*, I, 105-6. Permission to reprint passages from this letter has been granted by Mr. James Fenimore Cooper of Cooperstown, New York.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 106-7.

³¹ *Life and Letters of Fitz-Greene Halleck* (New York, 1869), p. 401.

³² *Correspondence of James Fenimore-Cooper*, I, 166.

next meeting of the club.³³ But this is the last extant reference to the organization bearing a date; and we are forced to assume that after 1831 its death was speedy.

Even, however, with the dominating personality of its founder, the club could hardly have maintained a longer existence. Age was in fact gradually creeping upon this early Knickerbocker school, and the droll extravagances of youth were yielding to the staid proprieties of manhood. Drake had never lived to enjoy the Lunch. Halleck had by 1830 written his best poems, and was slipping into a persistent, though charming, conservatism. Irving, now for many years abroad, had lost his youthful exuberance, and was turning to biography. And Cooper himself was soon to become too absorbed in controversy to think of the Bread and Cheese. The respectability of the thirties and forties countenanced only such organizations as the "Sketch Club" and the "Book Club," which admitted of few frivolities. American literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was primarily the literature of New England; and in the fourth decade of the next century New England was to resume her intellectual and literary sway. But for a brief interval from 1807 to 1830 New York reigned supreme. And the Bread and Cheese Lunch thus stands as a happy symbol of all that was youthful and buoyant in this school—of the spirit in literature of hearty good fellowship which made New York during these years the literary center of America.

NELSON F. ADKINS

Washington Square College, New York University

FOR A CRITIQUE OF WHITMAN'S TRANSCENDENTALISM

When *Leaves of Grass* first appeared in 1855 the September number of *Putnam's Monthly* reviewed the new book from a point of view which has been made significant by the critical tradition since grown up about Whitman's work. In one sentence it said:

A fireman or omnibus driver, who had intelligence enough to absorb the speculations of that school of thought which culminated at Boston some

³³ *Life and Letters of Fitz-Greene Halleck*, p. 401.

fifteen or eighteen years ago, and resources of expression to put them forth again in a form of his own, with sufficient self-conceit and contempt for public taste to affront all usual propriety of diction, might have written this gross yet elevated, this superficial yet profound, this preposterous yet somehow fascinating book.¹

The continuation of this assumption (made reasonable by certain similarities of phrasing and ideas) that Whitman was definitely of the Transcendentalists or that his poems mark a revival of New England Transcendental thought, modified in its expression by the influence of a rough and more crudely democratic environment, makes it now apropos to examine somewhat carefully its fundamental implications with the view of criticizing its accuracy.

The Transcendentalism which flourished in America during Whitman's youth was a didactic movement based on an acceptance of certain values, knowledge of which was gained by an intense emotional experience that transcended the ordinary or practical experiences of life.² As such there was little to distinguish it from innumerable other revolts against purely materialistic inclinations, but the movement in New England was particularized by the tendency on the part of its leader to describe this experience as an illumination resulting from a sense of a union of the individual soul with the over-soul.

The leader who gave character and definition to the New England Transcendental movement was Ralph Waldo Emerson, and in *Nature*, his first published work, he described the experience through which he (in common with others, as he indicates in "The Over-Soul") gained a new conception of life:

Standing on the bare ground,—my head bathed by the blithe air and uplifted into infinite space,—all mean egotism vanishes. I become a transparent eyeball; I am nothing; I see all; the currents of the Universal Being circulate through me; I am part or parcel of God. The name of the nearest friend sounds then foreign or accidental: to be brothers, to be acquaintances, master or servant, is then a trifle or a disturbance. I am the lover of uncontained and immortal beauty. In the wilderness, I

¹ Re-quoted from Bliss Perry's *Walt Whitman* (Boston and N. Y., 1906), 103.

² This generalization is not applicable, of course, to all who participated in the movement. There were many superficial converts, but an almost ecstatic personal experience on the part of some seems to have been its vitalizing core.

find something more dear and connate than in the streets or villages. In the tranquil landscape, and especially in the distant line of the horizon, man beholds somewhat as beautiful as his own nature.³

This experience of receiving the currents of Universal Being is elsewhere spoken of as the "influx of the Divine mind into our mind," but most commonly as the union of the individual soul with the Over-Soul. It was a purely spiritual experience in which the physical man was as nothing, and, with Emerson, the Transcendentalists in general were engaged in an escape from the demands of the body to those of the spirit. In the spirit, they taught, man is a vast brotherhood, and through the spirit the individual is limitless in his potentialities. It was this message which gave Transcendentalism its semi-religious contact with the world.

Whitman, too, had a similar message of limitless potentiality for the individual, and furthermore he records an experience similar to that of Emerson, in which he attains to a larger individuality through a trance-like ecstasy caused by the union of two elements of his self in the formation of the ultimate "identity" that brought with it wider knowledge and a recognition of the essential brotherhood of man:

I believe in you my soul, the other I am must not abase itself to you,
And you must not be abased to the other.
Loafe with me on the grass, loose the stop from your throat,
Not words, not music or rhyme I want, not custom or lecture, not even
the best,
Only the lull I like, the hum of your valved voice.
I mind how once we lay such a transparent summer morning,
How you settled your head athwart my hips and gently turn'd over upon me,
And parted the shirt from my bosom-bone, and plunged your tongue to my
bare-ripped heart,
And reach'd till you felt my beard, and reach'd till you held my feet.
Swiftly arose and spread around me the peace and knowledge that pass all
the arguments of the earth,
And I know that the hand of God is the promise of my own,
And I know that the spirit of God is the brother of my own,
And that all the men ever born are also my brothers, and the women my
sisters and lovers,
And that a kelson of the creation is love.
And limitless are leaves stiff or drooping in the fields,
And brown ants in the little wells beneath them,

³ *Works* (Centenary edition), I, 10.

And mossy scabs of the worm fence, heap'd stones, elder, mullein and poke-weed.⁴

Read under the influence of the tradition of thought brought into prominence by the New England movement, this passage appears to exhibit the very essence of Transcendentalism. Here, under the influence of external nature, is the union of the soul with another "I am," bringing with it an ecstatic consciousness of the universe, limitless self-confidence, recognition of the common dignity of man (a recognition implicit in the evangelical characteristics of Transcendentalism), and the serene tranquillity of "I know."

Richard M. Bucke, Whitman's friend, and fervent admirer, regarded this passage as the most significant in *Leaves of Grass*, for in it he saw an account of Whitman's acquisition of the "cosmic consciousness" which characterized Dante, Balzac, and such religious leaders as Gautama, Jesus, Paul and Mohammed.⁵ This faculty he defined as "a new consciousness superadded to the old," which came from spiritual illumination. The new consciousness (the "soul" in the lines quoted) was supposed by Bucke to have flowed into the individual consciousness ("the other I am") producing the effect described. Although Bucke's pseudo-scientific discussion of the whole matter is not in itself impressive, yet his interpretation is interesting in that he found it a description of an experience remarkably like that described by the Transcendentalist Emerson—the communion of the individual soul with the infinite. And it is significant in that his is the same interpretation advanced by a majority of the commentators on Whitman's thought.⁶

⁴ Sec. 5, "Song of Myself"; *Leaves of Grass* (Inclusive edition), 27-28. This is the culminating experience of the loafing and inviting his soul to which Whitman refers in the opening lines of this poem.

⁵ "Walt Whitman and the Cosmic Sense," *In Re Walt Whitman*, 329 ff. Cf. his further discussion in the chapter on Whitman in his *Cosmic Consciousness*.

⁶ Cf., for example, George R. Carpenter, *Walt Whitman* (*English Men of Letters* series), 52 ff.; Carleton Noyes, *An Approach to Walt Whitman* (Boston and New York, 1910), 139-40; H. B. Binns, *A Life of Walt Whitman* (London, 1905), 72-73, and elsewhere in this chapter dealing with Whitman's "illumination." As a rule, the critics here cited as representative discuss the lines in question in language much more suggestive of New England Transcendentalism than does Bucke. Neither Bliss Perry nor Emory Holloway analyzes this passage, though the latter

There is, however, one striking dissimilarity between Whitman's experience and that of the Transcendentalist: neither element of the former's enlarged, emotionally realized self was to abase itself before the other, while for the latter the ultimate realization of man came from the complete obedience of the individual to the dictates of the over-soul. This difference has been noted and explained by saying that Whitman affirmed the simultaneous and harmonious development of the individual personality and the cosmic relationship, an affirmation which is certainly widely prevalent in his poetry.⁷ Nevertheless, when the fifth section of the "Song of Myself" is read in the atmosphere created by Whitman's own poetry rather than the light of Transcendental philosophy, this dissimilarity suggests another interpretation of the opening lines.

Running through Whitman's poetry is the constantly iterated idea of equalitarianism, one aspect of which is the avowal of equality between body and soul. This found recurring expression in the "Song of Myself," and was summed up toward the end of the poem:

I have said that the soul is not more than the body,
And I have said that the body is not more than the soul,
And nothing, not God, is greater to one than one's self is.⁸

In view of the importance suggested by the frequent and emphatic appearance of this idea, the question arises whether "the other I am" of which the poet speaks is not the actual physical body, whose proper union with the soul (ecstatically realized in the case of Whitman) creates in man that limitless self the recognition of which was the essential message borne by *Leaves of Grass* to the world. An affirmative answer to this question would place Whitman far from the New England Transcendentalists, who affirm the loss of the material in the ideal in direct contrast to the idea of merging the two on equal terms in the formation of a supreme, self-reliant self or identity.

A fairly definite interpretation of the key passage has been made possible by the recent publication of some new Whitman manu-

quotes it in connection with Whitman's spiritual kinship to Emerson [*Whitman, An Interpretation in Narrative* (New York and London, 1926), 104-8].

⁷ Binns, *op. cit.*, 74.

⁸ Sec. 48; *Leaves of Grass*, 73.

scripts. In one interesting note the poet sums up his conception of identity:

There are in things two elements fused though antagonistic. One is that bodily element which has in itself the quality of corruption and decay; the other is the element, the Soul, which goes on, I think, in unknown ways, enduring forever and ever.

Apparently feeling, however, that his conception was not clear, he added a further explanatory memorandum:

The analogy holds in this way—that the Soul of the Universe is the Male and genital master and the impregnating and animating spirit—Physical matter is the Female and Mother and waits barren and bloomless, the jets of life from the masculine vigor, the undermost first cause of all that is not what death is.⁹

Here it seems that Whitman is giving explicit expression to the two elements the fusion of which in his own self he describes in symbolic terms in the fifth section of the "Song of Myself." There is the same sexual imagery and the same idea of a union of the two "I am's" to form an identity which is reality—a union of material and ideal, not two ideals.

These fragments are not dated, but it is not important whether he was trying to express or re-express the idea. Such an experience as he describes could not have been an everyday occurrence, and apparently he was often trying to reproduce it. "The Body merged in the soul and the soul merged in the Body I seek," he wrote in the lost introduction to *Leaves of Grass* in 1864.¹⁰ It is sufficient that he expressed his conception in prose with sufficient clarity to give meaning to his more obscure verses.

In his conception of the supreme self resulting from the proper union of material and ideal, then, Whitman is at variance with the Transcendental conception of enlarged being growing out of the union of the individual soul with the over-soul. In this basic idea the resemblances of the two lines of thought are superficial (one might say structural) rather than real, and consequently, critical tradition notwithstanding, there is not to be found in Whitman a true recrudescence of New England Transcendentalism. This is intended by no means to minimize the obvious strains of the

⁹ *Walt Whitman's Workshop* (Clifton J. Furness, ed., Cambridge, 1929), 49.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 129.

transcendental spirit in him. Whitman did not subject his ideas extensively to a logical analysis, nor did he make any serious attempt at consistency. In many respects he very apparently reflects the intellectual aspects of his time, and Transcendentalism was one of his time's most striking intellectual heritages.

In the light of this, the famous conversation between Emerson and Whitman beneath the Boston elms takes on a new significance. Instead of showing Whitman's determination to follow the principles of complete self-expression laid down by Emerson in theory and rejected in practice; although neither of them seems consciously to have realized it, the good-natured argument represents a battle at the practical point of contact between two lines of thought which were fundamentally different. The self-reliant idealism of each served only to bring them together as similar disciplines prepare two conflicting armies for efficient battle. The struggle was between militant materialism combined with idealism and idealism in its transcendental purity.

LEON HOWARD

Pomona College

MARK TWAIN'S LILACS AND LABURNUMS

Many readers will recall the passage in modern style with which Mr. Clemens began chapter 4 of *A Double-Barreled Detective Story* (*Harper's Magazine*, January, 1902), and with which he deceived the unwary of a generation ago. He deceived them in spite of the chapter-motto—'No real gentleman will tell the naked truth in the presence of ladies'—which introduces his purple patch, and in spite of 'a solitary œsophagus' at the end of it. This rare bird, evidently proceeding from the author's own invention, gave rise to the first comment on the passage; see the correspondence, and the remarks of the author, printed in 1903 in *The Writings of Mark Twain*, Hillcrest Edition (Hartford, Conn.), XXIII. 312-3. In 1906 the passage was used as an illustration by the late Professor Albert S. Cook (*The Higher Study of English*, pp. 112-3), who says: 'In prose, take the exquisite preciousness of Mark Twain's famous screed, and see how easily it might deceive the inattentive into the conviction that here was a prose poem of rarest charm.'

An elaborate descriptive passage performs its due office when there is a pause in the action; as such, our passage is detachable:

It was a crisp and spicy morning in early October. The lilacs and laburnums, lit with the glory-fires of autumn, hung burning and flashing in the upper air, a fairy bridge provided by kind Nature for the wingless wild things that have their homes in the tree-tops and would visit together; the larch and the pomegranate flung their purple and yellow flames in brilliant broad splashes along the slanting sweep of the woodland; the sensuous fragrance of innumerable deciduous flowers rose upon the swooning atmosphere; far in the empty sky a solitary œsophagus slept upon motionless wing; everywhere brooded stillness, serenity, and the peace of God.

Since Mr. Clemens himself began the published comment on this passage, I hope to be forgiven for involving him in the toils of the literary source-hunter. He evidently was in some measure parodying a certain type of composition; very likely other passages besides those I shall indicate were running in his mind; but it is clear that, of the passages printed below, one or both supplied him with words and ideas. I quote from chapter 26 of *The Seamy Side, a Story*, London, 1880, by Walter Besant and James Rice (New York, Dodd Mead and Company, Library edition, p. 297):

It was a quiet morning in very early June. The lilacs and laburnums were still in full blossom; the earlier and old-fashioned flowers—the wall-flowers, London-pride, polyanthus, columbine—were in their first pride and glory; the turf was crisp and fresh. The garden was quiet, young Nick having not yet returned from school. Not far off a man was sharpening something on a wheel, and the monotonous sound made one think of the roadside and the country. Overhead, larks sang; in the trees there was a blackbird, a thrush, and a chiff-chaff, besides all sorts of other songsters, as Addison would have called them.

For other mental associations, compare also, perhaps, the same chapter 26, pp. 302-3; but certainly chapter 15, p. 168:

The morning was delightful: the lilacs, almonds, peaches, white-thorn, and laburnum—for it was an early season—were all blossoming together; the air of the young spring was heavy with perfume: a blackbird was singing in the garden: all round him were the delicate leaves of spring, the young foliage, yellow rather than green; a broad horse-chestnut over the stables was showing on its branches the great sticky cone, oozing all over with gum, out of which would shortly spring blossom and leaf: the dark cedars of Lebanon showed black beyond it. At his feet were all the spring flowers that he [Stephen] remembered of old—the London-pride,

the pale primrose, the wall-flower, the violet, the auricula, the polyanthus, the narcissus, and the jonquil.

The memory of those accusing eyes of the portrait followed Stephen into the garden: the lawns and flower-beds, the lilacs and laburnums, awakened unexpected associations.

'Unexpected associations' is right, thought I, when I read that phrase in *The Seamy Side* last July (1930) at Helmsley, Yorkshire. 'Those must be the lilacs and laburnums of Mark Twain's *Double-Barreled Detective Story*!'

LANE COOPER

Cornell University

MORE AMERICAN REFERENCES TO BLAKE BEFORE 1863¹

The earliest inclusion of Blake's work that I have met with in an anthology in America is the printing of the poems "On Another's Sorrow," "Night," and "The Little Black Boy" in a volume compiled by Mrs. Anna Cabot (Jackson) Lowell; *Poetry for Home and School. Selected by the author of the "Theory of Teaching," and "Edward's First Lessons in Grammar"* (Boston: Published by S. G. Simpkins, 1843). The poems appear in the first part of the book,² addressed professedly to younger pupils, and are perhaps selected for their humanitarian quality. According to the Boston directories, Mrs. Lowell (whose name does not appear on the title-page) ran a private school.³ The volume was revised in 1850,⁴ and later reprinted from stereotype plates; copies with the dates 1854 and 1855 being known. The 1854 title is *Gleanings from the Poets, for Home and School*.

¹ This note is a supplement to S. F. Damon's article, "Some American References to Blake before 1863," *MLN.*, XLV, (1930), 365-370.

² Pages 68, 74, and 85.

³ I am indebted to Mr. R. W. G. Vail, Librarian of the American Anti-quarian Society, for much information about Mrs. Lowell (1819-1874), who included several poems by James Russell Lowell in her anthology. Copies of the other volumes mentioned above may be found in the Library of Congress, and the New York Public Library. The description of the 1843 volume was kindly furnished by the Librarian of Congress.

⁴ The copyright is in the name of Simpkins, 1850; the copies accessible to me are dated 1854 (in private hands), and 1855 (in the New York Public Library).

The same poems appear (on different pages)⁵ and testify to the continued interest of the Transcendental group in Blake.

W. H. C. Hosmer published a poem, "Blake's Visitants," in *Graham's Magazine*, for September, 1846; later collected in his *Poems*, New York, 1854. This deals only with the painter's visions.⁶

George W. Curtis, in an article on "Jenny Lind" published in the *Union Magazine*, for April 1848, is perhaps the first American to quote Blake familiarly. He wrote: "Like Corregio, Jenny Lind recalled in their best meaning, the verses of Blake:

Piping down the valleys wild
[and seven lines more]."

Miss Helena H. Withrow has recently reprinted⁷ from *The Cypriad*, by Henry Cogswell Knight, Boston 1809, a poem "The Little Sweep," which forcibly reminds one of Blake's "The Chimney Sweeper," and "The Little Black Boy." The difficulty of accounting for Cogswell's possible knowledge of Blake justifies the suspicion of the use of a common source or pure coincidence in this case. But there is some chance of contact which cannot be completely denied.

THOMAS OLLIVE MABBOTT

Hunter College of the City of New York

COLERIDGE, DE QUINCEY, AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY EDITING

In 1807 De Quincey gave Coleridge a sum of £300 which was intended by the donor as a free gift, but was accepted by Coleridge as a loan.¹ In 1821 De Quincey was himself reduced to desperate

⁵ Pages 49, 52, and 61.

⁶ This item is omitted by Professor Damon, but was recorded in Geoffrey Keynes in his *Bibliography of Blake*, p. 376, no. 414.

⁷ *Notes and Queries*, CLX (1931), 98.

¹ For De Quincey's account of Coleridge in 1807 see *Tait's Magazine* (Sept., 1834) and *Works* (1863, II, 38-122); though this account "bristles with blunders of every description" (Campbell, J. D., *Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, 1894, p. 161 n), it gives a picture rivaled only by Hazlitt's "My First Acquaintance with Poets" (*The Liberal*, III, 1823). De Quincey's

straits and he wrote to Coleridge asking for a return of the sum in question. A. H. Japp apparently thought the request a reflection on De Quincey. Preparatory to quoting Coleridge's letter on the subject he says:

During that residence of Coleridge at the *Courier* Office he incurred money obligations to De Quincey [this may be true, though I have found no documentary evidence to confirm it] . . . [later] De Quincey . . . ventured to remind Coleridge of these little matters.²

Then Japp gives the Coleridge letter as follows:

Believe me, I entreat you, my dear De Quincey, there was no need to remind me of generous acts, which during the long interval I have never ceased to think of,—of late more especially with an unquiet and *aching* gratitude which has often checked my inquiries after you.”³

Now the passage should read:

Believe me, I *entreat* you, my dear De Quincey! there was no need to remind me of a generous act, which during the long interval I have never ceased to think of, for the former and better half of the time with cordial satisfaction as of an obligation only less honorable to the Receiver than to you who had so nobly and in so delicate a manner conferred the same [De Quincey made the gift anonymously through Joseph Cottle] but of late years with an unquiet and *aching* gratitude, which has often checked my enquiries after you.⁴

The facts speak for themselves. The minor errors were probably due to careless editing, but the changing of “a generous Act” to “generous acts,” the omission of the explanatory passage beginning “for the former and better half,” and the addition for purposes of clarity of “more especially,” all show that Japp's zeal for his idol led him to distort the truth.

It will not be impertinent to add that De Quincey's request cannot be construed into a weakness of character, especially when Coleridge's conditional acceptance of the £300 and De Quincey's

later remarks about Coleridge in “Conversation and Coleridge” (*The Posthumous Works of Thomas De Quincey*, 1891-1893, Vol. I) are more acrimonious. For details of the gift to Coleridge see A. H. Japp, *De Quincey Memorials*, I, 127-134.

² *De Quincey Memorials*, I, 146.

³ *De Quincey Memorials*, I, 146.

⁴ From the original MS. in the possession of the Misses Bairdsmith, De Quincey's granddaughters.

desperate struggles in 1821 are taken into consideration. Japp's action is due to misguided sensibility and excessive hero-worship.⁵

University of Michigan

EARL LESLIE GRIGGS

WORDSWORTH AND HENRY HEADLEY

In "An Invocation to Melancholy, a Fragment"¹ by Henry Headley, a friend of William Lisle Bowles, who published poems in 1785 and 1786, there is an interesting similarity of idea and phrasing to Wordsworth's sonnet "The World is too much with us":

If such the rugged path that leads to fame,
Each splendid hope and nobler aim forgot,
Oh God! I'd rather be a looby peasant,
Eat my brown bread and fatten in the sun
On bench, by highway side, or cottage door,
Than wait th' insulting nod of abject power,
Than dog and fawn with base humility,
To catch her pamper'd ear and Proteus smile.²

Washington, D. C.

MARION H. ADDINGTON

A NEW SMOLLETT ANECDOTE

Charles Bucke's *Life of Akenside* (1832) contains (pp. 42-43) a vivid anecdote of Smollett which has never graced Smollett's story. To be sure, Bucke is about the most inaccurate and untrustworthy critic imaginable. Nevertheless, his book derives in part from first-hand materials—reminiscences given him by two elderly gentleman who had formerly known Akenside personally.

⁵ Another major error occurs in the *De Quincey Memorials*. The letter from Dorothy Wordsworth (I, 177) is not to De Quincey, as Japp implies, but to her brother, who was staying with De Quincey at the time.

¹ *British Poets*, Chiswick, 1822; LXXIII, 97.

² See Spenser, *Colin Clouts Come Home Again*, 245 (pointed out in Cambridge [Mass.] ed. of Wordsworth), 248, 283:

Is Triton blowing loud his wreathed horn . . .
And Proteus eke with him doth drive his heard . . .
Yet seemed to be a goodly pleasant lea.

No authority is specified for the Smollett anecdote, but presumably it, too, came by word of mouth from some survivor of the olden time. While Bucke can never be safely trusted for a date or fact, it seems rather unlikely that this anecdote, in general substance, should be altogether unfounded or wrongly attributed. At all events, more than almost any anecdote we have about Smollett, it is the sort of thing that *ought* to have happened to "Toby."

As he [Smollett] was one day going out of Paternoster-row up Warwick-lane leading to Warwick-square, a butcher came out of his slaughter-house with a dead sheep upon his back: "Get out of the way," said the butcher, "or I'll slam this *ship* in your face." At this moment Smollett's foot slipped, and catching hold of the butcher's arm to save his fall, both fell in the gutter, which was streaming with blood from the slaughter-houses. The butcher recovered himself first, and in rising gave Smollett a violent blow in the face with his bloody fist. Poor Smollett scrambled up as well as he could, all covered with gore; got into a shop, and there remained till a coach was procured to carry him home. He then resided in a court leading out of Dean-street, Soho. When he arrived, the children of the neighbourhood, seeing a man streaked with blood get out of the coach, surrounded the house, and the whole place was kept for some time in a state of suspense and confusion. A constable was sent for to search the house, where *the bloody man* had been taken; and it was a long time before the crowd could be pacified and dispersed. Smollett lodged there only a few weeks after; during which time he was frequently hailed by the children, "*There goes the bloody man.*"

HOWARD BUCK

University of Chicago

SMOLLETT AND LE SAGE'S *THE DEVIL UPON CRUTCHES*

There has not been available, hitherto, any evidence which would suggest that Smollett was associated in any way with an English translation of Le Sage's *Le Diable Boiteux*, with the single exception of *The Biographical Magazine* . . . London, 1794, where toward the end of the brief memoir of Smollett there is this statement: "It would be difficult to enumerate all his literary labours. He translated Gil Blas, the Devil on Two Sticks, and Telemachus."

It would be idle to attach any importance to the above statement were there not documentary proof that in 1759 Smollett corrected

a translation of *Le Diable Boiteux* which was originally published in 1750 (possibly in 1748) for J. Osborne. The following receipt, clearly in Smollett's own hand, is at the Bodleian Library:¹

London Jan. 5, 1759

Received of Mr. A Millar Seven Guineas and a half,
on Account of Correcting the Devil on Crutches by me

Ts Smollett

On the verso of the manuscript, possibly in Millar's hand, is the following:

D Smollets rect for
correcting
Devil on Crutches

5 Janry 1759 7. 17. 6

The edition of *The Devil upon Crutches* improved by Smollett's corrections was undoubtedly that published in 1759 for "T. Osborne, A. Millar," and others. Before 1759 there had been several English translations. *Le Diable Boiteux*, first published in 1707, appeared the following year in an English version printed for Jacob Tonson. In 1729 J. Tonson published the sixth edition of a distinctly different translation. According to an important French authority,² J. Osborn printed *The Devil upon Crutches* in 1748, but the first printing by Osborn which I have seen is dated 1750.³ This work, distinct from the two Tonson editions, was advertised on February 1, 1749-50 in the *General Advertiser*⁴ and according to that sheet was published February 28, 1750. It was

¹ Bodleian MSS. 25444, fol. 57. Printed in a Sale Catalogue of Peter Cunningham, 1855. See Br. Mus. Sale Catalogues S. and W. 394.

² Leo Claretie, *Essai Sur Le Sage*, Paris, 1890, p. 434.

³ "The Devil upon Crutches: From the Diable Boiteux of Mr. Le Sage. A New Translation. To which are now first added, Asmodeus's Crutches, a Critical Letter upon the Work; and Dialogues between Two Chimneys of Madrid. Adorned with Cuts. [Quotation from Milton] In Two Volumes . . . London: Printed for J. Osborn, in Pater-noster-Row. 1750."

⁴ "In a few days will be publish'd elegantly printed on a new Elzevir letter and superfine Dutch paper, adorned with a new set of Cuts, in two pocket volumes, 4s. *The Devil upon Crutches*; From the Diable Boiteux of Mr. Le Sage. A new translation to which are now first added *Asmodeus's Crutches*, a Critical Letter Upon the Work: and dialogues between two chimnies of Madrid. Printed for J. Osborn where may be had . . . The Adventures of Gil Blas."

this text which Smollett corrected. His changes show, as do his manuscript corrections of his *Travels*,⁵ his fondness for verbal felicity and his scrupulous care in sentence structure. This sort of revision was often performed by Smollett in his many attempts to meet his financial obligations.

Whether or not Smollett had a hand in *The Devil upon Crutches* published for J. Osborn in 1750 (or 1748) is purely a matter for conjecture. There are certain similarities between the above translation and Smollett's translation of *Gil Blas*: both exhibit a considerable freedom in transposing ideas from French into English; in both, several short French sentences are frequently combined in one long English sentence; and in both there is the tendency to sacrifice strict accuracy in the interest of vigor. There is, at any rate, a good chance that Smollett was responsible for the first appearance of the translation which he corrected some ten years later.

LEWIS MANSFIELD KNAPP

Williams College

A NOTE ON SMOLLETT'S LANGUAGE

I

The following sentence appears in *Humphry Clinker* (p. 146, Modern Library edition):

I have agreed for a good travelling-coach and four, at a guinea a day, for three months certain.

The meaning *contracted for* for the words *agreed for* is not recorded in the *NED*. This dictionary does, however, note under *agree*, definition 10, the meaning:

To come into accord as to something. [Especially] To come to terms about the price of anything, to bargain, contract.

The latest use given of this meaning for *agree* is 1669. *Humphry Clinker* appeared in 1771.

II

One other linguistic use of Smollett is not recorded in the *NED*. This sentence appears in *Humphry Clinker* (pp. 147-148):

⁵ See Smollett's *Travels Through France and Italy*, ed. Thomas Seccombe, Oxford, 1919, p. xxiii.

... the first [one of the dinner guests] was noted for having a seaman's eye, when a bailiff was in the wind.

The phrase *a seaman's eye* is not defined in the *NED.*, the *Standard Dictionary* (1928), *Webster's* (1930), or the *Century* (1927). The *Century* does give the meaning "power of seeing" for the word *eye*, but the edition of 1889 in definition 4 of the word *eye* gives *a seaman's eye* as an example of the meaning "power of seeing."

J. M. PURCELL

Purdue University

PAMELA NUBILE, L'ÉCOSSAISE, AND THE ENGLISH MERCHANT

In his preface to *l'Écossaise* (1760), Voltaire praises "l'estimable Goldoni."¹ It has been generally recognized that Frélon, a malicious scandalmonger in Voltaire's comedy, plays a rôle similar to the rôle of Marzio in Goldoni's *La Bottega del Caffè* (1750). Of equal interest, at least, is the fact that Goldoni's *Pamela Nubile* (1750) supplied certain details of the plot of *l'Écossaise*.

Pamela Nubile is the best of the dramatic adaptations of Richardson's *Pamela*. Goldoni took some liberties with the well-worn story, notably in a dénouement in which Pamela's father is transformed into an exiled Scottish nobleman. After an affecting scene in which he greets his child, Andrews confesses to her lover, Bonfil, that he is the Scottish Earl of Auspingh, banished in the last Revolution as a rebel against the crown and forced to conceal his identity. Until the time of his death, a loyal friend, William Arthur, had been laboring to obtain his pardon. Bonfil hastens to announce that he will marry Pamela; and Lord Arthur, the son of the deceased friend, explains that, shortly before his death, his father had procured the old man's pardon.

Lindane, the heroine of *l'Écossaise*, is an unfortunate young woman who has been separated from her father. She is not, like Goldoni's Pamela, a servant girl, but lives quietly in a London coffee-house, earns a meagre livelihood by her needle, and refuses the proffered charity of a kindly merchant, Freeport. Her maid

¹ *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire* (Paris, 1877-85), iv, 409.

betrays her rank to Lord Murray, whom she loves in spite of the fact that a feud between his family and hers has caused her father's misfortunes. Lindane is persecuted by the jealous Lady Alton, Murray's cast-off mistress. Assisted by an accomplice, Frélon, Lady Alton contrives to have her rival arrested as a spy. Freeport bails the girl. Lindane's father, Lord Monrose, banished from Scotland and in danger of arrest, takes refuge by accident in the same coffee-house, interviews his distressed countrywoman, and discovers that she is his child. He tells her, as Pamela's father had told Bonfil in *Pamela Nubile*, that the friend who had been exerting his influence to help him has recently died. Lindane urges her father to escape with her but cannot prevent his encounter with her lover. Although Lord Monrose desires to fight a duel with the son of his bitter enemy, he is conquered by the generosity of his opponent, who throws down his sword and hands out the desired pardon, obtained by him from the ministry. The innovation of the duel scene cannot obscure the similarities in the fortunes of Lord Monrose and Goldoni's Earl of Auspigh. Both are exiled Scottish noblemen, who recover their daughters after a long absence² and whose wrongs are redressed when their last resources have failed.

Richardson's heroine returned to England from Italy, by way of France. *L'Écossaise* was promptly translated into English as *The Coffee-House, or Fair Fugitive* (1760). Several years later, George Colman the Elder very successfully adapted Voltaire's play in *The English Merchant* (1767). Well acquainted with the preferences of English audiences, Colman repainted Voltaire's canvas in more vivid colors. Freeport's humor is heightened; a farcical French valet is introduced; Lady Alton becomes more outrageous; Amelia is a more pathetic heroine than Lindane. The rôle of the lover is debased. Lord Falbridge is a repentant libertine, and Amelia is full of reproaches because he intended her ruin until informed of her noble birth. Nor is Falbridge permitted to redeem himself by generously serving Amelia's father. It is Freeport who procures and delivers the pardon of Sir William Douglas. Between Sir William and Falbridge there is no hostility, for the former was banished as an enemy of the English government and not because of a private feud. Sir William recalls the heroine's father in

² In *Nanine* (1749) Voltaire had already featured a returning father. Philippe Hombert is not, however, a nobleman.

Goldoni's *Pamela Nubile* in his political difficulties and, still more definitely, in the manner in which he is finally extricated from them. In the dénouement of *The English Merchant*, Sir William is surprised to learn that the pardon which he had despaired of receiving was made out shortly before the death of the friend who had interceded in his behalf. Since a similar detail appears in *Pamela Nubile*³ but not in *l'Écossaise*, it may be inferred that although Colman borrowed more extensively from *l'Écossaise*, he was directly influenced by Goldoni's play or by the English translation of that play which was published in 1756.

KATHLEEN M. LYNCH

Mount Holyoke College

THE PURITAN'S EARS IN *A TALE OF A TUB*

The passage on ears in *A Tale of a Tub*, which, so far as I can discover, has always been accepted literally, seems to have been intended to suggest more than it says. It runs as follows:

'Tis true, indeed, that while this island of ours was under the dominion of grace, many endeavours were made to improve the growth of ears once more among us. The proportion of largeness was not only looked upon as an ornament of the outward man, but as type of grace in the inward. Besides, it is held by naturalists, that, if there be a protuberancy of parts, in the superior region of the body, as in the ears and nose, there must be a parity also in the inferior;¹ and, therefore, in that truly pious age, the males in every assembly, according as they were gifted, appeared very forward in exposing their ears to view, and the regions about them; because Hippocrates tells, that, when the vein behind the ear happens to be cut, a man becomes a eunuch: and the females were nothing backwarder in beholding and edifying by them; whereof those who had already used the means, looked about them with great concern, in hopes of conceiving a

³ In *Pamela Nubile* (III, xiii) the pardon was issued a few days before the death of Lord Arthur's father. In *The English Merchant* (V, i) it was made out the morning of the day on which Lord Brumpton died. It is perhaps significant that Colman gives the name Andrews to the man in whose care Sir William had left his daughter in her infancy.

¹ Swift is definitely in the tradition that associated size of ears and noses with "a parity also in the inferior" parts of the body. See E. K. Kane, "The Personal Appearance of Juan Ruiz," *MLN.*, XLV (1930), 103-9, notes 11, and 16.

suitable offspring by such a prospect; others, who stood candidates for benevolence, found there a plentiful choice, and were sure to fix upon such as discovered the largest ears, that the breed might not dwindle between them. Lastly, the devouter sisters, who looked upon all extraordinary dilations of that member as protrusions of zeal, or spiritual excrescencies,² were sure to honour every head they sat upon, as if they had been marks of grace; but especially that of the preacher, whose ears were usually of the prime magnitude; which upon that account, he was very frequent and exact in exposing them with all advantages to the people; in his rhetorical paroxysms turning sometimes to hold forth the one, and sometimes to hold forth the other; from which custom, the whole operation of preaching is to this very day, among their professors, styled by the phrase of holding forth.³

Certainly the passage seems full of erotic symbolism. It should be read as Swift's cryptic exposé of the lusts of enthusiasts and especially of the Holy Sisters for the ever-willing Puritan preachers.

University of Tennessee

C. M. WEBSTER

A NOTE ON DRYDEN'S ZIMRI

The notes in the Scott-Saintsbury edition of Dryden's works leave the impression that when Dryden gave the name of Zimri to the Duke of Buckingham in *Absalom and Achitophel* he had in mind the Zimri who figures in Numbers xxv. 6-15. According to Scott, Dryden was touching upon the "ridiculous rather than the infamous part" of the Duke's character; and "the unprincipled libertine, who slew the Earl of Shrewsbury while his adulterous countess held his horse in the disguise of a page, and who boasted of caressing her before he changed the bloody clothes in which he had murdered her husband, is not exposed to hatred."¹ The passage in Numbers referred to above tells of a plague which

² Here Swift's allegory takes on a very definite erotic significance. Seventeenth century literature is full of allusions to the hypersexuality of the Puritan preachers. Hugh Peters was especially singled out as having indulged in various adventures. See *Peters Pattern*, 1659, *Sphinx Lugduno*, 1682, and *Quaker's Sermon*, cir. 1690, for some of the more characteristic satires which include this theme of attack on the Puritans.

³ *Tale of a Tub*, T. Scott ed., pp. 138-139.

¹ *The Works of John Dryden*, ed. by Sir Walter Scott and George Saintsbury, Edinburgh, 1884, ix, 258.

fell on Israel as a result of worshipping idols and of committing whoredom with the women of Israel's enemies. While Moses and the people were endeavoring to appease God's wrath, a certain man brought a Midianitish woman into the Israelite camp. A priest followed the couple into a tent and slew both the man and woman with a javelin. The names of the slain were Zimri and Cozbi. In the same edition of Dryden's works an anonymous poem is quoted in part which makes reference to the Buckingham-Shrewsbury affair, using the names Zimri and Cosbi.² The poem was published shortly after *Absalom and Achitophel*. Professor George R. Noyes, editor of the Cambridge Dryden, also thinks that in using the name Zimri Dryden was glancing at this intrigue.³

It is worthy of note, I believe, that the name Zimri had other unpleasant associations in Hebrew history. In I Kings xvi. 9-20 we find the story of another Zimri, an officer of high rank, who conspired against his king. Reference is made to his sinning "in doing evil" and to the "treason that he wrought." He had the distinction of being numbered among the kings of Israel and for that reason would be well known to readers of the Old Testament. In 1682, the year after Dryden's satire appeared, a poem was published entitled, *A Key (with the Whip) to Open the Mystery and Iniquity of the Poem Called Absalom and Achitophel*, in which detailed reference is made to both Zimris.⁴ It is therefore reasonable to suppose that Dryden had in mind this second Zimri as well as the first when he drew the portrait and that his readers would catch the allusion to both.

In commenting on his characterization of Buckingham, Dryden called attention to the fact that he avoided the "mention of great crimes" and applied himself "to the representing of blindsides, and little extravagances." Buckingham was too witty, said Dryden, to resent this description as an injury.⁵

The portrait is more damning than Dryden intimated. He might have added to the comment quoted above that his use of the name Zimri called attention to those "great crimes" with probably

² *Ibid.* The poem is called "Absalom's ix. Worthies."

³ *The Poetical Works of John Dryden*, Cambridge, Mass., 1909, 953.

⁴ For this reference I am indebted to Professor Louis I. Bredvold, who has been good enough to send me a transcript of a part of the poem.

⁵ "Essay on Satire," Scott-Saintsbury, xiii, 99.

greater effect than could have been achieved by a railing accusation. However that may be, Buckingham evidently did not react to the poem as Dryden indicated. To be given the name which had been borne by a traitor and by an odious adulterer and then to be described as a sort of buffoon could hardly have inspired pleasant feelings in Buckingham toward Dryden. We know that the Duke was moved to write a reply to that "scandalous pamphlet, unworthy the denomination of poesy," that "adulterate poem," filled with abuses so "gross and deliberate that it seems rather a capital or national libel than personal exposure."⁶ According to Scott, Buckingham smarted under the severity of Dryden's satire and "with more zeal and anger than wit or prudence," undertook the task of answering it in kind.⁷ If he was incensed at the portrait of himself, his reaction is quite comprehensible.

J. Q. WOLF

The Johns Hopkins University

CHAUCER'S "SECTE SATURNYN"

In Chaucer's *The Hous of Fame* are found the following lines:

Upon a piler stonde on high,
That was of lede and yren fyn,
Him of secte Saturnyn,
Th' Ebrayk Josephus, the olde,
That of Jewes gestes tolde;

Therfor was, lo, this pileer,
Of which that I yow telle heer,
Of lede and yren bothe, y-wis.
For yren Martes metal is,
Which that god is of bataile;
And the leed, withouten faile,
Is, lo, the metal of Saturne,
That hath ful large wheel to turne.¹

Skeat passes over the phrase "secte Saturnyn" in the above

⁶ *Op. cit.*, ix, 260-61.

⁷ *Ibid.* Scott had in mind Buckingham's pamphlet, *Poetic Reflections on a late Poem, intituled, Absalom and Achitophel, by a Person of Honour.*

¹ Geoffrey Chaucer, *Works*. Ed. W. W. Skeat, Oxford, iii, ll. 1430-1450.

passage, but in a note on the "metal of Saturne," he accounts for Chaucer's use of Saturn in relation to Josephus:

The reason why Josephus is placed upon Saturn's metal, is because history records so many unhappy casualties, such as Saturn's influence was supposed to cause.²

Such an interpretation, however, does not account for Chaucer's use of "secte Saturnyn." A different explanation from that given by Skeat on Chaucer's use of the planet Saturn in this passage may be sought without reference to the metal. Lead was generally associated with Saturn by astrologers and mediaeval writers regardless of the various influences Saturn was supposed to exert upon the world.³

An interpretation of Chaucer's "secte Saturnyn" may be derived from facts found in the writings of astrologers known to mediaeval writers. Roger Bacon points out in his *Opus Majus* that astrologers assign to Jupiter in the ninth house influence over religion:

Whence the ninth house, as they say, is that of peregrinations and journeys of faith and deity and religion, and the house of the worship of God, of wisdom of books, letters, and of the accounts of ambassadors and reports and dreams. Therefore rightly, as they say, is the house assigned to Jupiter, who is significant with regard to the blessings of the other life, because for those blessings there are needed faith and religion and the worship of God and the study of wisdom, and a multitude of books and of letters, as is evident from the sacred law; and a large number of ambassadors, such as prophets, and apostles and preachers, making suitable reports regarding the noble state of that life and having frequent revelations in dreams and ecstasies and visions concerning this life.⁴

Bacon further states that Jupiter in conjunction with any one of the other six planets signifies the rise of a new religion. Therefore, he asserts, there are six principal religions since there are six planets with which Jupiter might be in conjunction. A major conjunction of Jupiter with Mars gave rise to the Chaldean religion; that with the sun, the Egyptian; that with Mercury, the Christian. Jupiter in conjunction with Saturn, Bacon asserts, gave rise to the sect of the Jews:

² *Ibid.*, III, 276.

³ Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, New York, 1923, I, 368.

⁴ *Opus Majus*. Trans. R. B. Burke, Philadelphia, 1928, I, 277-278.

Whence the skillful authorities aforesaid and others say if Jupiter is in conjunction with Saturn, he signifies the sacred books and of the sects that of the Jews, because it is more ancient than the others and prior to them, just as Saturn is the father of the planets and more remote and prior in the egress of the planets and in their order in existence. All faiths acknowledge it, and it acknowledges no other, just as all the planets are in conjunction with Saturn and he with no one of them because of the slowness of his motion.⁵

This priority of the Jewish sect as accounted for by astrologers in Saturn's wide orbit and his relation to the other planets may have been in Chaucer's mind when he wrote the lines:

Is, lo, the metal of Saturne,
That hath ful large wheel to turne,⁶

Otherwise the above line concerning the wide orbit of Saturn appears to have no other purpose than that of being a mere bit of information thrown in by Chaucer with no literary significance.

This astrological theory of the origin of religions may easily have come to Chaucer's notice through the writings of the Arabian astrologers, Messahala and Albumasar whose works were already classic in the thirteenth century.⁷ Bacon mentions Messahala as among the astrologers who wrote upon the planetary influence over religion.⁸ Chaucer, it will be remembered, based his *Astrolabe* on a treatise of Messahala upon the same subject.⁹ Albumasar gave a complete enunciation to this astrological theory in his *Introductorium in astronomiam*.¹⁰ This work could scarcely have missed Chaucer's attention since it was widely popular not only among scientists but among writers in the vernacular.¹¹ Furthermore

⁵ *Idem*.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, III, ll. 1449-1450.

⁷ Thorndike, *op. cit.*, II, 826-827.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, I, 276.

⁹ T. R. Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, New York, 1892, II, 397.

¹⁰ At the present time I do not have access to this work but it may be found in the Library of Congress. Albumasar, *Introductorium in astronomiam*. Augsborg, Erhard Ratdolt, 1489.

¹¹ Bacon shows in his *Opus Majus* that he had been greatly impressed by Albumasar's *Introductorium*, *op. cit.*, I, 276-280.

A treatise attributed to Athelardus also gives expression to the astrological theory of the origin of religions, but Thorndike, *op. cit.*, I, 42, thinks that Athelardus was merely another follower of Albumasar.

Thorndike points out, *op. cit.*, I, 703, that the *Introductorium* was gen-

Chaucer's wide and minute knowledge of astrology has been so thoroughly demonstrated by modern scholarship that it would appear unreasonable to suppose that Chaucer was ignorant of this generally known astrological theory of the origin of religions.¹²

Therefore, Chaucer's "secte Saturnyn" undoubtedly has reference to the origin of the Jewish religion in a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn.

AMANDA H. MILLER

Nashville, Tennessee

"AH! WHAT AVAILS"

Considerable stress has been laid upon neo-classic poetic "properties"—stock words and phrases—of the eighteenth century, but no notice has been taken of the frequent use¹ at the beginning of sentences, of the expression, "Ah! what avails." This line was used in almost every connection, from elegies² and pastoral love complaints³ to a protest against negro slave trade,⁴ and from grief over a dead horse⁵ to a satirical elegy on William Pitt because

erally enough known for the writer of the vernacular poem, *The Romance of the Rose*, to cite a passage from it.

Hamilton, *MP.*, 9, 341-4, shows that Gower, a contemporary of Chaucer had used the *Introductorium* as a source for his astrology in his *Confession Amantis*.

¹² See *Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences* by W. C. Curry, New York, 1926.

¹ There are over two hundred instances of the phrase and its variants. William Mason out-Heroded Herod and used the expression twice in one sentence (*The English Garden*, I, 448):

Yet what avail'd the song? or what avail'd
Ev'n thine thou chief of Bards.

² William Collins, "On the Death of Mr. Thomson" (22): "Ah! what will ev'ry Dirge avail?" and James Hammond, "Elegy VIII" (29, 1), and "Elegy XIII" (36, 61), (*The British Poets*, Chiswick, LXIII):

Ah! what avails thy lover's pious care?
Ah! what avails to press the stately bed.

³ Pope, "Pastorals" (II, 33; III, 79; IV, 35).

⁴ Thomas Day, "The Dying Negro" (Poetical Works, *The British Poets*, XXVII, 9, 145): "Ah! what avails the conqueror's bloody mead."

⁵ "On the Death of a Favourite Horse" (Fawkes and Woty, *Poetical Calendar*, VI, 62, 50).

he accepted a title;⁶ from arguments for the breast-feeding of infants⁷ to an agricultural groan, "On a Fine Crop of Peas being spoil'd by a Storm."⁸ It appeared in dramas;⁹ on a tombstone,¹⁰ and in a plea for the use of English wool instead of French silks.¹¹ Milton used it,¹² as did Johnson.¹³ Prior has it seven times; Pope and J. G. Cooper, six; Edward Young and William Mason, four; William Whitehead, three. John Dyer, James Beattie, Lord Lyttleton, William Falconer, Miss Cartwright, Mrs. Greville, and J. C. Cunningham all used it twice. Others were John Armstrong, Thomas Chatterton, William Somerville, James Ogilvie, Thomas Percy, Soame Jenyns, Isaac Hawkins Browne, Edward Moore, Thomas Warton the elder, Earl Nugent and John Scott, besides numerous other obscure and anonymous poets. The tradition carried over into the nineteenth century, as in Landor's "Rose

* "Extract from an Elegy on the late Right Honourable W. P." (*Royal Magazine*, xv, 101, 21, 25):

Ah! what avails the wide capacious mind.

Ah! what avails the magnitude of soul.

A second poem addressed to Pitt also included the line: W. H. Roberts's "The Poor Man's Prayer, Addressed to the Earl of Chatham" (Robert Southey, *Specimens of the Later English Poets*, III, 349, 65).

⁷ Edward Jerminham, "Il Latte" (41) (*Poems on Various Subjects*, 1756, 64): "Ah! what avails the coral crown'd with gold?" and Erasmus Darwin, *The Botanic Garden* (I, iii, 367-8):

"Ah! what avails the cradle's damask roof,

The eider bolster, and embroider'd woof!"

⁸ Henry Jones (*Poems*, 1749, 103, 9).

⁹ James Thomson, *Agememnon* (II, ii; v, viii), and *Edward and Eleonora* (iv, v). He likewise incorporated the line in an argument against sloth in *The Castle of Indolence* (II, lv, 1); in a "Song" beginning "O Thou, whose tender serious eyes" (13); twice in "Winter" (404, 561); and three times in "Summer" (332-3, 860, 869).

¹⁰ John Gilbert Cooper's epitaph on the Booth children. (Daniel Lysons, *The Environs of London*, 1810, I, 355):

Ah! what avails it that the blossoms shoot,

In early promise of maturer fruit.

¹¹ Shenstone, "Elegy, XVIII" (27, 29).

¹² The question is put in the mouth of Mary, the mother of Christ (*P. R.* II, 66), "O what avails me now that honour high." See also *P. L.* I, 153, 748; VI, 456, 789; and *S. A.* 558.

¹³ "London" (117).

Ah! what avails it that from slavery far

I drew the breath of life in English air.

Aylmer"; Wordsworth's, *Excursion* (III, 209); Shelley's *Hellas* (789); *Queen Mab* (VII, 153); and *Prometheus Unbound* (II, iv, 117).

The sentence beginning contained just the element of sentimental despair likely to appeal to an age standing with reluctantly-eager feet where the classical and romantic streams met. To one interested in evidences of romantic tendencies this phrase is of significance. It was a real heart cry!

MARION H. ADDINGTON

Washington, D. C.

RECENT WORKS ON PROSE FICTION BEFORE 1800

MEDIEVAL PROSE FICTION.—The Middle Ages continue to be neglected by students of the history of prose fiction, and new facts bearing upon its development during that period are usually hidden away in books and articles by scholars whose chief interest lies in other fields,—or in what traditionally are regarded as other fields. To some it may therefore seem a paradoxical statement that the most important recent contribution to our knowledge of the history of medieval prose fiction is, in my judgment, a monograph upon a saint's legend,—Paul Alonzo Brown's *Development of the The Legend of Thomas Becket* (Univ. of Pennsylvania). To us this legend is of unusual importance because it dealt with an English hero and developed chiefly in England itself. Dr. Brown shows that within less than a century of Becket's murder the actual facts of his career had been embellished with accretions and interpretations of a highly imaginative kind. Becket's parentage, his life, his career, and his influence upon others, soon came to be related in a manner which, although not entirely out of harmony with the impression his personality produced upon his contemporaries, certainly transcended the plain facts. In other words, some of the biographies of Becket, which rapidly grew not only in length but in narrative interest and effectiveness, were historical fictions; and the saint whom Chaucer's pilgrims honored was not the Archbishop of Canterbury known to sober history but a national and religious hero glorified by the creative imagination. The methods and the steps by which this idealization of Becket was achieved, and the various sources used by the hagiographers, are fully set forth by Dr. Brown in this admirable study. As one

follows the additions and changes made in Becket's story, one realizes that prose fiction, like the drama, learned much while still a handmaiden of the Church.

It might be expected that Donald A. Stauffer's *English Biography Before 1700* (Harvard Univ. Press) would pay some attention to the relation between medieval biography and fiction; but it fails to do so, not only in the case of saints' legends, but also in that of secular biographies. Thus, for examples, John Rous's *Life of Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick* is in Dr. Stauffer's list, but the question of its possibly fictitious elements is not inquired into. And in later instances, such as those of Greville's *Sidney* and Walton's *Lives*, the problem of authenticity is likewise ignored or lightly dismissed. Dr. Stauffer, towards the end of his account, gives a few pages to rather obvious statements about the relation of biography to fiction (pp. 223-8) but like his predecessors (and like his successor, Mark Longaker in *English Biography in the Eighteenth Century*) he seems to proceed on the tacit and very questionable assumptions that it is easy to distinguish those narratives which are authentic biographies from those which are not, and that the question of authenticity is of slight importance. In my opinion, both the history of biography and the history of prose fiction will rest on insecure foundations until scholars recognize the intricate relationship between the two genres, and until they define more sharply both the similarities and the differences between them. To classify or catalogue the legends of St. Thomas as biographies, and, say, Newman's *Calista* as prose fiction, is arbitrary and misleading.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.—The historically important English version of *Frederick of Jennen*, originally published in Antwerp in 1518, is summarized from the British Museum copy of the Vele edition (1560) by W. F. Thrall in his "Cymbeline, Boccaccio, and the Wager Story in England" (*SP.*, xxviii, 639).—*The English Works of Sir Thomas More*, including the *Utopia* (Eyre and Spottiswoode), are edited in two volumes, with a facsimile reproduction of the black-letter edition of 1557, by W. E. Campbell, A. W. Reed, R. W. Chambers, and W. A. G. Doyle-Davidson. This edition gave rise to a valuable essay on More (*TLS.*, July 9, 1931). Mr. Campbell's *More's Utopia and His Social Teaching* (Eyre and Spottiswoode) is strongly affected by sectarian partisanship.—In O. J. Campbell's "Relation of 'Epicæne' to Aretino's 'Il Marescalco'" (*PMLA.*, xlv, 752), evidence of Aretino's vogue in England is presented.—L. B. Wright, in "The Reading of Renaissance

English Women" (*SP.*, xxviii, 671), shows the popularity of romances and tales among such readers.

Disputation continues regarding Sidney's life and friendships. T. P. Harrison, in "The Relations of Spenser and Sidney" (*PMLA.*, xlv, 712), takes a position midway between P. W. Long's minimizing of that friendship and Grosart's magnification of it; and J. M. Purcell (*PMLA.*, xlvi, 940) queries why Professor Harrison did not refer to an earlier article (*Archiv*, cxlvi, 53) by Mally Behler which, "using the same and somewhat better material," arrived at "conclusions somewhat opposed to those of Harrison." Charles W. Lemmi, in "The Allegorical Meaning of Spenser's 'Muiopotmos'" (*PMLA.*, xlv, 732), attempts to show that the poem was an allegorical account of Sidney's life; but this is strongly refuted by Emma Marshall Denkinger and Ernest A. Strathmann (*PMLA.*, xlvi, 272, 940). In commenting on this topic, Professor Purcell (*PMLA.*, xlvi, 945) raises the question whether there is any evidence whatever that the alleged Philip Sidney-Penelope Rich affair was a "contemporary scandal."—K. T. Rowe, in "Sir Calidore: Essex or Sidney" (*SP.*, xxviii, 125), in opposition to P. W. Long, supports the orthodox view that the Knight of Courtesy in the *Faerie Queene* is not Essex but Sidney.—Miss Denkinger's *Immortal Sidney* (Brentano), a beautifully printed and illustrated volume, is an enthusiastic, not to say ecstatic, interpretation of Sidney's life and character; but adds little or nothing to our understanding of the *Arcadia*. In "The 'Arcadia' and 'the Fish Torpedo Faire'" (*SP.*, xxviii, 162), she traces the torpedo to its lair in Pliny, Oppian, Claudian, Bernardo Tasso, etc.—W. D. Briggs makes a weighty contribution in "Political Ideas in Sidney's 'Arcadia'" (*SP.*, xxviii, 137), which supplements Professor Greenlaw's celebrated study of Sidney's political views, by showing their relation to contemporaneous political theories in the *Vindiciæ Contra Tyrannos*, Hotman's *Francogallia*, Buchanan's *De Jure Regni*, etc.—R. B. Levinson, in "The 'Godlesse Minde' in Sidney's 'Arcadia'" (*MP.*, xxix, 21), shows that Sidney drew Cecropia's arguments not, as Professor Greenlaw supposed, from Lucretius, but from Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*.—T. P. Harrison's review of Dr. Zandvoort's *Sidney's 'Arcadia'* (*JEGP.*, xxx, 110), is so thorough and informative that it deserves notice as virtually an independent essay.

A Spanish author, some of whose tales were known in England in the second half of the sixteenth century, is studied in Barbara

Matulka's *Novels of Juan de Flores and their European Diffusion*¹ — The very expensive Cranach Press edition of Shakspeare's *Hamlet* contains a reprint of the English translation, made in 1608, of Belleforest's *Hamlet* from the unique copy in the Capell collection at Trinity College, Cambridge. The French original, of 1576, is also included.

That remarkable collection of tales entitled the *Heptameron* was translated into English in 1599. The first really scholarly study of its author, in three large volumes, is *Marguerite d'Angoulême: Étude biographique et littéraire* (Champion) by Pierre Jourda, who has devoted more than eight years to this elaborate investigation. The first volume deals with the life and the poems of Queen Marguerite, and the third is a descriptive calendar of her letters. The second volume is a detailed study of the *Heptameron*, and systematically examines the problems of its authorship, its sources, its realism, its character-drawing, its ideas, its technical and artistic devices, and its erudition. To find a richer illustration of the best French historical and critical methods would be difficult. Anyone interested in the influence of the *Heptameron* upon English fiction (a topic with which Dr. Jourda does not concern himself) will here find a thoroughly dependable starting-point. Dr. Jourda's analyses of the likenesses and the differences between the stories of the *Heptameron* and those of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, Boccaccio, Bandello, etc., should prove of value to many besides specialists in sixteenth-century French literature.²

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.—H. W. Lawton, in "Bishop Godwin's 'Man in the Moone'" (*RES.*, VII, 23), provides the first careful study of the subject. He argues cogently that *The Man in the Moone* was composed not, as hitherto assumed, early in Godwin's life, but as late as 1625-1629. He points out some of the sources, and discusses the indebtedness to Godwin of Wilkins and of Cyrano de Bergerac. The alleged indebtedness of Swift he considers doubtful.—C. B. Millican, in "The First English Translation of the 'Prophecies of Merlin'" (*SP.*, XXVIII, 720), edits Ashmole's version, which had been overlooked because it was buried in William Lilly's *World's Catastrophe* (1647). The rest of Geoffrey's *Historia* was not translated until 1718.

The Early Essays and Romances of Sir William Temple are now published for the first time, being edited from the original manu-

¹ Institute of French Studies, Columbia University.

² A noteworthy review of this work is Professor Tilley's (*MLR.*, XXVI, 480).

scripts (Clarendon Press). The romances, five in number, and in length from ten to twenty-five pages, were written while Temple was in France in 1648-50. When their present editor, G. C. Moore Smith, wrote his Introduction he was inclined to take Temple at his word, and therefore believed that, though the outlines of the stories might be borrowed from earlier tales, "the passions depicted were drawn solely from Temple's remembrances of the lady of his love" (Dorothy Osborne), and that the sources of the stories "would not be easy to discover." Soon afterwards Professor Smith, through an article by Mr. G. Hainsworth in the *French Quarterly* of September, 1930, became acquainted with François de Rosset's *Histoires Tragiques* (1613; 2nd ed., 1615), and found that Temple took his stories from that collection, following his original, not slavishly, but rather closely. Professor Smith, since his book was still in the press, was able to add a "Postscript: the Sources of Temple's Romances." The differences between the plausible speculations in his Introduction and the facts recorded in his Postscript constitute a striking reminder of the dangers of trying to interpret an author's purpose and the degree of his originality before one knows his sources.

Harold Golder continues his important researches in Bunyan with "Bunyan's Giant Despair" (*JEGP.*, xxx, 361). He traces the episode, not to literary treatments of the theme such as Spenser's, but to popular sources like Ford's *Parismus* and to folk-tales like *The Valiant Herd Boy* and *The Boy Who Stole the Giant's Treasures*.—In "Æsop, a Decayed Celebrity" (*PMLA.*, xlii, 225), M. Ellwood Smith describes the changes which took place in the conceptions about the character and the person of the fabulist, especially after Richard Bentley destroyed belief in that fantastic account of Æsop which had been concocted by Planudes ("that idiot of a monk"!).

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.—R. W. Frantz, in "Swift's Yahoos and the Voyagers" (*MP.*, xxix, 49), points out that there are strong resemblances between the accounts given in seventeenth-century travel-books, of the physical and mental traits of monkeys and savages, and the traits of the Yahoos. This is a well-documented article, and it draws its conclusions concerning Swift's indebtedness with commendable caution. If Professor Frantz's views are accepted, as I think they should be, one might add that Swift can no longer be justly accused of gratuitous morbid and foul-minded invention of some of the more disgusting habits of the Yahoos, because he had grounds for believing that such habits had actually

been witnessed among the lower types of existence.—F. M. Darnell, in "Swift's Religion" (*JEGP.*, xxx, 379), pleads that Leslie Stephen and Dr. Pons are mistaken in holding that Swift in *A Tale of a Tub* attacked all mysteries in religion. His main evidence is drawn from Swift's *Sermon on the Trinity*. I do not feel sure that this is conclusive proof as to Swift's position at the time when he wrote *A Tale of a Tub*.

Sir Charles Firth (*RES.*, vii, 1) edits a letter written October 9, 1705, nine months before Defoe's *Apparition of Mrs. Veal* appeared, which furnishes additional proof that Defoe was reporting without much embellishment certain actual happenings and beliefs, — a view first advanced by Mr. G. A. Aitken in his classic essay (*Nineteenth Century*, Jan., 1895). Sir Charles's contribution gave rise to one by Miss Dorothy Gardiner, "What Canterbury Knew of Mrs. Veal and her Friends" (*RES.*, vii, 188). Miss Gardiner's knowledge of the antiquarian lore of Canterbury enabled her to identify in great detail the persons and places associated with the story. Owing to these cumulative researches we now know almost everything that is needed to reconstruct Defoe's method of composing his *Apparition*,—although it should perhaps be confessed that the "scoured gown," which Mr. Aitken humorously deplored that he was unable to trace, still eludes the present indefatigable researchers.—Miss Virginia Harland's "Defoe's Narrative Style" (*JEGP.*, xxx, 55) is an intelligent essay in appreciation, as is likewise the bicentenary tribute in *TLS.*, April 23, 1931.

R. N. Cunningham, Jr. (*MLN.*, xlv, 93) describes nine tales by Motteux (1701?; 2nd ed., 1703), some of which were derived from the *Decameron* and the *Exemplary Novels*.—Paul Hazard, in "Une Source anglaise de l'abbé Prévost" (*MP.*, xxvii, 339), shows Prévost borrowing from Steele's *Conscious Lovers*.

M. Paul Dottin's *Samuel Richardson: Imprimeur de Londres* confines itself to biography. "We are reserving," says the author, "for another volume all literary criticism of Richardson's work as well as the questions of comparative literature." Accordingly I shall postpone my final judgment of his work until its completion. Tentatively, however, I may say that this first part leaves an unfavorable impression. It contains few facts of real importance concerning Richardson's life and character that have not already been related by Brian W. Downs in his *Richardson* (1928), — and there related moreover in a manner more suitable to such a subject than M. Dottin's, which is by turns journalistic, rhetorical, hectic, smart, grimacing, or irreverent, but very rarely designed

to effect that rehabilitation of Richardson which M. Dottin declares to be his purpose.—A. L. Reade, R. Brimley Johnson, and O. H. T. Dudley (*TLS.*, Jan. 22, 29, Feb. 5, 12, 1931) discuss the question whether Richardson obtained some of his schooling at Christ's Hospital.—A. D. McKillop, in "The Personal Relations between Fielding and Richardson" (*MP.*, xxviii, 423), corrects some of the hasty generalizations current on that subject.

Brian W. Downs edits Fielding's *Apology for the Life of Mrs. Shamela Andrews*,³ and J. Paul De Castro discloses (*TLS.*, June 4, 1931) the incidents which led up to that delightfully characteristic public statement by the eighteen-year old Henry Fielding:

This is to give notice to all the world that Andrew Tucker and his son John Tucker are clowns and cowards.

H. W. Taylor, in "Fielding upon Cibber" (*MP.*, xxix, 73), describes the many attacks which preceded the famous one in *Joseph Andrews*.—Lewis M. Knapp, in "Ann Smollett, Wife of Tobias Smollett" (*PMLA.*, xlv, 1035), a well documented article, sets Smollett's domestic life in a clear and pleasant light; and elsewhere (*TLS.*, Jan. 8, 1931) he corrects wrong statements concerning the vogue of Smollett's novels.

By far the most important of the recent monographs in our field is Harold William Thompson's *A Scottish Man of Feeling: Some Account of Henry Mackenzie, Esq. of Edinburgh, and of the Golden Age of Burns and Scott* (Oxford Univ. Press). This admirable work has a general interest which transcends its particular theme, for it is the first illuminating study of that amazingly brilliant period of Scottish letters which had, and continues to have, such profound effects upon English and American culture. The author's well justified enthusiasm for the greatness of Scottish achievements animates his patient researches into the facts of Mackenzie's life and works. His chapters, "The Sentimental Novel," "The Man of Feeling," and "Sequels," are the first detailed scholarly accounts of the sources, influences, and qualities of Mackenzie's novels. From the temptation of over-estimating the merits of his author he is saved by a keen sense of humor. I wish that Professor Thompson had gone a little more fully into the details of Mackenzie's own emotional and sentimental development, and had used Mackenzie's letters to his wife for that purpose (see p. 144); but he is of course the best judge of the propriety of so doing. From beginning to end his book is as entertaining as it is instructive. He has the gift of

³ Cambridge, St. John's College, Gordon Fraser.

felicitous quotation, and is never at a loss for a pertinent anecdote. His *Mackenzie* is at least as amusing as Dottin's *Richardson*; and to compare the style and tone of these two works would be a salutary lesson in the difference between pert sprightliness and good humor never dis severed from good taste.

An edition of Mrs. Frances Brooke's *Lady Julia Mandeville* (ed. 1773) is published, with a good introduction by E. Phillips Poole, by the Scholartis Press. *The Castle of Otranto*, *Vathek*,⁴ and *The Romance of the Forest* (the last with some omissions) are edited by H. R. Steeves in the Modern Student's Library; and *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, in two volumes, by R. Austin Freeman in Everyman's Library.—The Facsimile Text Society reproduces from the Colchester edition of 1785 Clara Reeve's *Progress of Romance, and the History of Charoba Queen of Aegypt*.—The American translation, by Caleb Bingham, of Chateaubriand's *Atala* is edited by W. L. Schwartz in the Stanford Miscellany.

GENERAL SURVEYS.—H. F. Watson's *Sailor in English Fiction and Drama: 1550-1800* (Columbia Univ. Press) is disappointing. Its author admits that he has slight acquaintance with the sea or with seafaring men, and places upon the title-page as a motto the line from *The Hunting of the Snark*:

The bowsprit got mixed with the rudder sometimes.

But his possible deficiencies in nautical technique are unimportant in comparison with his inexpertness in literary scholarship. He ignores some works important to his subject, such as Shebbeare's *Lydia*, and fails to see the full significance of others that he discusses, e. g., of Smollett's novels. From the fact that there are sea-scenes in the Greek romances he draws inferences as to their influence upon later writers which are very dubious, and which ignore the fact that storms and shipwrecks in all periods and times are likely to result in similar incidents. The conclusions at which he arrives seem to me of insufficient interest and value.

A better, though not entirely satisfactory, attempt is Miss Joyce M. Horner's *English Women Novelists and Their Connection with the Feminist Movement: 1688-1797* (Smith College Studies in Modern Languages). The first part of this study describes the change in the professional and economic position of women-novel-

⁴ A brief but exceptionally clear and reliable exposition of the main facts about the life and works of Beckford is given by Dr. Margaret Bloom in the *University of California Chronicle* of October, 1931.

ists from Mrs. Behn to Mary Wollstonecraft, and the second examines the influence of the feminine mind upon novels written by women. The arrangement and the punctuation of the footnotes seem whimsical, and in the text there occur some amazing generalizations, such as "Women are less susceptible to caste-distinctions than men"; but on the whole the merits of this performance exceed the weaknesses. Miss Horner's main conclusions are that female novelists performed a distinct service by characterizing women more truly than men had characterized them, and by emphasizing values in life which men were likely to overlook. This study tends to give Miss Burney a higher place historically and intrinsically than has heretofore been accorded to her.

In *Die Vorgeschichte des historischen Romans in der modernen englischen Literatur* (Britannica, No. 2; Hamburg), Gerhard Buck limits himself to pseudo-historical novels of the periods from c. 1650-1720 and 1762-1814. One of the outstanding merits of this work is that Dr. Buck has a perfectly clear and definite conception of the literary types with which he is concerned. To him the historical novel proper does not arise until the creative power of Sir Walter Scott called it forth by inspiring historic atmosphere into narratives of ancient days. Sir Walter Scott wrote genuinely "historische Romane"; the prose fictions written by his predecessors were merely "historisierende Romane," that is to say, they placed their action in the past without recreating the peculiar milieu of that past. Among the authors of historied fiction (if I may thus paraphrase "historisierende") in the first period, the best was Defoe, but not even he conceived that one should envisage the past as different from the present; and the authors of the latter half of the eighteenth century, although they wrote historied fiction frequently, and for several different purposes, continued to lack the historical spirit. In the first part of his work Dr. Buck's account is weakened by insufficient attention to French fiction; and in the second part, by neglect of the influence of Prévost: but on the whole, both in matters of fact and in judgment, this is a valuable contribution.

C. B. A. Proper's *Social Elements in English Prose Fiction Between 1700-1832* (H. J. Paris, Amsterdam) describes the gradual widening of "the social area of prose fiction" from Defoe to Mrs. Inchbald. He shows that at the beginning of the eighteenth century the laboring classes were rarely if ever presented seriously in the novel, and that little by little in the works of Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, Mackenzie, and the novelists of the Revolution,

their hardships and problems became more and more prominent. In conclusion he describes the conservative novels and prose satires which were evoked by the emotional and intellectual excesses of some of the revolutionary enthusiasts. The point of view and the purpose of Dr. Proper often seem similar to those of a sociologist, but his regard for literary values is rarely lost. This treatise is avowedly an introduction to Professor Cazamian's study of the same movement in nineteenth-century prose fiction, *Le Roman Social en Angleterre* (1904). It traverses the ground previously covered in Dr. Allene Gregory's *French Revolution and the English Novel*, but is likely to supersede her work because it is more nearly judicial in its attitude towards political and economic issues.

University of Illinois

ERNEST BERNBAUM

REVIEWS

Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism. Edited by THOMAS MIDDLETON RAYSOR. Harvard University Press, 1930. 2 vols. Pp. lxi + 256 + 375. 42 s.

The last years have seen a new series of attempts to reconstruct the mind of Coleridge out of the fragments which he left to posterity. Resort to the mass of MSS. which deal with his philosophical system has shown that his reiterated promises, which had seemed to be but the last despairing cries of a ruined intellect, were amply justified. As a critic Coleridge's reputation has long been established and the matter hitherto neglected by editors is naturally small. It was scarcely to be hoped that, in the case of a writer who repeated himself so frequently as Coleridge did, this small matter would contain any entirely fresh ideas. But every re-expression of an idea by Coleridge adds something towards its clarification, and the additional MSS. published by Mr. Raysor are of unexpected value and interest.

The chief of these are shorthand reports by one Tomalin of three lectures given in the course 1811-12. Tomalin was evidently both an accurate and an intelligent reporter and his notes contain in an early form the definition of poetry to be found in the *Biographia* chap. xiv (1817). In the early passage Coleridge's chief point is the "spontaneous" nature of imagination; to this spontaneity he traces the pleasure which he makes the first essential of art, for it "excites us to all the activity of which our nature is capable and

yet demands no painful effort, and occasions no sense of effort." In the *Biographia* Coleridge significantly revises this conception of imagination, representing it as "first put in action by the will and understanding, and retained under their irremissive, though gentle and unnoticed control."

Throughout his critical work Coleridge attempted to reconcile a conception of imagination as the vision of a transcendent reality with the realization, which his concrete critical studies made increasingly clear, of the evident fact that art is self-expression. In a precious note rescued by Mr. Raysor he gives a subtle conception of art as the expression of "our own feelings, that never perhaps were attached by us consciously to our personal selves." And in the lecture notes mentioned above he expands this flash of insight into a statement which comes near to Shelley: "our inward yearnings after perfection" make us "wish to have a shadow, a sort of prophetic existence present to us, which tells us what we are not . . . yet blending in us much that we are." Here also is a statement which implies more definitely than anything I have found elsewhere that *all* dramatic characterisation is self-expression: "It was not the mere Nurse (in *Romeo and Juliet*) . . . but it was this great and mighty being changing himself into the Nurse . . . that gave delight."

In all his definitions of art, from the time of his earliest reading of Wordsworth, the corner stone for Coleridge was artistic unity. In many places, by wording or direct reference, he suggests that he formulated this idea from his early readings of Plotinus. In the catalogue of "*The collection of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents formed by Alfred Morrison*" (not hitherto known to contain anything by Coleridge) we have his most definite statement of his indebtedness to the Platonic tradition: "What then if, following Plato and all the Platonists, we should define beauty to be a pleasurable sense of the many . . . reduced to unity by the correspondence of all the component parts to each other, and the reference of all to one central point." Parallels will readily occur to readers of Plotinus.

The remainder of Mr. Raysor's work is to give an exact reproduction of Coleridge's MSS. in place of the version composed by H. N. Coleridge. This first editor, nephew of S. T. Coleridge, aimed at constructing something readable for a wide public and his methods served their purpose in making his uncle the chief influence in English criticism throughout the century. But the liberties which he took with the MSS. have not hitherto been known. As an editor, indeed, he set out to enjoy himself with complete freedom from the limitations of the scholastic conscience. In his gayer moods he leapt about among jottings, lecture notes and newspaper reports, picking a paragraph here, a sentence there, and stringing them together by links of his own invention. By piecing

together bits that were not originally consecutive and expanding detached notes into an outward semblance of connected narrative, he has made Coleridge appear an even less consecutive composer than he was in reality. To track his windings and doublings is indeed an enthralling pursuit. As to matter, he does not venture to add anything, but holding that Coleridge's popularity was damaged by his German metaphysics, he omits speculation if he can do so without incoherence. For example, a characteristic and valuable comparison between the states of the mind in dreams and in stage illusion is in two places omitted. He smooths out the oddities of his uncle's philosophical language—for example, Coleridge's characteristic "subsist" becomes "consist"—and also eliminates some of his descents to vulgar imagery.

But it is when writing up his uncle's rough notes that he becomes most entertaining and the reader begins to collect a notion of his style as distinguished from that of his original. Unfortunately he surpassed Samuel in his love for the exclamatory and contributed on his own account a passion for perorations. At the end of Coleridge's chronological table of Shakespeare's plays, he adds, surprisingly, "Merciful, wonder-making Heaven! what a man was this Shakespeare! Myriad-minded, indeed, he was." At the end of his concoction on Shakespeare's characters, he has, "This is an important consideration and constitutes our Shakespeare the morning star, the guide and the pioneer, of true philosophy" and on Othello and Desdemona "As the curtain drops, which do we pity most?" Unfortunately all this was like enough to Coleridge's worse moments to escape the notice of his most sensitive readers. But though Samuel's style can be turgid, his faults come from his wrestle with his matter. Henry Nelson never ventured to add matter; his additions are empty decoration. An example of his writing up of his uncle's notes will give some idea of what is to be accounted to him in the general impression. S. T. C.: "Mothers; Deborah's song: nature is the poet here. But to become by power of imagination another thing. . . . Proteus, a river, a lion, yet still the god felt to be there. Then his thinking faculty and thereby perfect abstraction from himself; he works exactly as if of another planet, as describing the movements of two butterflies." H. N. C.: "Read that magnificent burst of woman's patriotism and exultation, Deborah's song of victory; it is glorious, but nature is the poet there. It is quite another matter to become all things and yet remain the same,—to make the changeful god be felt in the river, the lion and the flame;—this it is, that is the true imagination. Shakespeare writes in this poem, as if he were of another planet, charming you to gaze on the movements of Venus and Adonis, as you would on the twinkling dances of two vernal butterflies."

Mr. Raysor's book is the outcome of a wide knowledge of litera-

ture. His estimate of the criticism of Coleridge, though high, is nevertheless well balanced; he recognises Coleridge's limitations as a critic of Shakespeare, his inability, for example, to understand that Shakespeare sometimes did things for fun. He furnishes valuable materials for the study of Coleridge in connection with his English predecessors in Shakespeare criticism and confirms the opinion, which has been recently growing among scholars, that Coleridge's debt to Germany has been over-rated. Particularly valuable are his notes discussing parallels with Schlegel. Of Mr. Raysor as editor it is sufficient to say that he has done the work once and for all.

A. E. DODDS

The University of Birmingham, England

The Letters of John Keats. Edited by MAURICE BUXTON FORMAN.
Oxford University Press: American Branch, New York, 1931.
2 vols. Pp. lvi + 607. \$14.00.

It is hard to realize that in 1891 Sidney Colvin hoped his would become the standard edition of Keats's letters. For his notes, though valuable, are few, he has no index, no account of the correspondents, and only 164 letters. H. B. Forman's excellent editions (1883-1902) eventually included 217 letters, but as these form part of a five-volume Keats and are no longer easily procurable, as the Cambridge (Massachusetts) edition of the poems and letters (1899) was intended for the general reader rather than the scholar, and as several important letters have come to light, conceptions of editing have changed somewhat, and we have learned more about Keats,—for these reasons it was desirable that all the correspondence should be brought together and re-edited from the original manuscripts. This Maurice Buxton Forman has sought to do. Unfortunately, he has been able to consult the originals of only a little more than half the letters; many he has been unable to trace, although nearly all must still be in existence, and some that he has traced he has not seen.¹ He has, however, added 13 letters not in his father's collection, has supplied omissions and faithfully reproduced all of Keats's slips of the pen, misspellings, and omis-

¹ The letter of October 13, 1819, to Fanny Brawne, a facsimile of which is included in A. E. Hancock's *John Keats* (1908), is not as Mr. Forman says, "in the collection of Frank B. Bemis, Esq., Boston, U. S. A.," but in the Roberts Autograph Collection at Haverford College, Pennsylvania. The curator of this collection, Professor R. W. Kelsey, who has been good enough to examine the letter for me, writes that what Mr. Forman describes as "Keats's dots" after "to my love" are not in the original. Mr. Forman does not point out that "He shall not die by God" in Keats's letter to Miss Reynolds of September 14, 1817, is from *Tristram Shandy*, vi, viii.

sion of punctuation, has furnished an excellent index, has given the present location of each letter (or, if that is unknown, the source from which the text is derived), and has had reproduced for the first time a delightful miniature of Fanny Brawne. Yet the scholar who is unable to afford these costly volumes, which are in every respect beautiful examples of book-making, may console himself with the knowledge that the important new letters are accessible elsewhere, that few of the changes in the text affect the meaning.² that the introduction deals merely with routine matters, and that the added notes are useful rather than important. A number of the elder Forman's notes have been omitted, others have wisely been abbreviated, and un-indicated additions have been made to a few; but as many new notes are unsigned their authorship is uncertain. Much more might well have been done: use might have been made of what Miss Lowell tells us of Woodhouse, Brown, and other correspondents, and noteworthy comments by later critics on the meaning and significance of certain passages might have been pointed out—for example, the illuminating remarks by Professors Garrod (*Keats*, 119-37) and Lowes (*Road to Xanadu*, 344-6, 581-2) on Keats's description of his meeting with Coleridge.³

The letters merit detailed consideration by a scholar of the first rank—such editing as we may be confident that Professor de Selincourt is giving Wordsworth's correspondence. For, as A. C. Bradley's admirable essay (*Oxford Lectures on Poetry*) and C. D. Thorpe's book (*The Mind of John Keats*) have shown, it is impossible to understand Keats's life and character or to do full justice to his poetry without a knowledge of his letters. And, quite apart from the poetry, they are well worth the reading for the picture they give, fresh, vivid, and warm with life, of a sensitive, virile, humorous, lovable, rarely-endowed young man, struggling against unsurmountable odds. Even the terrible letters to Fanny Brawne constitute a human document of absorbing interest. It is to be hoped, therefore, that these attractive volumes will lead many once again to burn through the fierce dispute betwixt genius, poverty, consumption and impassioned clay.

RAYMOND DEXTER HAVENS

² I have noticed nothing more important than that, in a letter to George and Georgiana Keats, the last sentence written on 21 September, 1819, now reads "I wish to devote myself to another sensation"; instead of "sensation" all the earlier texts read "verse alone."

³ Mr. Forman does not even call attention to Coleridge's accounts of the same meeting.

Eighteenth Century English Aesthetics, a Bibliography. By JOHN W. DRAPER. Heidelberg: Winter, 1931. Pp. 140. M. 7. (Anglistische Forschungen, 71.)

One of the most fertile of the literary fields awaiting cultivation is eighteenth-century criticism; and until we know a great deal more about it than we do at present we shall continue to cherish misconceptions as to what the creative writers of Pope's time thought regarding the purpose, methods, and standards of literature, the real test of great poetry, the *genres*, the unities, imitation and the rest, and as to how these fundamental conceptions changed as the years passed. We need more studies like J. E. Brown's very useful *Critical Opinions of Johnson*, but before they can be written we must know where the critical opinions of other writers are to be found. Durham's bibliography in his *Critical Essays . . . 1700-1725* and R. W. Babcock's *The Genesis of Shakespeare Idolatry, 1766-1799* (University of North Carolina Press, 1931), are admirable but we need a complete list. This, so far as critical writings of a general nature are concerned, Mr. Draper has tried to give us. His four bibliographies include general works, architecture and gardening, pictorial and plastic arts, literature and drama, music and opera. That is, he intends to mention not only books whose chief concern is with criticism, but prefaces, periodical essays, and transactions of learned societies—everything, in short, except studies of individual authors or works. Indeed, he includes a number of pieces issued in the years immediately before or after the eighteenth century, the publications of leading French critics of the day, and translations of Aristotle, Longinus, and other classical authorities; he often cites contemporary reviews of the works listed and even adds an appendix of recent scholarly studies in the field. These "extras" are, like the survey of the vast body of eighteenth century periodicals, obviously far from complete, but they are useful. When we have so much it is unfair to ask for more but cross references, a chronological list of all titles, and the indication of later editions in which extensive changes were made (as in T. Warton's *Observations*) would have been most welcome.

There are not a few misprints and errors as to dates, and inevitably many omissions. Some of these last will be found in the following list which, however, does not include any of the forty-five general critical works in Mr. Durham's list which are not in Mr. Draper's, or the references in the index to Chalmer's *British Essayists*. My titles are few in comparison with the thousand Mr. Draper gives and they are offered in appreciation of the courage, perseverance, and industry he has shown in dealing with so huge a task. *Part I*: Anon. The alliance of music, poetry, and oratory, 1789; Hartley, D. Observations on man, 1749; Anon. An Ode

on beauty, [with] observations on taste and on poetry, 1749; Anon. An Ode on martial virtue, [with] observations [continued from the preceding] 1750; Anon. An Ode on poetry, 1754; Parsons, J. W. Hints on producing genius, 1790; Plotinus, Concerning the beautiful, translated by Thomas Taylor, 1787; Pouilly, L. J. L. de, Theory of agreeable sensations [translation], 1749; Pye, H. J. Beauty, a poetical essay, 1766; Rylands, John Select essays on moral virtue, genius, science, and taste, 1792; Shaftesbury, Characteristics, 1707-14; [Stedman, Dr. ?] Laelius and Hortensia: or thoughts on the nature and objects of taste and genius, 1782; Stubbe [or Stubbs?], Henry. Dialog on beauty in the manner of Plato, 1731; Anon. A vindication of the press . . . on criticism, 1718. *Part II*: Chambers, Sir W. Dissertation, 1772, was elaborated from his Designs of Chinese buildings, 1757; Anon. A dialogue on Stowe, 1748; Jessop W. Essay on gardens [in verse]; Pye, H. J. Progress of refinement, 1783 [on gardening]; Anon. The rise and progress of the present taste in planting parks . . . gardens, 1767; The Spectator: nos. 412, 414, 477 [on gardening], by Addison; The World: nos. 6, by H. Walpole, 15, by F. Coventry, 76, 118, 119, by R. O. Cambridge [all on gardening]. *Part III*: Foulis, R. A catalogue of pictures, 1776; Mitchell, J. Three poetical epistles to . . . masters in the art of painting, 1731; Raspe, R. E. Critical essay on oil painting, 1781; Whaley, J. A collection of poems, 1732 (contains An essay on painting). *Part IV*: Aikin, J. Essays on song-writing, 1772, and Poems, 1791 (contains Picturesque); Aiken, J. and Barbauld, A. L. Miscellaneous pieces, 1773; [Barton, Richard.] Farrago, 1792; Beattie, J. Elements of moral science, 1790-93 (Contains sections on imagination, etc.) and The theory of language, 1788; Beloe, W. Miscellanies, 1795; Blackwell, T. An enquiry into the life and writings of Homer, 1735; Bouhours, Dominique. The arts of logick and rhetoric, translated by J. Oldmixon, 1728; Capell, E. Reflections on originality, 1766 (answers Hurd); Cooke, T. Ode on benevolence [with] observations on education, taste, and poetry, 1753; Cooper, Elizabeth. Historical and poetical medley or muses library, 1737; Cooper, M. Ode on beauty [with] observations on taste and on the present state of poetry in England, 1749; Anon. Essay on the present state of the theatre in France, England, Italy, 1760 ?; Anon. Essays by a society of gentlemen at Exeter, 1796; Anon. Essays moral and miscellaneous, 1734; Fogg, P. W. Dissertations, grammatical and philological, 1796; [Gildon, C.] The life of Mr. Thomas Betterton, 1710; and The post-man robb'd of his mail, 1719; Gray, T. Observations on English meter; The Guardian: No. 16, on the lyric, attributed to Ambrose Philips; Guthrie, W. Remarks on tragedy, 1747; Hiffernan, Paul. Dramatic genius, 1770; Hill, Aaron. Original letters, 1710 ff.; Lyttelton, George, Baron. Dialogues of the dead, 1760; Melmoth, William. Letters

of Sir Thomas Fitzosborne on several subjects, I 1742, II 1749; Mickle, W. J. *Lusiad*, 1798 (contains Observations upon epic poetry); Murray, L. *English grammar*, 1795; Muses Mercury, June, 1707, Of the old English poets and poetry; Ogden, James. *Epistle on poetic composition*, 1762 ?; Philips, Ambrose. *Pastorals*, 1709 (preface); Pope, A. *Discourse on pastoral poetry*, 1717, and Shakespeare, 1725 (preface); and Pope's letters and Spence's *Anecdotes*; Prior, M. *Solomon*, 1718 (preface); Purney, T. *Pastorals*: viz. *The Bashful Swain*, 1717 (preface); Pye, H. J. *Sketches on various subjects*, 1797; Say, S. *Poems on several occasions and two critical essays*, 1745; Sayers, Frank. *Disquisitions, metaphysical and literary*, 1793 (contains an essay on English meters); Anon. *Sentimental fables [with] an Essay on English versification*, 1775; [Shiels, R.] *Dissertations on theatrical subjects*, 1756; Smith, Adam. *Essays on philosophical subjects*, 1795 (contains: Of the nature of imitation; Of the affinity between music, dancing, and poetry); Steele, J. *Prosodia rationalis*, 1775; Stevens, G. A. *Lecture on heads*, Dublin, 1788 (contains An essay on satire); Stocksdale, P. *The poet*, 1773, and *Miscellanies in prose and verse*, 1778; Swift, J. *Proposals for correcting the English tongue*, 1711-12, and *Tale of a Tub*, 1704 (section III); Tenterden, C. A. *Essay on the use and abuse of satire*, 1786; Thompson, W. *An hymn to May*, 1757 (preface); Vida's *Art of poetry translated . . . by Christopher Pitt*, 1725; Walcot, D. *Observations on the correspondence between poetry and music*, 1769; Warton, J. *Virgil*, 1753 (also contains *Essays on pastoral, didactic, and epic poetry*); Watts, Isaac. *Horae lyricae*, 2nd ed., 1709 (preface), and *Miscellaneous thoughts*, 1734; Wesley, S. *Epistle to a friend concerning poetry*, 1700; West, Jane. *Poems and plays*, 1799 (contains *An ode on poetry*, in four parts, ii, 215-53); Whitehead, W. *A charge to the poets*, 1762; *The World*: nos. 26, *Simplicity of taste*, by J. Warton, and 32, *On critics*, by R. Dodsley; Young, E. *Two epistles to Mr. Pope concerning the authors of the age*, 1730; Blackmore, Richard. *Alfred*, 1723 (preface); Thomson, James. *Winter*, 2nd ed., 1726 (preface).

RAYMOND DEXTER HAVENS

Samuel Richardson, 1689-1761, Imprimeur de Londres: Auteur de Pamela, Clarisse et Grandison. Par PAUL DOTTIN. Paris: Perrin, 1931. Pp. xx + 521. Fr. 45.

M. Dottin's book is the most comprehensive account of Richardson's life and work that has yet appeared—much fuller than Thomson, Dobson, or Downs—and he promises to extend it with

another volume, *Les Romans de Richardson*. The whole will approach in size and importance the same scholar's well known work on Defoe. His avowed purpose is to rehabilitate his subject, but there is a curious gap between promise and performance; he underscores the defects of Richardson's qualities, and imagines ludicrous scenes in which the young Samuel avoids pickpockets and street-walkers, or the elderly novelist babbles to his wife or his female senate. Whether the reader enjoys this archness or not, he will find a great deal of well ordered information here, but he must prepare to be interrupted by strains like this: "Foin de ces précisions de libraire et de biographe! Vibrez, harpes, et jouez, épinettes! Que le lecteur se prépare à chanter hosanna! Car Sir Charles va paraître dans toute sa splendeur!" The three chapters summarizing the novels are headed, "La Virginité de Pamela Andrews," "La Virginité de Miss Clarisse Harlowe," and "La Virginité de Sir Charles Grandison," and the story of Pamela is interspersed with "Alleluia's." Nothing is easier than to poke fun at Samuel Richardson.

At the same time, Dottin gives us much new material from the Richardson papers at South Kensington and from contemporary newspapers and pamphlets. The extracts from unpublished letters (translated into French, of course), and the accounts of the publication and reception of the novels are reliable. He follows closely the correspondence between Richardson and his advisers during the time when he was writing *Clarissa* and *Grandison*, and gives us an excellent survey of the various groups of friends and admirers. The apparatus is meagre, and students will often find it difficult to verify Dottin, especially in passages where he fills in detail according to the new mode of biography, or pieces together scanty evidence to form an account which has a deceptive appearance of completeness. A striking example is the chapter on Richardson's literary background; here works which Richardson quotes, others which he must have known, and still others which Dottin supposes he knew are indiscriminately lumped together.

We have gone to the other extreme from the ingenuous youth who found Richardson "an original for goodness and sensibility." Dottin discovers snobbery, vanity, and self-righteousness at every turn, and is moreover suspicious of all Richardson's admirers; Johnson in particular, he would persuade us, was filled with jealousy at Richardson's success, and plied the novelist with insincere praises. This is a serious misinterpretation of a famous friendship. Johnson could distinguish very justly between the man and the author, and we had better do likewise. In the great masses of correspondence we have at our disposal there is unmistakable evidence that despite an infinite deal of fussiness, puffery, and complacency, Richardson was at times capable of losing himself

in the problems that confront the artist. It is to be hoped that in his next volume M. Dottin will redress the balance.

ALAN D. MCKILLOP

The Rice Institute

A Life of Thomas Chatterton. By E. H. W. MEYERSTEIN. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930. Pp. xix + 584. \$7.50.
Chatterton. By W. MACNEILE DIXON. Warton Lecture on English Poetry. From the Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. xvi. London: Humphrey Milford, 1930. Pp. 22. 1s. 6d.

Mr. Meyerstein is the first commentator of Chatterton to give a satisfactory explanation for the origin of the name *Rowley* which the poet used to cloak his fifteenth-century self. He is the first biographer to employ the important and sometimes unique memoranda *re* Chatterton and Rowley collected by Michael Lort in the seventeen seventies and now deposited in the Central Library at Bristol. He notes in passing, although evidently without appreciating the full value of the suggestion, the debt the Rowley poems owe to the mode of the glosses in *The Shepherd's Calendar*,—and, I would add, its numerous eighteenth century imitations. He is furthermore the first modern critic to trace at length the specific effects of Chatterton's poetry on later English poets. The accumulated evidence is impressive.

So much for the positive virtues of the volume. Comment on the negative side is more difficult, because Mr. Meyerstein has forestalled a large measure of criticism. He says frankly that in attempting to view Chatterton only as his contemporaries saw him: "I am reactionary." He disclaims accuracy: "I trust it will not be imputed to me as a vast fault that I have allowed the words of others, sometimes faultily transcribed, to appear at least as often as mine." And again: "I dare not hope that the book is objective, accurate, or exhaustive, though it was prompted by a desire for truth, and a passion for English poetry."¹ This system extends through the book: "One may be forgiven, perhaps, for reading something more into the piece"; or thus: "If the reader complains that the period is overstepped here, it is humbly submitted that a volcano contains lava long before it is in eruption."

I would take exception, however, less to Mr. Meyerstein's unscholarly methods than to his dubious judgment. First of all, he

¹ "Your humility, Mr. Bingley," said Elizabeth, "must disarm reproof."

"Nothing is more deceitful," said Darcy, "than the appearance of humility. It is often only carelessness of opinion, and sometimes an indirect boast."

works too close to his subject. It is unfortunate that so much serious and intensive work has not been informed by a more enlightened, modern attitude. He sees Chatterton not from a distance but so near at hand that the turbulent uncertainties of the poet's day-to-day existence blur the reader's mind, preventing any ultimate perspective. There is also too much multiplying of detail about events, people, and places only incidental to Chatterton's history. The same errors carry over into Mr. Meyerstein's consideration of the poems.

I would furthermore question the good taste exhibited specifically in the chapter called "Girls," and generally in the detailed discussions of Chatterton's moral life and of his (entirely hypothetical) physical condition, as well as the necessity of devoting so much space to the material. The facts, such as they are, do little towards illuminating the important aspect of Chatterton—his Rowley poems—save as the psychologist may here find clues to the cause of the poet's divided personality. The student of Rowley finds the exposition distracting, to say the least.

If Mr. Meyerstein had delved less into this field and more into Chatterton's legacy to English poetry his work would have gained tremendously in value. He does present a more extensive survey of the poet's influence as "the father of the new Romantic poetry" than has yet been offered; but the subject needs—and deserves—a far deeper and more accurate examination. For example, in his analysis of Rowley's effect upon Coleridge he is content to cite Coleridge's "Monody on the death of Chatterton" as the prime evidence of Coleridge's regard. There is much more eloquent testimony than this; for, although Professor Lowes did not recognize it when he paced the road to Xanadu, *The Ancient Mariner* was once intensely coloured by Chatterton's *Bristowe Tragedy: or The Dethe of Syr Charles Bawdin* as well as by other Rowley poems. The extent of this influence may best be traced in the Bristol (1798) edition of the *Lyrical Ballads*, where *The Rime of the Ancyent Marinere* was originally published with many curious, affected mediaevalisms quickly dropped in the later versions. Only from the Bristol text can one really understand what Coleridge meant when he wrote that the poem "was professedly written in imitation of the *style* as well as the spirit of the elder poets," although that "with a few exceptions . . . the language adopted in it has been equally intelligible for these last three centuries."

That *The Dethe* was the starting point (technically speaking) for Coleridge's *Rime* is clear from the ballad measure used in each (although Coleridge introduces variations) and from an undeniable parallel (pointed out to me by Professor R. D. Havens) between the two poems. Coleridge writes:

The bride hath pac'd into the Hall,
 Red as a rose is she;
 Nodding their heads before her goes
 The merry Minstrelsy.

Compare the following passage in *The Dethe*:

Before hym went the council-menne,
 Ynne scarlett robes and golde,
 And tassils spanglynge ynne the sunne,
 Muche glorious to beholde: . . .

Ynne diffraunt partes a godlie psaume
 Moste sweetlie theye dydd chaunt;
 Behynde theyre backes syx mynstrelles came,
 Who tun'd the strunge bataunt.

Moreover, that Coleridge had Chatterton's *strunge* spellings in mind as a pattern for the Bristol version would explain the use therein of forms like *ancyent*, *marinere*, *cauld*, *emerauld*, *sterte*, *ee*, *ne* . . . *ne*, *n'old*, *eldritch*, *yspread*, *yeven*, *beforne*, *aventure*. Coleridge took *pheere* (l. 182) either directly from the Rowley Glossary (where, however, it is spelled *phere*) or from "Aella". The shift from iambs to lilting anapests—later to be used so exquisitely and as "founded on a new principle in poetry" in "Christabel"—he could have taken from "The Unknown Knight".

There are several other points in the book which call for comment; but even though casual errors in the spelling of proper names, and typographical slips may be quickly dismissed, two wrong ascriptions made by Mr. Meyerstein should be corrected. *Rowley and Chatterton in the Shades* was published anonymously in 1782 by Thomas James Mathias, not by George Hardinge; and the author of the devastatingly clever *Archaeological Epistle to the Reverend and Worshipful Jeremiah Milles* was not John Baynes, who even disclaimed it, but William Mason.

In marked contrast to *A Life of Thomas Chatterton* is the 1930 Warton lecture *Chatterton*, by Professor Dixon, which traces the poet's life in general terms and in relation to his century. From Chatterton's history, from "the appearance of such a poet in the age of prose and reason" Professor Dixon derives an interesting thesis. He regards the situation as typical evidence of the eternal conflict between man's desire for beauty, and man's desire for logic,—a struggle as keen in modern life as ever in the eighteenth century. He feels, however, that today we are nearer a reconciliation of these two forces, since "modern reason looks nervously at her concepts" and has lost a little of the arrogant confidence with which she once asserted the supremacy of her assumptions. We can even recognize magnificence and splendour in the challenge reason now flings to our intellect,—and what is this but to admit of beauty in the very heart of logic? If we have made such pro-

gress, we may begin to hope for the day when the spirit of poetry and the spirit of reason will lay aside their feud. But any compromise was inconceivable in Chatterton's time; and because of the intransigency he perished. The poet of Rowley is one of Reason's failures.

ESTHER PARKER ELLINGER

Baltimore

The Phoenix Nest, 1593. Edited by HYDER EDWARD ROLLINS.
Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931. Pp. xliii + 241. \$5.00.

This attractive anthology has been several times reprinted, most recently and satisfactorily by Hugh Macdonald in 1926 as one of the 'Haslewood Books.' The present editor explains that his edition was prepared before Macdonald's appeared, but there was in any case room for both, quite apart from the fact that the book now for the first time receives full editorial honours. Except in the size of type, which is slightly reduced, Rollins follows the typographical details of the original a little more minutely than did Macdonald: a checking of several scattered pages has revealed no variant of any sort. A separate index of authors might have been convenient.

The introduction is naturally devoted largely to a discussion of the identity of the editor R. S. While on this question no certain conclusion seems possible, Rollins evidently inclines, in affection if not in reason, to one Richard Stapleton, a friend of Chapman and probable author of the *Phillis and Flora* included accidentally it would seem in the first edition of his *Ovid's Banquet of Sense*. One could wish that more definite information were available, for R. S. was no mere publisher's hack. Not only did he have access to more than commonly agreeable poems from authors of repute, and take the trouble to obtain apparently sound and accurate versions, but he oversaw his work with meticulous care. Rollins points out for instance that his versions of Lodge's poems are superior to those that appear in Lodge's own collection *Phillis*, published the same year, and adds that "*The Phoenix Nest* is the most carefully printed miscellany, one of the most carefully printed books, of the period." R. S. should be honoured among editors: it is fitting that he has himself found an editor like Professor Rollins, whose graceful ambition it has been to rival the accuracy of his predecessor.

It is curious that only a single early edition of the anthology seems to have been issued. Considering that of the 1593 impression at least seven copies survive, I cannot regard the suggestion that "Other editions might easily have been published after the first without leaving any trace" as at all probable. The copy was

regularly entered (8 Oct., 1593) to "Iohn Iackson and his parteners," that is the Eliot's Court syndicate, but the imprint is somewhat laconic: "Imprinted at London, by Iohn Iackson. 1593." It was possibly a more or less private publication, over which R. S. retained control, and he may not have cared to have copies multiplied. But the book may well have been popular, and several later collections are supposed to have borrowed from it.

There is little in the editing of the volume upon which it is necessary to comment. Rollins should not have said (p. xii) that the Harvard copy "belongs to an impression earlier than the British Museum copy" on the strength of a couple of uncorrected readings. An 'order' of individual forms does not imply any 'order' of copies. Nor was he well inspired to write (p. xxxviii): "one sonnet with the peculiar rhyme-scheme *abab bccd edee ff*." The poem is not a sonnet and can never have been meant for one, even if it is counted as such in *Phyllis*: it is a couple of rime-royal stanzas!

The care and taste of the editing deserved and have received equal accuracy and beauty of printing from the Harvard University Press. The whole is a very pleasing specimen of book-building, and it is unfortunate that the sheets were not handled more carefully before binding: in the copy received, one of fifteen printed for review, some of the pages are badly smudged.

W. W. GREG

London

The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America, 1860-1920 (Main Currents in American Thought, Volume III). By VERNON LOUIS PARRINGTON. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1930. Pp. xvii + 429. \$4.00.

The death of Professor Parrington prevented the completion of the third volume of his notable trilogy upon the history of American thought. The plan for the entire volume had been worked out, however, and enough of the actual writing finished to give a fairly connected account from 1860 to 1900. His appraisal of developments since then is suggested by essays and other fragments reprinted from various sources. Of these addenda the one entitled "A Chapter in American Liberalism" is alone sufficient to indicate the loss to American literary history and social criticism entailed by his untimely passing. His colleague Professor Eby provides in a foreword a brief and appreciative assessment of the author's methods of work and literary significance.

The present volume possesses all the virtues of the earlier ones, with the additional merit that the author, now venturing into a less worked over period, succeeds in providing a unifying pattern for the apparent complexities and inconsistencies that marked the

surface of American intellectual life. This central unity he finds in the varied reactions of a rural-minded, individualistic, democratic society to the portentous rise of the related phenomena of industrial capitalism, modern science, the plutocracy and what someone has called "urban imperialism." It is a neat formula which serves to explain both the realists, whose outlook and literary methods were deeply colored by the coming of the new order, and the romanticists who sought an escape from it. Professor Partridge defends his thesis with a wealth of evidence and an eloquence of phrase which will make his challenging synthesis a point of departure for all future students of the period. His narrative, lacking every trace of that encyclopedic manner which mars the usual text-book survey of the field, sweeps the reader along often at a breathless pace.

His love for trenchant generalization sometimes betrays him into ill-considered statements. Few would agree that the post-war generation was "the most picturesque generation in our history" (11); that the New England zeal for reform was dead (51) when such diverse figures as Charles W. Eliot, Lucy Stone, Neal Dow, Ben Butler, Henry L. Dawes, Edward Bellamy, H. W. Blair and Frank B. Sanborn (not to mention Mrs. Eddy) were heralding a variety of new dawns; that Walt Whitman was "the greatest" figure in American letters (86); that "after Comte history became an interpretation and a philosophy" (197); that "the history of the western frontier is a long drab story of hardship and privation and thwarted hopes" (260) and nothing more; or that "only a knave" would call Peter Cooper's greenback proposal "the visionary scheme of a fool" (281). Such near truths do no damage to his main argument, neither were they needed to give pith and interest to his presentation.

Since the author's distinctive purpose is to relate literary currents to the social and economic background, it is pertinent to observe that he is most successful in accomplishing his aim when dealing with the "tragic era" that formed the backwash of the Civil War. Preoccupied with the more striking economic developments and the prevalent political bankruptcy, he fails to note the intellectual renaissance which, beginning in the early eighties, ushered in one of the most fruitful epochs in the history of the American mind. Science is a vague concept which he associates with a few leading European figures and that urbane American literary merchant John Fiske—not something that was being vigorously worked by such great native contributors as Willard Gibbs, Michelson, Rowland, Newcomb, Cope and Theobald Smith. One gets no notion that over five thousand eager young Americans (according to Thwing) were thronging the world-famed German centers of learning from 1860 to 1900; that graduate schools were beginning a robust development at home; that great national scholarly and scientific societies were springing up on every hand.

Similarly he is satisfied to dismiss the religious background with allusions to Beecher, Moody and Sankey, thus, with the single exception of Phillips Brooks, overlooking the really significant churchmen who by their writings and example were seeking to make religion a part of life instead of apart from life—men like Washington Gladden, Lyman Abbott, Josiah Strong and Cardinal Gibbons. The movement, of course, was reflected in belles-lettres, most notably perhaps in the case of Margaret Deland's *John Ward, Preacher* (1888). He is equally blind to the creative forces at work in the fine arts. To cite a single instance, American architecture is to him all gingerbread and jerrybuilding with no apparent awareness of the revolutionary changes that were being wrought under the leadership of Richardson, Burnham, Root and McKim, Mead and White. Perhaps most mystifying of all is his total neglect of the multifarious humanitarian strivings of the time—the charity organization movement, social settlements, penal reform, feminism and the like—themes which should have been dear to the heart of so stout a champion of liberalism.

In two other respects the present work reveals limitations that are shared equally by the volumes which preceded it. In the first place, while professing to present "the total pattern of American thought" or, more modestly, "the broad drift of major ideas" (xx), it is almost wholly concerned with the evolving concept of democracy. That there were other "major ideas" is nowhere hinted at. Thus it is left to Parrington's successors to trace the changing conceptions in regard to such matters as the family, morals, education, social reform, nationalism, and the uses of leisure. The other limitation concerns the nature of the material he has used. For the most part he has reexamined familiar literary landmarks, including, to be sure, major treatises in economic theory and political science. If the reviewer is right, such sources need to be supplemented and corrected by a sifting of the vast volume of printed materials—newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, cartoons and the like—which have reflected and embodied the mental attitude of the plain citizen. Indeed, it is arguable that the dominant American philosophy of life has often been implicit rather than explicit; that it has taken the form of action (or inaction) of which only incidental trace may be found in printed records.

Such criticisms are offered not with a view to detracting from the substantial merits of Professor Parrington's achievement, but rather to define its place as a path-breaking effort in the social history of American literature. His work is epoch marking if not epoch making. Students both of American literature and American history will long remain profoundly in his debt.

Harvard University

A. M. SCHLESINGER

The Early Development of Henry James. By CORNELIA PULSIFER KELL. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1930. Pp. 309. \$2.00. (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature.)

The idea in this work of seeking light on James by studying his beginnings and tracing his development is a good one; yet the results presented are neither new nor enlightening. The author has no new facts and her whole effort is interpretative and critical, on a scale—her study ends with *The Portrait of a Lady*—exceeding anything yet written about James, and surely far out of proportion to the value of the result. She discusses at length the relation between the reviews and the stories, only to arrive at the familiar conclusion that James was trying to be realistic, under Balzac's influence; and a three page analysis of James's first story brings out little more than the fact that it is a failure, despite the excellent example of Balzac. It is shown that James's progress as a writer was slow, that Howells may have led him to turn from realistic to romantic subjects in his early stories, that *The Passionate Pilgrim* is not in the main autobiography, that James did not find himself until he began to explore the international subject. Miss Kelly stresses, rightly I think, the interest of James's travel books, and their debt to Gautier. She is on much more questionable ground in ascribing a vast importance to the influence of *Wilhelm Meister*, Carlyle's translation of which James reviewed in 1865. The new ideas which Goethe is supposed to have inspired are already apparent, it seems to me, in James's review of *Azarian*, six months earlier; and in any case they are such as would naturally occur to any critical reader of novels. "Stubbornly, grimly," writes Miss Kelly, "though more silently now, he clung to the idea which had tormented him ever since he read *Wilhelm Meister*." There is no evidence of this "torment"; on the contrary the reviews are from the first inspired by the serene assurance of a very young reviewer.

For the purposes of criticism Miss Kelly is effusive and over-fanciful; her language is fine but vague, and she is not sufficiently critical. It is hardly necessary for example to explain the origin of "Madame de Mauves" by asserting on no evidence whatever that, "It had probably grown up around some American woman, married to a Frenchman, whom James had suspected of trying to live with a sorrow." Again, two pages are devoted to the "sources" of "The Madonna of the Future," of which the upshot is that James had been in Florence and had read Balzac and de Musset. Surely it is uncritical to assert as Miss Kelly does that in *The Portrait of a Lady* James has written a novel "that has as much life as those of George Eliot and Turgénieff and more art." And one cannot help feeling that the manner of such a passage as the following is unfortunate in a critical study. "James had made

his debut! He was a writer! He was one of the literary profession!" It is to be regretted, finally, that a scholar's or critic's English, on a literary subject, and in a university publication should be disfigured by numerous faults of syntax—"whom" for "who," for example (p. 216),—and by such expressions as "broadly-minded" (p. 11), "omnivorous" (p. 27), "cannot help but" (p. 27).

But these are details. What does the study show as a whole? It shows James trying to reconcile his theories of the novel with the practice of two different groups of writers whom he knew and admired, George Eliot and Turgénieff constituting one group and the French Naturalists the other. But Miss Kelly does not quite grasp the character of this opposition, or perhaps it is merely that her language is vague, and she confuses the matter by failing to distinguish between James's attitude towards Balzac and his attitude towards the Naturalists. The dilemma is summed up for her in the terms "art and life," and according to her the lesson James finally learns is that a novel must have both. But James never for a moment denied that *Le Père Goriot* has life, or that *Madame Bovary* has it, and his objection to the first is its lack of "charm," to the other both the absence of charm and the particular kind of life displayed in it. It is not the untruthfulness of Flaubert but his inhumanity that troubled James, and the problem was not how to reconcile "art" and "life," but how to combine the "finer" kinds of life, the spiritually richer and graver, with a devotion to truth as rigorous as Flaubert's and a care for art as telling and decisive.

MORRIS ROBERTS

Connecticut College

Atala, or the Love and Constancy of Two Savages in the Desert.

Translated from the French of F. A. CHATEAUBRIAND by
CALEB BINGHAM. Edited by WILLIAM LEONARD SCHWARTZ.
Stanford University Press, 1930. Pp. xii + 114. \$2.00.

Letters of Sarah Byng Osborn 1721-1773, from the Collection of
the Hon. Mrs. McDonnel. Edited by JOHN MCCLELLAND.
Stanford University Press, 1930. Pp. xx + 148. \$2.25.

These two volumes are the first of a series styled *The Stanford Miscellany* to be issued under the general editorship of Professor Margery Baily, with the assistance of six consulting editors. The purpose and scope of the undertaking are indicated by the following words printed on the paper jackets of the books: "They will afford direct acquaintance with minor classics and literary curiosities of the period—works which are of great importance not only because

they show which way the wind blew in their day but because they serve to enrich our knowledge of the strictly contemporary elements in the great artists of the period. The *Miscellany* will therefore include *belles lettres*, critical theory, historical sources, biography, philosophy and religion, educational systems and theories, and scientific discussion; the period to be covered will be that in which reason and sentiment were consciously at odds, with what we call romanticism as a result—roughly, 1660-1830.” Since the series covers in large part the same field as that of the Facsimile Text Society, it seems advisable to distinguish between the purposes of the two undertakings. The aim of the Society is to issue such books as will prove a valuable aid to the researches of scholars, books that may not in themselves possess sufficient value to merit critical editions, but which may furnish valuable evidence to scholarly investigation. For this reason much of the petulant criticism of Professor Shafer (see *The Bookman*, Feb., 1931) directed against the management of the Society is beside the point. The Society hopes to make accessible to scholars books that otherwise might always remain inaccessible because they possess no attractions for critical editors or bibliophiles. The *Miscellany*, on the other hand, would seem to appeal to the student rather than to the scholar. Unlike the Society, which reproduces books practically as they stand, this series modernizes the text, and supplies a brief introduction, selected bibliography, and scattered explanatory and textual notes, aids which are too circumscribed to be of much assistance to the scholar in the field, but which are quite adequate for the less specialized student, if we may judge the whole series from the two volumes that have appeared. The edition of Bingham’s translation of *Atala* puts in the hands of students who do not know French an important example of literary primitivism, a subject of constantly growing interest, which will receive thorough scholarly treatment in a history, soon, we hope, to issue from the Johns Hopkins University. The selection of this volume for publication should meet with wide approval. Perhaps the same may not be said of the second volume. There are so many other and better sources of information on all phases of life in the eighteenth century, from which the student can derive more satisfaction, that even the remote relationship of Sarah to Dorothy Osborn seems hardly sufficient to justify the selection. In general the reviewer finds the letters neither interesting nor very informative. If they had existed only in manuscript form, the volume would be more justified, but since they had already been printed once, this argument is removed.

The volumes are plainly bound in cloth of attractive colors, and printed on satisfactory though far from elegant paper.

L'Influence du Naturalisme français en Belgique de 1875 à 1900.

GUSTAVE VANWELKENHUYZEN. Mémoire couronné par l'Académie Royale. Bruxelles: La Renaissance du Livre. 1930. 339 + xii pp.

The final chapter of this work may be read to advantage before the rest. It sums up the conclusions, based on a thorough examination of discussion in Belgian periodicals and on analyses of novels and plays which show the influence of the naturalistic theories. The opening chapter sketches rapidly the rise of naturalism in France. The author argues that there never was, properly speaking, a naturalistic school: Zola's followers accepted his theory of documentation while abandoning his pseudo-scientific experimental credo. "Les tempéraments . . . l'emportèrent sur les théories." This remark is preëminently true of Belgium where the passionate discussion of naturalistic principles contributed largely to the renaissance of letters beginning about 1875. The tradition of the old Flemish painters paved the way for the new doctrines.

En vérité, le naturalisme, loin de conduire ses adeptes à l'imitation servile des maîtres français, allait être pour ceux-là l'occasion de mieux s'affirmer dans des tendances profondes et irréductibles. Il leur apparaissait la formule libératrice et non la sèche et restrictive théorie.

From 1874 to 1878 two Belgian periodicals, *L'Art Universel* and *L'Artiste*—fused together in 1877—championed vigorously the rising genre. Excerpts allow us to follow the evolution of the sense of the word *naturalism* as understood by the Belgians. It is first defined as "le culte ému, la mystérieuse intuition de la Nature," and this conception is never completely lost from view. Characteristically the discussions are addressed to painters no less than to men of letters. Soon Céard, Huysmans and Zola became regular contributors. Opposition began sharply in 1879 and a lively polemic ensued. Thus the public was aroused to interest in aesthetic questions, for naturalism proved a cat-o'-nine-tails to general indifference. No aristocratic literary dogma, for which initiation would have been required, could have had the same effect. The staffs of most of the journals were divided in their views and both sides were presented in the same columns. Thus *La Jeune Belgique*, which assumed the leadership in the renovation of Belgian letters in 1881, had staff editors in both camps. If Max Waller was at first with the naturalists, Albert Giraud made large reserves and quickly turned to the Parnassian ideal of pure art for which the journal stood after 1884. The battle grew hotter after the publication of Camille Lemonnier's *Un Mâle* (1880) with its marked naturalistic tendencies already foreshadowed by the same author's *Sedan* (1871). M. Vanwelkenhuyzen passes in review the entire production of Lemonnier who played in Belgium a rôle

analogous to that of Zola in France. Echoes from the critics, friendly and hostile, are quoted. The result of the survey points toward the indebtedness of Lemonnier to the French naturalists but at the same time makes clear his independence and essential originality. His ideal of art is always the "mélange d'idéal et de réel." The influence of Léon Cladel, of Daudet, and of the Goncourts was even more marked than that of Zola.

About 1886 the "réalisme sympathique" of the Russians and the "réalisme imaginaire" of the English began to supplant the French "notation scrupuleuse des choses extérieures." But at the same time the *théâtre libre*, which had more success in Bruxelles than in Paris, popularized the naturalistic plays. Although both Lemonnier and Eekhoud published during the nineties novels with marked naturalistic traits—a fact which adds evidence, if any is needed, that they always followed their own temperaments rather than any school—naturalism, after 1890, is in full decline before the symbolist movement.

Such, I believe, are the principal findings reached by the author in his wide and conscientious survey of his subject. He has marshaled into an admirably clear-cut presentation a mass of complicated detail and made a valuable contribution to the history of naturalism besides doing pioneer work in viewing the movement as seen through the Belgian temperament.

Reed College

BENJAMIN M. WOODBRIDGE

Balzac et la Femme étrangère. By I. JARBLUM. Préface de M. MARCEL BOUTERON. Paris, Bocard, 1930. Pp. 290.

Books on Balzac continue to pour in both from America (with two centers of production, Chicago and Princeton), and from France. This new contribution is very conscientiously written, and shows that the author is well informed and has expended a great deal of work on it. One could guess in every page that the author is a woman, even if it was not indicated in as many letters, and if one did not find remarks indicating that she would have preferred Balzac to have found only good qualities in women. The various chapters are: *La Juive*, *L'Allemande*, *L'Anglaise*, *L'Italienne*, *L'Espagnole*, *La Polonaise*, *La Russe*. Mlle Jarblum in each case recalls the women found in the various novels, and Balzac's likes and dislikes.

One can see that this study may be at times of real service. On the other hand, one does not see that Balzac was particularly original in the national traits he assigned to women. This must not be taken as a reproach. National characteristics had been observed before, and it was not with the relatively few travels under-

taken by Balzac that he could be expected to detect novelties. We learn that he disliked English women particularly, to the point of being unjust, and that he was very discreet in referring to Polish women, out of deference to Mme Hanska; also that Balzac drew on the English chiefly for the characters of old maids, and on the Germans for girls. The concluding chapters (VIII-X) are at times a little irrelevant, and at times even surprising; for instance, one reads: "Quelque paradoxal que cela puisse paraître, il arrive à Balzac dans ses brèves remarques d'attribuer un même trait aux différentes nations . . ." (p. 260). "Paradoxal"—why? A woman is always a woman after all; and she may, without surprising us, be artful in Italy and in Germany too; naïve in Germany and Italy; prudent in Italy and Spain, energetic in Provence, Brittany, Montenegro, and Italy.

There is a charming Preface by Mr. Bouteron.

ALBERT SCHINZ

University of Pennsylvania

Swinburne: A Nineteenth Century Hellene. By WILLIAM R. RUTLAND. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1931. Pp. viii + 410. 21 s.

Mr. Rutland's introduction, "The Hellenism of Some Modern Poets," particularly interesting for its comments on Shelley, is followed by admirable criticism of *Atalanta* and *Erechtheus*. Especially noteworthy is the scholarly treatment of the Meleager myth and of such vexatious questions as the relation of *Atalanta* to the poet's personality and to Greek drama. Mr. Rutland sees in *Erechtheus* the most faithful representation in English of the spirit of Attic tragedy, a play attaining to "an ethical intensity and a spiritual elevation not often equalled and perhaps never surpassed in our literature." Valuable appendices contain originals and translations of source-material known to Swinburne, as well as translations of his Greek poems.

A chapter on the Hellenistic poems is less satisfying. The author ignores Swinburne's affinity with the primitive emotions which lie behind ancient literature. He does not mention, for example, *A Nympholept* or *The Witch-Mother*. Is not Mr. Rutland's Hellenism, as his remarks on Keats seem to indicate, the chastened Hellenism of a modern humanist? He protests against the traditional tendency to belittle the content of Swinburne's poetry, but he does not write with sufficient detachment of *Poems and Ballads*. Must one still refer to the "hot sensuality" of *Hermaphroditus* and interpret *Dolores* (which most readers will continue to admire more than *Athens: An Ode*) as fustian? To prove the insincerity of

Swinburne's most famous poem, Mr. Rutland triumphantly quotes a letter to Howell, in which the poet speaks of adding "more jets of boiling and gushing infamy" to the "poisonous fountain of *Dolores*." But surely a hen's cackle, however facetious, would not determine the quality of an egg. To mention another debatable question, Mr. Rutland, like Nicolson and Lafourcade, exaggerates the disingenuousness of *Notes on Poems and Reviews*. For the most part one would rather praise Mr. Rutland's erudition and insight than quarrel with his sense of critical values. The general excellence of his study makes more glaring occasional misprints, obvious misspellings, and infelicities like "except I" (p. 85), "interpreted" (p. 146), "very divided" (p. 155), "Swinburne's best work is not so terribly difficult" (p. 249). Greater care would have prevented such blunders as that (p. 294) in which Hilton's celebrated parody, wrongly attributed to Calverley, is badly misquoted. Mr. Rutland, by the way, quotes too much, especially from Gosse.

Swinburne: A Nineteenth Century Hellene is written with a modesty and a disarming candor which we do not expect from a young poet. Students will find it most interesting and valuable.

The University of Kansas

CLYDE K. HYDER

R. L. Stevenson, A Study in French Influence. By HARRIET DOROTHEA MACPHERSON. Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Inc. New York, 1930. Pp. 76.

This pamphlet essay gives a pleasant enough introduction to the influence of France upon Robert Louis Stevenson. The first section, on Stevenson's relationship to France throughout his life—his various residences, friendships, and literary enthusiasms in France—is distinctly the more readable and valuable part of the study. The second section, on the French elements in Stevenson's works, is a little cumbered with pedantry of method without pedantry's virtue of exhaustiveness of treatment. The conclusion amounts to little more than that Stevenson's French contacts influenced him as a stylist—which is undoubtedly true. A great deal of the material given, though often interesting in itself, is partly irrelevant or at least has not been successfully related, to this conclusion. The gist of the book may be found in a passage from one of Stevenson's letters, to which Miss MacPherson gives hardly enough prominence: "There is something, or seems to be something, in the very air of France that communicates the love of style. Precision, clarity, the cleanly and crafty employment of material, a grace in handling, apart from any value in the thought,

seem to be acquired by the mere residence or, if not acquired, become at least the more appreciated. The air of Paris is alive with this technical inspiration."

ARTHUR KYLE DAVIS, JR.

University of Virginia

BRIEF MENTION

The Matchless Orinda. By PHILIP WEBSTER SOUERS. (Harvard Studies in English, V.) Cambridge: The Harvard University Press, 1931. Pp. 326. Mr. Souers' book will focus attention upon a once-famous figure who is now, it is to be feared, no more than a melodious pseudonym to most readers. Not even the eighteenth century, though free of her name, seems to have read Katherine Philips extensively, since the last reprint before Saintsbury's, in 1905, was in 1710. She has previously received only two critical appraisals, one by Gosse, in his *Seventeenth Century Studies*, and one by Saintsbury, in the second volume of his *Caroline Poets*. Orinda's contemporary fame, her long neglect, and her position as the first poetess of our language, all demanded that she should be reappraised.

In general the biographical and historical portions of Mr. Souers' book are excellent. They deal thoroughly and soundly with Orinda's family connections, her childhood and marriage, the uneventful Welsh years, and the brief period of glory in Ireland and after. Genealogical records have been combed for every pertinent item, and the external record is skilfully woven with the shadowy revelations of the poems. Mr. Souers has done particularly good work in tracing the chronology of the various friendships, and the relations with Sir Charles Cottrell. His identification of "Calanthe" with Lucasia in the Orinda-Poliarchus correspondence clears up several points otherwise obscure. In tracing her literary affiliations he does pioneer service in demonstrating her indebtedness to the courtly Platonist, Cartwright, and he rightly insists on her importance as a literary link between the Caroline era and the Restoration.

The controversial and critical portions of the book are not equal in value to the rest. Indecisiveness of method in presentation often obscures his point. In his discussion, for instance, of the "famous Society of Friendship", he seems to vacillate between believing that the society did exist and was recognized by Orinda's contemporaries, and that it did not and was not. After long discussion, he concludes that "nothing definite can be asserted about it." The same indecisiveness appears in his appraisal of Orinda's

personality. Like Gosse, he uneasily suspects mawkishness under the austere excess of her tributes to the noble passion of friendship, and consequently he fails to get a clear perspective on the epoch-making social and literary experiment that Orinda was performing. Few women had spoken articulately at all before her, and no woman had dreamed of speaking of her exclusively feminine experience, from the very center of the feminine world. Orinda had a narrow talent, but she had a noble independence in claiming for women the right to a separate existence in the world of literature. In the chapter on Orinda's poetry it is to be regretted that the appraisal of her lyric gift should merely ring the changes on Mr. Saintsbury's "ineffable lost cadence", and should find no other illustrations of it than those Mr. Saintsbury used.

The typography of the book is worthy of the distinguished press which publishes it. The documentation is also all that could be desired, except that the bibliography can be objected to on the grounds of unnecessary elaboration, and a curious inclusion, here and there, of Widener Library call-numbers.

K. C. BALDERSTON

Wellesley College

Literary Criticism in the Age of Johnson. By A. BOSKER. Groningen, The Hague: Wolters, 1930. Pp. x + 294. 5.90 fl. There is need of a fresh survey of this field, and Mr. Bosker, who has read widely and attentively and has by no means confined himself to the obvious, has done much towards supplying the need. He quotes not a few noteworthy passages that are not generally cited and considers in some detail such minor figures as William Cooke, Percival Stockdale, H. J. Pye, James Harris, William Mason, Hugh Blair, Thomas Twining, John Hoole, William Belsham, William Hayley, John Aikin, John Pinkerton. Furthermore, he is looking for the right things: he has chapters on universality, imitation, the *genres*, "Rationalism," "Disbelief in Authority; Influence of Science," "The Growth of the Sense of Historical Relativity," "The Permanent Element in Art; Scientific Criticism," "Textual Criticism." Unfortunately his discussion of these topics is not sufficiently searching and he has failed to make any real synthesis in his own mind of the baffling, contradictory opinions and elements which make his subject so difficult and so fascinating. As a result, he writes on page 3 that the rules "were no longer looked upon as guiding principles for the poet's art but rather as inexorable laws," and on page 19, "the belief in the infallibility of the rules had been greatly shaken, even in the hey-day of neo-classicism." The inadequacy of his understanding of the period is shown in his emphasis on "the cold intellectualism of the Augustan Age" and in his remark (p. vii), "Reason and

correctness . . . had . . . long been considered by the critics as the sole arbiters of literary merit." He seems not sufficiently to realize the difference between what men thought they believed and the creed by which they mainly lived and wrote, and he fails to show how unaware writers often were of the implications of their assertions. These defects would have been avoided, at least in part, if Mr. Bosker had been familiar with the work of such American writers as Lovejoy, Crane, McKillop, P. Kaufman, and R. F. Jones. Of the *Critical* and *Monthly Reviews*, *London*, *European*, and *Gentleman's* Magazines he has inevitably made but little use—which suggests how much of simple spade work as well as of sensitive, discriminating analysis remains to be done before a really authoritative treatise on eighteenth century criticism can be written. In the meantime, Mr. Bosker's carefully-indexed book will serve as a quarry, a guide, and a suggestive essay for students of romanticism and for all who are engaged in disentangling the confused skein of eighteenth century thought.

R. D. H.

Der Nachruhm Herricks und Wallers (Kölner Anglistische Arbeiten, Dreizehnter Band). By NERRY ROECKERATH. Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz, 1931. Pp. 116. 9 M. This study is quite inadequate since even the more obvious sources of critical comment are neglected and significant criticisms by many such figures as Pope, "Tremendous" Dennis, and Joseph Warton (comments which often do not fit into the picture presented) are wholly overlooked.

The problems arising from such a study are left untouched. There is no mention that in the criticism of Gildon and Dennis Waller stood as a central figure about whom the battle of ancients *vs.* moderns raged. There is no attempt to connect Herrick with the lyric revival. There is no attempt to show how the early eighteenth century tried to define the unique element in the versification of Waller. The fact that the glory of Waller as "the first refiner of our language" was as often as not attributed to Dryden, is not touched upon. The extent to which Waller's poems were imitated and set to music is not suggested, although music for two of the songs was published in early volumes of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The varying reputation of Waller's divine and secular poems is not dwelt upon, although the eighteenth century carefully distinguished them.

EDWARD NILES HOOKER

Baltimore

British Classical Authors, originally selected by L. HERRIG, revised and edited by MAX FÖRSTER. Braunschweig: George Westermann, 1930. Pp. xx + 810 + 51. This German anthology of British and American authors from Spenser to Shaw has now reached its eightieth anniversary and its hundredth edition. Considerably more than half of it is given to the nineteenth century. Except for including five colored maps and selections from Locke, Shaftesbury, Fielding, Darwin, and Harte it does not differ materially from an American college anthology.

J. Q. WOLF, JR.

Goucher College

Anne de Marquets, poétesse religieuse du XVI^e siècle (Diss., Catholic Univ. of America). Par SOEUR MARY HILARINE SEILER, C. D. P. Washington, D. C.: l'Université Catholique d'Amérique, 1931. Pp. xix + 143. This doctoral dissertation in French is to be commended, in the first place, because on the title page it avoids the expression "doctorat ès philosophie" which was used in a recent similar publication of the Catholic University of America. It deserves credit, secondly, because it is a conscientious and thorough study of a poetess who, though of meagre literary worth, yet represents a little known aspect of Catholic humanism in the sixteenth century. The eight chapters of the work treat the biography and education of Sister Anne, her religious vocation, her relations with Dorat, Ronsard, and especially Claude d'Espence, her *Sonets* and *Pasquins*, which are concisely analysed, and lastly certain similarities between her productions and those of the Pléiade. In spite of the mediocrity of most of the poems discussed, this study is interesting because of the light it throws upon the intellectual life in a Dominican convent (Poissy) during the Renaissance and the extent to which the literary innovations of the period were accepted in this special milieu. The bibliography and index seem to be complete, and bear witness to the painstaking labor of the author. Unfortunately, the proof reading seems to have been much less careful; but too much must not be expected of a text in French printed on this side of the Atlantic.

University of Oregon

CHANDLER B. BEALL

Lullabies: an Anthology. Edited by F. E. BUDD. London: The Scholartis Press, 1930. Pp. viii + 128. 6 s. This pleasant collection consists of 65 cradle songs, ranging in time from the early fourteenth century (the "oldest extant example") to the year 1900, and is preceded by an introductory essay developing the idea that the lullabies are usually expressions of that elegiac feeling, "the taste for melancholy brooding," which, according to the

author, is the least changeable trait of English literature. Though the texts have been carefully edited, the volume offers nothing of especial interest to the scholar, and will make him wish again for the work that we still wholly lack—a careful study of the lullaby in the period when it was living as a form of song, and especially in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Its relations with the nativity-carol, the song of the girl deserted by her lover, and other modes of popular song offer an attractive and useful field of inquiry which some enterprising young scholars should proceed to cultivate.

MORRIS W. CROLL

Princeton University

Representative British Dramas: Victorian and Modern. New Revised Edition. Edited by MONTROSE J. MOSES. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1931. Pp. xvi + 996. The revised edition of this valuable anthology adds plays by Somerset Maugham, Clemence Dane, Noel Coward, C. K. Munro, and Allan Monkhouse, in place of those by Tennyson, Masefield, and Colum.

Elizabethan Dramatists Other than Shakespeare. Edited by E. H. C. OLIPHANT. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1931. Pp. xiii + 1511. \$4.25. A reissue, without the Shakespeare plays, of Professor Oliphant's *Shakespeare and his Fellow Dramatists*, noticed in this journal for March, 1930.

Shakespeare's Hamlet: The First Quarto, 1608. Reproduced in facsimile from the copy in the Henry E. Huntington Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931. Pp. 6 + sigs. [A], B—I⁴. \$4.00. Through a collotype reproduction, made with the greatest care by Max Jaffé of Vienna from photostats supplied by the Huntington Library, this important text, only two known copies of which are extant, now becomes available to scholars everywhere.

H. S.

Thomas Fuller. Selections. With Essays by Charles Lamb, Leslie Stephen, Etc. With an Introduction by E. K. BROADUS. Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. xvi + 206. With its portrait and facsimile reproductions of the title pages, and its care to reproduce the typography and arrangement of the original volumes, this collection is an excellent effort to 'cream' Fuller for undergraduates. The extracts are representative of his whole work on a scale which assigns forty-five pages to *The Holy* and *The Profane State*, and two pages to *Good Thoughts in Worse Times*.

University of California

MERRITT Y. HUGHES

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

GERMAN

Balthasar, Hans Urs.—Geschichte des eschatologischen Problems in der modernen deutschen Literatur. Diss. *Zürich*: 1930. viii, 221 pp.

Barthel, Helene.—Der Emmentaler Bauer bei Jeremias Gotthelf. Diss. *Münster*: 1931. v, 147 pp.

Bauerhorst, Kurt.—Der Geniebegriff, seine Entwicklung und seine Formen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Goetheschen Standpunktes. Diss. *Breslau*: 1930. viii, 85 pp.

Baum, Vicki.—Der Weg. Ed. by Erwin T. Mohme. *New York*: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1931. xii, 100 pp. \$1.10.

Bell, C. H.—Peasant Life in old German Epics. Meier Helmbrecht and Der arme Heinrich translated from the Middle High German. *New York*: Columbia Univ. Press, 1931. 184 pp. \$3.00.

Bergmann, A. H. A.—Die Glaubwürdigkeit der Zeugnisse für den Lebensgang und Charakter Chr. Dietrich Grabbes. [Diss. Teildruck.] *Leipzig*: 1930. 155 pp.

Blankenagel, John C.—The Dramas of Heinrich von Kleist. A Biographical and Critical Study. *Chapel Hill*: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1931. xii, 261 pp. \$3.00.

Blömker, Friedr.—Das Verhältnis von Bürgers lyrischer und episch-lyrischer Dichtung zur englischen Literatur. Diss. *Münster*: 1930. 84 pp.

Böx, Heinrich.—Kleists politische Anschauungen. Diss. *Hamburg*: Advent-Verlag, 1930. 70 pp.

Bohne, Friedr.—Wilhelm Busch und der Geist seiner Zeit. Diss. *Leipzig*. *Jena*: Vopelius, 1931. 86 pp.

Boner, Georgette.—Arthur Schnitzlers Frauengestalten. Diss. *Zürich*: 1930. 118 pp.

Brandes, geb. Schlee, Anna.—Adele Schopenhauer in den geistigen Beziehungen zu ihrer Zeit. (Diss. Frankfurt, Teildruck). *Gelnhausen*: Kalbfleisch, 1930. 127 pp.

Brüschweiler, Albert.—Die Dichtung der deutschen Schweiz und der Weltkrieg (S.-A. aus Rucht, Jacob: Geschichte der Schweiz während des Weltkrieges 1914-1919). *Bern*: Haupt, 1930. 104 pp.

Brunns, Theodor.—Peter Rosegger. Untersuchungen über seine Erzählungstechnik. Diss. *Münster*: 1930. 107 pp.

Bürgisser, Hanns.—Johann Peter Hebel als Erzähler. Diss. Teildruck. *Zürich*: 1929. iv, 55 pp.

Burkhard, Werner.—Christoph von Grimmelshausen. Das Wirklichkeitserlebnis in

seinem Werk und der barocke Mensch. Diss. *Zürich*: 1929. ii, 57 pp.

Busse, Adolf, and Dexter, Elise.—Aus deutschen Blättern. *New York*: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1931. xi, 179 pp. \$1.35.

Chotzen, Th. M.—Primitive Keltistik in de Nederlanden. Openbare les. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1931. 58 pp. 1.50 Gld.

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A TOURNEUR MYSTIFICATION

Upon the death of Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury, someone named "Tourneur" wrote a prose "Character" of the deceased, setting forth his many virtues and noble qualities. Who this Tourneur was has been long a matter of dispute. Recently Mr. Allardyce Nicoll, of the University of London, editing *The Works of Cyril Tourneur* (The Fanfrolico Press, 1929), argued that the writer of this "Character" was the playwright Cyril Tourneur, and not a certain Captain William Tourneur. Since the publication of Professor Nicoll's book, his opinion of the authorship of the "Character" has been somewhat strengthened by the researches of Mr. Bernard M. Wagner of Harvard University. (See his letter in the *London Times Literary Supplement*, April 23, 1931, p. 327.) In the course of their arguments both Professor Nicoll and Mr. Wagner make statements regarding certain contemporary transcripts of the Cecil "Character," preserved in various English libraries, public and private, which require examination.

The Historical Manuscripts Commission, describing one of these copies, the "Mostyn" copy (whose present whereabouts no one seems to know), said—as quoted by Mr. Nicoll—"that the text gave the composition to Seville [*sic*] Turneur." Seccombe, apparently without examining the manuscript, suggested that this "Seville" was probably an error for "Serril" or "Seril" (*i. e.*, Cyril). What is probably the best and most authentic copy of the "Character" is preserved at the British Museum (MS. Harleian 36). Describing this (p. 26), Professor Nicoll informs his readers that though the elaborate title to the document assigns the authorship to "William Turneur," the manuscript "is signed (evidently) *Cyrill Tourneur*." No explanation is given for the use of the word "evidently" or for the use of the parenthesis. What makes the matter even more puzzling is Mr. Nicoll's subsequent statement

(page 36) that "the piece is signed on the last page as *Cyrill Tourneur*." Here is no "evidently" and no suggestion of doubt. But when we get to page 331 of the book we are told that Harleian 36 is signed "[Cyrill] Tourneur." Why the word "Cyrill" is printed in square brackets is not explained. And, as if this were not bad enough already, we are subsequently informed (page 336) that "MS. Harl. seems[!] to read *Gvil*." What was "evidently" *Cyrill* on page 26 "seems" to be *Gvil* on page 336!

Harl. MS. 36 is written in a neat "secretary" (*i. e.*, Gothic) script, but the heading and signature are written in an elegant Roman script, every letter standing by itself, unlinked with the other letters, and formed as precisely as any writing-master could desire. In the beautifully written heading we are told that the essay was "written by m^r William Turneur"; the signature (*cf.* facsimile 1) is, unequivocally, "*Gvil: Tourneur*."¹ Professor

Gvil: Tourneur.

FACSIMILE 1.

Nicoll thinks that the transcriber was puzzled by the name and confused *Cy* with *G* and *r* with *v*. Seeing that the transcriber wrote, clearly and distinctly, "William Turneur" on the first page of the essay, it is evident that he could not have been puzzled by the name when he came to the signature.

A copy of the "Character" owned by Colonel and Mrs. Clifton, of Clifton Hall, Nottingham—to whose kindness I am indebted for an excellent photograph of the last page of the essay—is signed "Jerill² Turner" in a hand of bastard Roman, the document itself being in a beautiful "secretary". "Jerill" is, clearly, a scribal error. From the fact that this scribe had difficulty in deciphering the manuscript he was copying—he wrote "mine" instead of "manie," "vnusualie" instead of "vneasilie," etc.—it is reasonable to assume that he could not decipher the signature. It is not impossible, therefore, that he misread "serill" (written

¹ It should be noted that a modern hand wrote in pencil the word "Serill" just to the left of "Gvil."

² Though Professor Nicoll prints the baptismal name correctly as "Jerill" on p. 298, he gives it as "Jerril" on p. 331. His transcript of the Clifton Hall manuscripts is not accurate.

with a long minuscular Roman *s*) as "Jerill"; but it is equally possible that "Jerill" is a misreading of "*per* (*i. e.*, "by," written as one letter, a flourished secretary *p*) will". Such a flourished *p* brevigraph³ may easily be mistaken for either *J* or *s*. Minuscular *w* can be mistaken for *er*, and *vice versa*. The "Sevill" of the missing Mostyn copy may have originated in the same way.

Mr. Wagner calls attention to a copy of the "Character" in the Bodleian Library which Mr. Nicoll had overlooked. This document, written throughout in a large, coarse Italian hand, and signed "Cyrill Tourneur", is said (in the Summary Catalogue) to be "probably in the hand of" the dramatist. Examination of the autograph (*cf.* facsimile 2) shows indubitably that the surname



FACSIMILE 2.

had been tampered with, that "sourneur" or "Journour" had been altered to "Tourneur" by the addition of two head-strokes. The scribe evidently did not know the author's surname; the manuscript is, consequently, not a holograph, and no argument can be based on the signature's being "Cyrill Tourneur."

In his argument for Cyril Tourneur's authorship of the "Character" Professor Nicoll says (p. 37) that the spellings "hable" (for "able") and "habillitie" (for "ability") have been noted by Mr. Dugdale Sykes as "characteristically Tourneurian." On page 337, in his note on the word "habillitie," Professor Nicoll says, "It is interesting to notice that this spelling of 'ability' seems to be Tourneur's own." Had Professor Nicoll consulted the *New English Dictionary*, he would have learned that initial *h* in the word "ability" was a normal and common phenomenon throughout the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries and did not go out of use till almost 1700. The spelling of this word therefore cannot be relied upon to prove anything.

New York, N. Y.

SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

³ See my book, *The Handwriting of the Renaissance*, p. 128.

ELIZABETHAN PROOF CORRECTIONS.

In a recent article on "Elizabethan Proof Corrections" in *The Huntington Library Bulletin* (no. 2, November, 1931) I have been guilty of a careless assumption which I now think probably wrong and certainly unjustified. It does not affect the thesis advanced, but may stand for a horrid example of the way certain minds can fail to cope with phenomena that have only a secondary bearing upon the matter in hand.

The assumption which I wish to disavow is that the four pages of the top or outer forme of signature B in the Bridgewater-Huntington copy of *The First Part of the Contention*, 1600, were printed before the corresponding bottom or inner forme. The fact that all the outer-forme pages contain manuscript corrections, while none of the inner-forme pages do, really proves (or comes near proving) only that the two formes were not corrected concurrently—a practice that was doubtless unusual in any case.

I think, however, that this sheet rather strengthens the other evidence cited by Greg (*The Library*, 1926, p. 216 f.) and McKerrow (*Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 18, note 2) that the inner forme was often printed before the outer; for if the inner forme had been blank when the corrector marked the outer one, it seems unlikely that the printer would have bothered to perfect so badly inked a sheet. That the binder should have introduced it, as he did, into an otherwise perfect copy of the play is most easily comprehensible on the assumption that the cleanly printed inner forme happened to be lying upward before folding; and its inclusion was doubtless facilitated by the circumstance that, of the four corrected pages, B 1 *recto*, which would be outermost in the folded sheet, happens to be much the least marked.

Reference to the very few other known examples of Elizabethan or early seventeenth-century proof sheets will be found in Dr. McKerrow's book, p. 218 f. and in Mr. Percy Simpson's article in the Proceedings of the Oxford Bibliographical Society for 1928, p. 5-14.

TUCKER BROOKE

Yale University

SOME SOURCES OF RICHARD EDWARDS'S *DAMON AND PITHIAS*

To secure a plot which would represent dramatically the nature of true friendship and contrast it with the false friendship of court sycophants, Richard Edwards in his *Damon and Pithias* used elements from various classical sources, combining and embroidering them according to the dictates of his own originality.

It has been shown by Professor Leicester Bradner that Edwards took the Damon and Pithias narrative from Sir Thomas Elyot's *Governour*, Book II, chapter xi.¹ Professor Laurens J. Mills has traced Edwards's doctrine of friendship to classical sources, particularly Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics*.² There are also other sources for the play which have not before been demonstrated.

The theme of the sub-plot, the ways of false friendship as revealed by the story of the court parasites Aristippus and Carisophus, is not supplied by the tale of Damon and Pithias. The general conception of the court teeming with intrigue, espionage, and false friendship seems to come from Plutarch's *Life of Dion*, which gives an account of the reign of Dionysius of Syracuse. Only one specific detail in *Damon and Pithias* can, however, be definitely traced to Plutarch. In the play Stephano, a servant, says:

As I this morning pass'd in the street,
With a woful man (going to his death) did I meet.
Many people followed; and I of one secretly
Asked the cause why he was condemned to die.
[Who] whispered in mine ear: "Nought hath he done but thus:
In his sleep he dreamed he had killed Dionysius;
Which dream told abroad, was brought to the king in post;
By whom, condemned for suspicion, his life he hath lost."
Marcia was his name, as the people said. (ll. 289-296)

In Plutarch the incident is related as follows:

He slew Marsyas, one of his captains whom he had preferred to a considerable command, for dreaming that he killed him: without some pre-

¹ Leicester Bradner, *Life and Poems of Richard Edwards*, p. 60.

² Laurens J. Mills, *Some Aspects of Richard Edwards' Damon and Pithias*, Indiana University Studies, No. 75.

vicious waking thought and purpose of the kind, he could not, he supposed, have had that fancy in his sleep.³

The chief liberty exercised by Edwards in handling this story was to transfer it from the elder to the younger Dionysius.

Although Edwards invented virtually all the details in the subplot, he evidently took the general conception of the gay philosopher at Dionysius's court from Diogenes Laertius. A definite case of borrowing from the *Lives of the Philosophers* appears in the following speech by Aristippus:

I can talk of philosophy as well as the best
But the strait kind of life I leave to the rest.
And I profess now the courtly philosophy;
To crouch, to speak fair, myself I apply,
To feed the king's humour with pleasant devices;
For which I am called *Regius canis*.
But wot ye who named me first the king's dog?
It was the rogue Diogenes, that vile grunting hog. (ll. 17-24)

The source of these lines is evidently the following paragraph in Diogenes Laertius's "Life of Aristippus":

He was capable of adapting himself to place, time and person, and of playing his part appropriately under whatever circumstances. Hence he found more favour than anybody else with Dionysius, because he could always turn the situation to good account. He derived pleasure from what was present, and did not toil to procure the enjoyment of something not present. Hence Diogenes called him the king's poodle.⁴

In Sir Thomas Elyot's *Governour*, Damon and Pythias are called Pythagoreans. Edwards responded to this suggestion by introducing into their dialogue a bit of Pythagorean doctrine which he had learned in the *Lives of the Philosophers*. Damon says:

Pythagoras said that this world was like a stage,
Whereon many play their parts; the lookers-on, the sage
Philosophers are, saith he, whose part is to learn
The manners of all nations, and the good from the bad discern.

(ll. 348-350)

³ *Plutarch's Lives*, Dryden's translation revised by Clough, III, 337 (Everyman's Library ed.).

⁴ Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers*, I, 195 (Loeb Classical Library). Diogenes Laertius was known in Latin versions in the sixteenth century. *Id.*, pp. x and xxxii-xxxiii.

These lines are evidently based on a passage in Diogenes Laertius's "Life of Pythagoras":

He compared life to the Great Games, where some went to compete for the prize and others went with wares to sell, but the best as spectators; for similarly in life, some grow up with servile natures, greedy for fame and gain, but the philosopher seeks for truth.⁵

CLAUDE M. NEWLIN

Michigan State College

THE DATE OF THE SECOND EDITION OF *THE CONSTANT COUPLE*

In his excellent edition of Farquhar, Mr. Charles Stonehill prints the last act of *The Constant Couple* from the third edition, "as the first scene of that act was much altered by the author."¹ From this statement one would infer that Farquhar revised the last act for the third edition (1701). As a matter of fact, the revision was made for the second edition (1700). The following advertisement of this edition in *The Post Man*, and the *Historical Account*, January 30 to February 1, 1700, fixes the date more exactly than has hitherto been possible: "The Constant Couple, or a trip to the Jubilee. A Comedy acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane, By his Majesty's Servants, The Second Edition. With a New Scene added to the part of Wildiar [*sic*]. By Mr. George Farquhar. Printed for Ralph Smith at the Bible under the Piazza of the Royal Exchange, Cornhill, and Rennet Bambury at the Blue Anchor in the New Exchange in the Strand."²

The Constant Couple was produced probably late in November, 1699.³ Publication of the first edition was announced in *The Post Man* of December 7-9, 1699; and this advertisement was repeated in *The Post Man* of December 12, and 14, 1699. The advertisement of the second edition, reproduced above, shows that the play with the last act revised was on the stage in January, less

⁵ *Id.*, II, 327-329.

¹ *The Complete Works of George Farquhar*, Nonesuch Press, 1930, I, vii; in the Mermaid Series, *George Farquhar*, pp. 31-138, William Archer printed the second edition.

² The second edition is not listed in *The Term Catalogues*, ed. Arber.

³ Stonehill, *op. cit.*, I, xxxv, 81; and Archer, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

than two months after the original production. It is probable that this new scene, greatly improving the last act, contributed to the almost unprecedented success of the play, which was acted fifty-three times in London, and twenty-three times in Dublin, in the first season. Certainly the second edition furnishes the authentic text for Farquhar's revision.

G. W. WHITING

The Rice Institute

CHAUCER'S 'BRUTUS CASSIUS'

In his note on line 3887 of the *Monkes Tale* of Julius Caesar, Skeat points to several other instances of the making of Brutus and Cassius into one person.¹ But these instances, though interesting, are all later than, ultimately perhaps dependant on, the Chaucerian passage, and so they throw no light upon the source of Chaucer's error.² More recently it has been pointed out that the same mistake occurs earlier in the Alfredian translation of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius.³ In that work, as a paraphrased rendering of the Latin lines of book ii, metre vii,

Vbi nunc fidelis ossa Fabricii manent,
Quid Brutus . . . ?

we read:

Hwær synt nu þæs Welondes ban . . . ? Oððe hwær is' nu se foremæra ȝ se aræda Romwara heretoga, se wæs haten Brutus, oðre naman Cassius? ⁴

¹ *Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, v, 245.

² *Ibid.*, note on l. 3892. All the quotations are taken from Robert Nares, *A Glossary, or Collection* etc. (London, 1822), p. 48, under "Bodkin." The earliest of them seems to be that from the *Serpent of Division*, a prose work prefixed to the 1590 edition of *Gorboduc* and attributed in the Speght edition of Chaucer to John Lydgate. Cf. *Gorboduc*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, *Englische Sprach- Und Literaturdenkmale des 16. 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Heilbronn, 1883), pp. xx-xxii.

From the fact that Chaucer could not have derived the error from Dante, Eleanor Prescott Hammond, *Chaucer, A Bibliographical Manual* (New York, 1908), p. 251, suggests its importance for the dating of the entire *Monkes Tale*.

³ Cf., for example, Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

⁴ *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiae*, ed. Walter John Sedgefield (Oxford, 1899), p. 46. As a matter of

That the making of two Romans into one is, indeed, no mere slip either of Alfred's⁵ or of Chaucer's, but rests upon a tradition that had already made its appearance even before King Alfred undertook his translation, seems to be evidenced by the fact that the error occurs elsewhere as early as the ninth century. In an anonymous commentary of that century on the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* of Virgil, at present among the Latin manuscripts of the *École de Médecine de Montpellier*, is to be found this enlightening bit of Roman history:

Tempore illo, gubernante Julio Cesare imperium, regnavit Brutus Casius super XII plebes Tuscorum et exortum est bellum inter Julium Caesarem et Brutum Casium cum quo Virgilius erat, superaturque Brutus a Julio. Post hoc Julius occiditur a senatu scabellis subpedaneis.⁶

It is, no doubt, to the accidental omission by some even earlier scribe of an important sign for "et" that we owe the appearance in

fact, the Alfredian translation contains a *double* error, for Boethius is here referring, not to Caesar's slayer, but to Lucius Junius Brutus, who opposed the Tarquins in the earlier days of the republic. Cf., for example, the edition of the *De Consolatione* by Adrian Fortescue (London, 1925), p. 56, note on l. 16.

⁵ Many of the alterations and additions in the Alfredian Boethius, Georg Schepss, "Zu König Alfreds 'Boethius'," *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, xciv (1895), 2 and 3, pp. 149-160, shows to have been derived from a group of Latin commentaries and scholia of the tenth and eleventh centuries. But since these commentaries apparently do not make the Brutus Cassius error, and since, in any case, Alfred is not here following them closely (cf. Schepss, *op. cit.*, p. 154), Sedgefield, *op. cit.*, p. xxxiv, makes the following remark, which seems to assume Alfred's own guilt for the mistake: "The identification of Brutus with Cassius (p. 46, l. 22) seems to show carelessness or ignorance on Alfred's part, but at the same time he avoids some blunders which we find in the commentaries.

⁶ *École de Médecine de Montpellier*, ms. 358, f. 27^r, "Commentarius in Bucolica et Georgica Virgillii." Cf. *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques des Départements* (Paris, 1849), I, 428 f.; G. Libri, "Notice des manuscrits de quelques bibliothèques des départements," *Journal des Savants* (Paris, January, 1842), p. 43; and Friedrich Haase, *De mediæ ævi studiis philologicis disputatio* (Vratislaviae, 1856), p. 7. It was published by Anatole Boucherie, *Fragment d'un commentaire sur Virgile, Société pour l'étude des langues romanes* (Montpellier, 1875). That the commentary is itself even older than the manuscript, is proved by the nature of several errors in the text which show the manuscript not to be an autograph, but at the least a first copy. Cf. Boucherie, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

history, already five hundred years before Chaucer's day, of Brutus Cassius, the opponent of Caesar, as distinguished from that older Lucius Junius Brutus who drove the tyrant Tarquin from Rome.

H. THEODORE SILVERSTEIN

Cambridge, Mass.

A NOTE ON THE NONNE PREESTES TALE

The reference in Chaucer's *Nonne Preestes Tale*, line 4174, to "Oon of the gretteste auctours that men rede," and the succeeding two dream anecdotes have caused many conjectures. Tyrwhitt¹ identifies the *auctour* with Cicero,² but the two anecdotes are in the wrong order and appear "with so many other differences that one might be led to suspect that he was here quoted at second hand." Warton³ believes that Chaucer's source is rather Valerius Maximus,⁴ though the anecdotes are "also related by Cicero, a less known and a less favorite author." Skeat⁵ seems to incline to Cicero. Miss Petersen⁶ suggests Holkot.⁷ French,⁸ after careful weighing of the problem, concludes, "It is hardly likely that he (Chaucer) would apply the term 'one of the greatest authors that men read' either to Holkot or to Valerius Maximus whom Holkot cites as his authority for the stories," and he favors Cicero. Manly⁹ states that "Chaucer's versions differ from all three and he may have had some other source."

Thus, so far, Chauntecleer's very explicit statement that his second story occurs "right in the nexte chapitre" and a few differences in two dream anecdotes made the scholars hesitate to name Cicero or Valerius Maximus or Holkot definitely as Chaucer's

¹ Tyrwhitt, Thomas, *The Poetical Works of Geoff. Chaucer*, 1782, v. 5, p. 14.

² *De Divinatione*, I, 27.

³ Warton, Thomas, *History of English Poetry*, 1840, v. 2, p. 187.

⁴ *Facta et dicta*, I, 7.

⁵ Skeat, W. W., *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 1894, v. 5, p. 253.

⁶ Petersen, K. O., *On the Source of the Nonne Preestes Tale* (Radcliffe College Monographs, no. 10), 1898, p. 106-110.

⁷ *Super sap.*, Lectio 103.

⁸ French, R. D., *A Chaucer Handbook*, 1927, p. 262-63.

⁹ Manly, J. M., *Canterbury Tales*, 1928, p. 640.

source. Recently in the *Expugnatio Hebernica* of Giraldus Cambrensis,¹⁰ I came across the following passage:

Refert Valerius Maximus quod cum duo Archades iter facientes, alter se ad hospitem sospitem contulerit, alter in tabernam meritoriam diverterit, is qui in hospitio erat videt per somnium comitem suum orantem, ut sibi a caupone oppresso subveniret. Excitatus somnum repetit. Socius ejus sauciatus iterum ei apparuit, quoniam auxilium ei ferre noluerat, vel mortuum rogans vindicare. Dicebat corpus suum tunc a caupone ferri in plaustro ad portam, sterquilinio cooperiendum. Quod evigilans ita invenit, et cauponem ad capitale supplicium deduxit.

Arcerius Rufus vidit se manu retiarii confodi; quod in crastinum contigit. Simonides poeta, cum in litore quodam corpus humanum inhumatum jacens sepelisset, eadem nocte admonitus ab ipso ne proximo die navigaret, in terra remansit. Qui vero navigare cœperunt, in conspectu ejus fluctibus et procellis obruti sunt.

Though a single sentence on Arcerius Rufus intervenes, here for the first time the two stories are in correct order. A detailed comparison¹¹ proves that Giraldus comes closest to Chaucer's version. And yet Miss Petersen's careful study establishing the parallels between Holkot and Chaucer cannot be ignored. Both in Holkot and Giraldus the stories are quoted from Valerius Maximus. It is more likely that Chaucer knew both, and, in the case of two dream anecdotes, was thinking in terms of Giraldus rather than of Holkot. As to whether he knew Cicero's or Valerius Maximus' version or not, this does not concern us deeply.

In regard to the question whether Giraldus was great enough to be called by Chaucer "one of the greatest authors that men read," it may be pointed out that the *Expugnatio Hebernica* was a very popular book, and there are numerous manuscripts of it still extant.¹² In the latter part of the 14th century it was translated, and John Hooker who translated it in 1586 writes in his preface: "... all of them (historians) were beholding unto Giraldus and not one of them yield that curtesie either to publish his historie or using the same to acknowledge it."¹³

SHIO SAKANISHI

Library of Congress

¹⁰ *Opera*, J. F. Dimock, 1867, v. 5, p. 294-295.

¹¹ A neatly arranged comparison of Cicero, Valerius Maximus, and Holkot by Miss Petersen is very useful. See note 6.

¹² See Dimock's Preface in *Opera*.

¹³ Holinshed's *Chronicles*, 1808, v. 6, p. 109.

OMISSIONS FROM *SWIFT EN FRANCE*

Miss Sybil Goulding's *Swift en France* omits the reference to the *Discourse Concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit* which is found in the Preface to the translation of the second volume of the La Haye edition of Swift (1721). The passage in part is as follows:

De faux dévots et d'autres gens peu judicieux ont regardé cette pièce comme un chef d'œuvre de profanation, quoique l'auteur ait pris tous les soins imaginables pour qu'il serait impossible de s'écarter de son véritable but. Le véritable et unique sujet de son discours est cette Espèce d'Enthousiasme où l'on parvient simplement par art et par une opération mécanique, par laquelle en étourdissant les sens et en étouffant la raison on réussit à remplir le cerveau de visions et de chimères; par conséquent, rien au monde n'est plus mal fondé que le prétendu libertinage, qu'on trouve dans une pièce qui ne tend qu'à débarrasser la religion du fanatisme le plus honteux aussi bien que le plus ordinaire.

The quoting of this estimate of one of Swift's often-neglected masterpieces would have appreciably strengthened Miss Goulding's review of the understanding of Swift which was revealed in the 1721 La Haye translation of the *Tale of a Tub* and other works.

Miss Goulding also misses the significant Tome 9, 1717, of the *Journal Littéraire*. In this volume is found a review of a Dissertation Sur la Poesie Angloise which has some interesting comments on English satirical humor, on the "Count of Rochester," and on Dryden. However, her most important omission is that of Tabaraud's *Histoire Critique du Philosophisme Anglais depuis son origine jusqu'à son introduction en France, inclusivement* (1806) which gives (ii, 304) a rather general estimate of Swift, the inevitable "On l'a appelé le Rabelais des Anglois," and some comment on the *Tale of a Tub*:

Son Conte du Tonneau est une débauche d'esprit où les deux grandes sectes du protestantisme ne sont guère plus épargnées que le catholicisme.

Of Swift's religion Tabaraud says:

Il est certain que sur ce dernier article [religion] Swift avait une manière de penser qui n'aurait été nullement du goût des philosophes françois—il pensait comme tous les publicistes Anglois qu'on n'en devoit point laisser introduire de nouvelle, ni souffrir que celles qui étoient tolérées s'étendissent au détriment de la religion nationale.

These omissions are, perhaps, relatively unimportant, but they are surely part of the history of Swift's reception by French critics and of the French understanding of English satire.

C. M. WEBSTER

University of Tennessee

WHY MILTON USES "CAMBUSCAN" AND "CAMBALL"

In his reference to Chaucer's *Squire's Tale* in *Il Penseroso*, Milton uses the name, Cambuscan, accented on the second syllable, for Chaucer's king instead of the name, Cambynskan or Cambyuskan, accented on the first and last syllables, as it appears in the seven manuscripts we now have of the tale. At the same time, he uses the abbreviated name, Camball, for one of the king's sons instead of the full name, Camballo, Camballus, or Samballo, as it appears in these manuscripts.

The name, Cambuscan, as it is accented, and the name, Camball, Milton probably derived from John Lane. Though Lane uses Cambuscan with the accent on the first and last syllables in the fragment which he purports to quote from Chaucer's tale,

this noble kinge was called Cambuscan (i, 4),

he uses it with the accent on the second syllable consistently in his own tale which is a continuation of Chaucer's, for example,

Cambuscan, glade his worcke was well begonn (iii, 333).

In his own tale, he uses Camball more often than he does Camballo,

and all that Camballs courage makes not good (iii. 161).

That Milton should be influenced by him is not strange, since Lane and Milton's father we know were very good friends, and, during their lifetime, had read each other's works.¹ However, Lane himself, since Chaucer does not abbreviate the names of any

¹ See Forewords, *John Lane's Continuation of Chaucer's Squire's Tale*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, C. S. E. S., nos. 23, 26 (1888, 1890).

of his characters, probably derived the name, Camball, from Spenser. Spenser, in his version of the *Squire's Tale* in the *Faerie Queene*, uses it more often than he does Cambello (Camballo),

But Cambell (Camball) still more strong and greater grew
(IV, iii, 29, 1).

FRANCIS W. EMERSON

Catawba College

VILLON'S *LAIS* AND HIS JOURNEY TO ANGERS

When did Villon write the *Lais*? When and why did he go to Angers? His own testimony seems explicit:

L'an quatre cens cinquante six . . . (*Lais*, line 1)
Sur le Noel, morte saison . . . (10)
Ce soir, seulet, estant en bonne,
Dictant ces laiz et descriptant,
J'oïs la cloche de Serbonne,
Qui tousjours a neuf heures sonne . . . (274-7)
Je cuidé finer mon propos;
Mais mon ancre trouvé gelé
Et mon cierge trouvé soufflé . . .
Si m'endormis, tout enmoufflé . . . (307-11).

In other words, at Christmas time, 1456, Villon all alone in his room wrote out his mock bequests. He heard the Angelus at nine o'clock, and then, finding his ink frozen and his candle spent, he went to sleep.

Villon is no less explicit about his intention of going to Angers and about his reason for this journey: he wishes to break away from the bonds of love, his lady has cruelly deceived him and now ordains his death;

Pour obvier a ces dangiers
Mon mieulx est, ce croy, de fouir.
Adieu! Je m'en vois a Angers. (41-3)

There is a certain difficulty involved in accepting these statements that critics have frequently pointed out. We happen to know from a legal document detailing the examination of Maître Guy Tabarie¹ that one evening at Christmas time, 1456, Villon

¹ Printed in Longnon's *Etude biographique sur François Villon*, p. 160 ff.

and his companions supped at the Mule tavern and by ten o'clock were all engaged in robbing the Collège de Navarre. "Sur le Noel," says Villon in the *Lais*, "circa festum Nativitatis Domini," says the examination of Tabarie. Now it is of course unnecessary from these two phrases to assume that the poem and the robbery were undertaken on the same night, in fact two such feats in one night—the *Lais* comprise 320 lines and the robbery, without the dinner, consumed over two hours—would seem remarkable for even so deft a poet and accomplished a thief as François Villon. However that may be, the coincidence is striking and those authorities who consider the matter at all have assumed that the night was the same and have discussed only whether the *Lais* were written immediately before the robbery or after it. Gaston Paris, Thuasne and Wyndham Lewis believe that the decision to go to Angers had been reached and the *Lais* written when Villon was visited by his evil companions, changed his plans and went off with them to the Mule and later to the Collège de Navarre.² M. Lucien Foulet, however, is prudently uncertain about the order of events: "qu'il ait composé ses *Lais* tout à loisir, avant de rejoindre à la Mule Colin de Cayeux, damp Nicolas et Petit Jehan, ou qu'il les ait rimés à la hâte le lendemain de ce beau coup, le dessein de Villon paraît assez clair: au moment de disparaître brusquement de Paris, il justifiait de façon très naturelle une retraite conseillée avant tout par la peur du Châtelet, et se préparait, le cas échéant, un ingénieux alibi."³

This brings us to the second difficulty, the reason for Villon's trip to Angers. His own statements about the cruelty of his lady and his desire to escape from the bonds of love have not been taken very seriously by most critics.⁴ Villon's phrases recall the conventional expressions of the school of Alain Chartier, they are

² G. Paris, *François Villon* (Paris, 1901), p. 54-6; L. Thuasne, *François Villon* (Paris, 1923), I, 42-3; D. B. Wyndham Lewis, *François Villon* (New York, 1928), p. 133 f.

³ In Bédier-Hazard, *Littérature française*, I, 110.

⁴ P. Champion (*François Villon*, II, 1913, 62-3) and L. Foulet (*Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis*, Paris and New York, 1927, p. 370-4) credit this love-affair with being a factor in Villon's journey, but not its only cause. G. Charlier (*Archivum romanicum*, IV, 1920, 506-17) believes in the sincerity of Villon's passion for this woman, but does not discuss its bearing on the journey to Angers.

half mocking, half banal, and the unhappy love-affair may be dismissed as, at most, a contributory reason for the journey. Foulet's suggestion that the trip was undertaken from fear of the Châtelet and that the poet was preparing an alibi in case one were needed is tempting but seems less convincing after one has considered certain other factors in the situation. In the first place, although the robbery of the Collège de Navarre took place at Christmas time, 1456, it was not discovered until the following March, and no indication of those responsible for it came to light until May. Presumably, therefore, the thieves were not in much peril before March and under no definite suspicion until after Tabarie had blabbed to Marchant in May. In fact it is clear from the examination of Tabarie that several of Villon's companions in the affair—Tabarie, Petit Jehan and probably Colin de Cayeux⁵—had so little fear of the Châtelet that not only had they remained in Paris all this time, but had been planning various further enterprises such as the plunder of Robert de la Porte and of an "ancien religieux." Secondly, even if Villon were afraid of the consequences of his act, it seems improbable that the authorities of the Châtelet would have given any credence to a poetic alibi such as his. And finally, it seems still more improbable that, if Villon left Paris in fear of arrest, he would take pains to indicate in writing the very place where he intended to hide.

For these reasons also, Thuasne's hypothesis (*op. cit.*, I, 44) that prudence dictated Villon's flight immediately after the robbery and P. Champion's statement (*François Villon*, II, 51) that Villon left Paris in the last days of 1456, arriving in Angers in January, appear to me equally open to doubt. More plausible is the opinion of Gaston Paris (which is also that of Wyndham Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 148) that "Villon, nanti d'une bonne part du butin, retarda son départ pour Angers et fit pendant quelque temps bombance avec les beaux écus d'or de la Faculté de théologie" (*op. cit.*, p. 56).

⁵ I assume that the "petit homme" who "ce faisoit appeler maistre Jehan" and who was "habile à faire crochetz" (Longnon, *op. cit.*, 168-9) was the same Petit Jehan who was involved in the Collège de Navarre affair and described as a *fortius operator crochetoium* than that *fortis operator*, Colin de Cayeux (*op. cit.*, 163). If, as seems probable, the robbery of the Augustinian monk, Guillaume Coiffier, took place after the theft at the Collège de Navarre, then it is evident that Colin de Cayeux was also in Paris at this time (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 172 with p. 168).

In any case, it is evident that other members of his company remained in Paris and were busily plotting new attacks upon the coffers of wealthy ecclesiastics.

But it is also evident that by the end of April, 1457, Villon was undoubtedly in Angers. According to Tabarie's circumstantial statement to Marchant, Villon was at this time visiting his uncle in an abbey in Angers and had gone there to investigate the possibility of plundering an old monk who lived in the same place and who was reported to possess five or six hundred crowns. Again according to Tabarie, as soon as Villon returned to Paris and in the case that his report was favorable, all the companions intended journeying to Angers to rob this old monk. Here then is a well documented and entirely plausible motive for Villon's trip to Angers. Gaston Paris thinks that this motive was not in Villon's mind when he wrote the *Lais*⁶ but that his original intention was merely to visit his uncle, perhaps hoping to obtain money from him, perhaps hoping, as he says, to break away from the woman he loved too much. Thuasne also believes that Villon had no evil designs when he composed the poem but that, after the robbery, when he judged it prudent to carry out his intention of going to Angers, he came to an understanding with his companions about reconnoitering while there the advisability of robbing the rich old monk (*op. cit.*, I, 44).

Now it seems to me that there is no need of assuming more than one motive for the visit to Angers, and that the one alleged by Tabarie is both credible and sufficient. Villon, early in the spring, when only "ung peu de billon" (*Lais* 319) remained from the proceeds of the robbery—or robberies—decided to look up this new and promising venture at Angers. He, like his compaignons, was as yet in no fear of discovery in connection with any old affairs, in fact Tabarie expected him back in Paris to make his report: *lui retourné*, selon ce qu'il rapporteroit par de ça aux autres compaignons, ilz yroient tous par delà . . .⁷ I assume therefore

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 56. Paris asks "aurait-il sans cela proclamé qu'il partait précisément pour Angers?" Why not? No suspicion would fall upon Villon at this time in reference to any future affair at Angers. We know from Tabarie's statement that the preliminary visit was to be merely exploratory and that Villon intended to return to Paris to make his report before the actual robbery took place.

⁷ Longnon, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

that Villon left Paris some time before Easter 1457⁸ and that, before going, he wrote the *Lais*, not, as he pretended, "sur le Noel", and not, as he further pretended, because of an unhappy love-affair. He wrote them for his companions, taking special care of course not to mention a single one of those associated with him in either the Collège de Navarre robbery or the projected venture in Angers.⁹ These men, however, would be the very ones who would most appreciate the apocryphal details in the poem: the description of the terrible cold of a night near Christmas when, according to the *Lais*, one stays at home close to the fire, but when, as Villon's friends well remembered, he and they were climbing over the wall into the Collège de Navarre; the reference to the clock of the Sorbonne striking nine—a sound that they probably heard while supping at the Mule; the picture of the lonely poet saying his little prayer and going innocently to sleep all muffled up in his room, at a time when, as they knew, the whole crew of them were forcing locks and dividing booty.

This hypothesis concerning the date of the *Lais* and the reason for the trip to Angers is, to be sure, only a hypothesis, but it seems to me to obviate several difficulties involved in the other suggestions that have been hazarded, without encountering any serious new ones. It does not strain credence by obliging us to assume that the poem and the theft were accomplished in one night, but establishes a reason for the striking coincidence between "sur le Noel" and "circa festum Nativitatis Domini." It questions the wintry *mise en scène* of the *Lais*,¹⁰ but attempts to explain why such a fictitious

⁸ Villon's date, 1456, is of course accurate since in his day the year 1456 did not end until Easter.

⁹ So many of his other friends appear in the *Lais* that the omission of this particular group seems intentional, the more so in view of the fact that two members of it, Colin de Cayeux and Guy Tabarie, are mentioned in the *Testament*.

¹⁰ This, of course, may seem to some a serious step to take. And yet no one has hesitated to take the similar step of questioning the reason that Villon advances for his journey to Angers. Nor would anyone accept at face value Villon's statement that he stopped writing when he did because of frozen ink, a spent candle and lack of fire. If it be objected that there are reality and vividness in the description of the bitter cold of winter (lines 10-3, 308-12), one can only reply that Villon had good reason to know what cold nights were like and probably needed very little aid from "dame Memoire" in describing them.

dating of the poem would seem especially amusing to some of those for whom it was written. Finally, it posits a single motive for the trip to Angers—the only one that can be shown to have existed—instead of assuming various others, some of which, at least, seem incompatible with the probabilities.

For these reasons I believe that the *Lais* were written after the robbery of the Collège de Navarre, some time before Easter (April 17) 1457, and that Villon then took his departure for Angers with the express purpose of investigating there the feasibility of committing another robbery.

GRACE FRANK

Bryn Mawr College

COLLETET'S EXILE AFTER HIS CONDEMNATION IN 1623

The Arrêt de Parlement, issued July 11, 1623 by order of the Procureur Général Molé against Théophile de Viau, Berthelot, Frenicle, and Guillaume Colletet as principal authors of the *Parnasse Satyrique*, ordered that they be imprisoned in the Conciergerie if taken; otherwise, that their property be confiscated.¹ They relied, however, on the intercession of powerful friends and there is no record of Colletet's imprisonment. This is not surprising, since his father Gabriel Colletet² and his uncle Pierre³ were both procureurs au Châtelet in good standing among their colleagues. François, his godfather, was commissaire et examinateur au Châtelet⁴ and he, himself, was avocat au Parlement.⁵ For generations,

¹ Frédéric Lachèvre, *Le Procès du poète Théophile de Viau*. Paris, Champion, 1909, I, 132.

² *Journal des choses mémorables advenues durant le règne de Henry III*, . . . Edition nouvelle . . . A Cologne, chez les Héritiers de P. Marteau, 1720, I, 149; A. Tuetey, *Inventaire Analytique des Livres de Couleur et Bannières du Châtelet de Paris*, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale. 1899. § 3635.

³ Archives Nationales. *Insinuations du Châtelet*, Y 140 fo 57.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Y 122 fo 338 vo.

⁵ He had become a lawyer before Nov. 3, 1618, the date of the death of Rivière, for the four poems and the epitaph in *Le Zodiaque Poétique de M. de Rivière* (Paris, J. Libert, 1619) are signed Guillaume Colletet, Parisien, Advocat au Parlement.

the family had been connected with the Châtelet and the Palais,⁶ so that they must have had sufficient influence in the law courts to protect one of their number in such an emergency. Indeed this is shown in the sentence passed on Aug. 19, 1623, when, although Théophile was condemned to be burned alive with his books and Berthelot to be hanged, Colletet was merely banished from the kingdom and warned to remain away "à peyne d'estre pendu et estranglé."⁷

He retired to Saint-Denis, where he remained a year or so. There, in the fall of 1623, he composed *Scevole ou Chant Pastoral sur le Trespas de Monsieur de Sainte-Marthe*,⁸ and worked on his first long translation, *Les Aventures Amoureuses d'Ismène et d'Isménie*.⁹ His whereabouts is revealed in the dedicatory epistle of *Scevole* but nobody has yet discovered why he was so safe and comfortable at Saint-Denis.

The fact is that among other influential relatives, his father's brother, Jacques Colletet, was a person of importance in the Abbaye de Saint-Denis and his cousin, Severin Colletet, the son of his godfather, François, had been a member of that community since 1616.¹⁰ Jacques Colletet, who had entered the Abbaye in 1574,¹¹ was quint prieur et official de Saint-Denis in 1606¹² and as such was appointed in 1610 with Adam Brisect, soubz prieur; l'abbé de Brignon; Jacques Doublet, quart prieur et cénier; Denis de Chambelain, trésorier; Loys de Berthancourt, réfectoier et prieur de Saint-Orin, to bring the remains of Henri IV from the Louvre to Saint-Denis for burial in accordance with the late king's wishes.¹³ Later, the Archbishop of Rheims, abbé de Saint-Denis, appointed Jacques Colletet and Jacques Doublet¹⁴ to carry to Rheims for the coronation of Louis XIII "les ornements royaux qui se conser-

⁶ The documentary proof of this statement will appear in my *Life and Works of Guillaume Colletet*.

⁷ Lachèvre, *op. cit.*, II, 143.

⁸ Published at Paris by Henry Sara in February, 1624.

⁹ Published at Paris by Toussaint du Bray in 1625.

¹⁰ *Insinuations du Châtelet*, Y 157 fo 367vo.

¹¹ E. Campardon et A. Tuetey, *Histoire Générale de Paris. Inventaire des Régistres des Insinuations du Châtelet* . . . Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1906. in-4°. 1485.

¹² *Insinuations du Châtelet*, Y 145 fo 240.

¹³ *Régistres du Bureau de la Ville de Paris*, XIV, 522, n. 4.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, xv, 38, n. 1.

vaient au trésor de l'Abbaye de Saint-Denis." In the early 30's, known as Dom Colletet, he was approached with deference by Guillemain, Prieur de Roumolles en Provence, who was doing little errands in 1632-3 for Peiresc in Paris.¹⁵

One can imagine Guillaume Colletet, under the influence of his uncle and cousin, led into the path of discretion, which he follows consistently from this point on. His poem, *Scevole*, is dedicated to Nicolas Chevalier, Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils d'Etat et Privé, Premier Président de sa Cour des Aydes à Paris et Chancelier de la Royne, to whom he bitterly complains of the unjust accusations of his enemies, for they have done their utmost to ruin his reputation, about which he has always been sensitive.¹⁶ He consoles himself with the thought that they can never prove him guilty and wisely retires from public view in order not to arouse their antipathy again. Not content with this, the next year he persuaded someone to issue the oft-quoted appeal¹⁷ to the public that follows *l'Arrêt contre Théophile* in the *Recueil de toutes les pièces de Théophile . . . et généralement tout ce qui s'est fait pour et contre luy depuis sa prison jusques à présent*.¹⁸

From now on, despite the publication of *Le Trébuchement de l'Ivrongne* under various titles from 1627 to 1646 and the many similar poems found in the *Divertissements*, 1631,¹⁹ and the *Poé-*

¹⁵ *Lettres de Peiresc* publiées par Ph. Tamizey de Larroque . . . Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1890, v, 58, 91. Among other things, he purchased antique vases or tried to get a description of those he could not buy. He hoped to get a model or plaster cast of one of those in the Abbaye de Saint-Denis, but, after some evasion, Dom Colletet flatly refused him permission to do so on the plea that it might damage such a valuable work of art.

¹⁶ Of course, he had not hesitated to follow Théophile's example in flatly denying the authorship of the poems bearing his name in the satirical collections of 1619, 1620 and 1622.

¹⁷ Cf. Lachèvre, *op. cit.*, I, 348. The urgent need for such a defence is shown when, even the next year, Théophile's and Colletet's are the only names appearing in the 3 wretchedly printed editions of *Le Parnasse Satyrique*. Cf. Lachèvre, *Recueils Collectifs de Poésies Libres et Satyriques*, p. 70.

¹⁸ There were 2 editions of this *Recueil*, the material for which is thought to have been collected by a friend of Colletet. In one of them, "je sçay bien qu'on luy (Colletet) a joué cette trousse" is omitted. Cf. Lachèvre, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

¹⁹ Paris, R. Estienne, 1631; Jacques Dugast, 1633.

sies Diverses, 1656,²⁰ Colletet never fails to take every opportunity to condemn his associates of this period, to protest his interest in serious things, to declare his devotion to the Catholic church, and to point out to the young the advantages of an exemplary life. Such passages appear in many of his prefaces. They run through the *Vies des Poètes*²¹ and reappear in the various treatises of the *Art Poétique*,²² culminating in the *Discours de la Poésie Morale et Sentencieuse*,²³ that detailed review of all poetic works, ancient and modern, of which the purpose is to inspire admiration for the highest moral qualities.

JOSEPHINE DE BOER

Wilmette, Illinois

FRENCH ALLUSIONS TO TASSO

In the course of my investigations, I have run across numerous allusions to Torquato Tasso in France which are not mentioned in any of the books of reference. I have excluded from this article those items that are to be found in these works, and also everything which appears in the unpublished dissertation of C. B. Beall, who has been engaged in a study of Tasso in France in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹ No attempt is accordingly made to give a comprehensive bibliography, but only additional items which may help to make the study of the general subject more complete.

The French unquestionably considered Tasso a poet of the first rank. The author of the *Gerusalemme liberata* is usually mentioned in connection with Homer and Vergil as a poet of equal worth. The number who thus considered him is great. Many writers such as Claude Billard, Scudéry, La Mesnardière, Mambrun, M. de Marolles (l'Abbé Villeloin), Le Clerc, Desmarests de Saint-Sorlin, l'Abbé Jean Terrasson, Saint-Didier, de La Barre, Joannet, de La

²⁰ Paris, Louis Chamhoudry, 1656.

²¹ The MS. *Vies des Poètes françois* lost in the fire that destroyed the Bibliothèque du Louvre on May 23, 1871.

²² Paris, Antoine de Sommerville et Louis Chamhoudry, 1658.

²³ One of the treatises of *l'Art Poétique* dated 1657.

¹ Johns Hopkins University dissertation in Romance Languages, 1930.

Beaumelle, A. M. . . ., and Dubourg name Homer, Vergil, and Tasso in the same breath.²

La Mesnardière³ blames Tasso for having two heroes, Godefroy and Renaud, in his poem, and in *La Poétique*⁴ he mentions the *Amintha*. M. de Marolles⁵ recognizes the fact that Aristotle, Horace, Tasso, Scaliger, and Vossius are not infallible, and he observes:⁶

Je souhaite que pour y réussir parfaitement, ils n'y meslent point des eaux de l'Hippocrène, ny les lauriers du Parnasse, comme les Italiens, et mesme le Tasse dans sa *Jérusalem délivrée*, qui fait agir Tisiphone et Mégère avec les anges Michel et Gabriel, qui parle de Neptune, de Platon, comme de Divinités adorées.

Coras, in the *Satirique Berné*,⁷ quotes the IX^e *Satire* of Boileau in which Tasso is mentioned, and also speaks⁸ of ascertaining the value of Tasso and Vergil. It would seem, says Rapin,⁹ from an observation of the character of these geniuses, that one could liken Ariosto, who has more fire and vivacity, to Homer, and Tasso, who has more prudence and discretion, to Vergil. In the *Avertisse-*

² *L'Eglise triomphante*, Lyon, 1618, préface; Preface to *Ibrahim ou l'Illustre Bassa*, Paris, 1641; *Lettre du Sr. du Rivage, contenant quelques observations sur le Poëme Epique et sur le poëme de la Pucelle*, Paris, 1656, p. 17; *Dissertatio Peripatetica de Epico Carmine*, Paris, 1662, p. 4; Epistre of the *Traité du Poëme Epique*, Paris, 1662; Avertissement de la traduction de la *Hiérusalem délivrée*, Paris, 1667; *Lettre à M. l'abbé de la Chambre*, Paris, 1673, p. 12, also *Traité pour juger des Poetes Grecs, Latins, et François*, appended to the third edition of *Clovis*, Paris, 1673, ch. XXXIII, p. 96; *Dissertation critique sur l'Iliade d'Homère*, Paris, 1715, vol. I, p. 275, also 3^e partie, 1^e section, art. V, pp. 384 ff.; *Clovis*, Paris, 1725, préface, p. 4; *Première Dissertation sur le Poëme Epique* (1731) in *Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, Paris, 1736, t. IX, p. 253; *Elemens de Poësie Française*, Paris, 1752, t. I, p. 223; *Commentaire sur la Henriade*, Paris, 1775, t. II, p. 148; *Parallèle du Lutrin et de la Henriade*, Paris, 1775, p. 281, 331; *Le Messie*, Amsterdam, 1777, préface, p. 5.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 8, 11, 38.

⁴ Paris, 1640, *Discours*, also, pp. 278, 366.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, *Epistre*, also, pp. 6, 22, 48, 54, 63, 70, 97, 101, 103.

⁶ Pp. 48.

⁷ Paris, 1668, p. 32.

⁸ Pp. 33.

⁹ *Discours académique sur la comparaison entre Virgile et Homère*, Paris, 1668, pp. 38, 48, 49.

ment of his *Reflexions sur la poétique d'Aristote*,¹⁰ after mentioning Tasso in an historical sketch of heroic poems, he says: "Le dessein le plus accomply de tous les Poèmes modernes est celui du Tasse," although there are faults in the execution. He claims that *l'Armide* is too lax morally, condemns Tasso for trying to please "par des endroits trop éclatans," and states that the poet does not know the secret of style. He has given too much prominence to secondary figures; Godefroy, who is the hero, scarcely does anything. There is too much mingling of the jesting and the serious. He concludes by saying that Tasso and Trissino both wanted to write tragedies after the manner of Sophocles, but failed.

Desmarets¹¹ contends that Greece and Italy have never had such a lofty subject as his poem where the true religion has fought and conquered the false; and one can never call him to justice in the name of Homer, Vergil, or Tasso "pour restitution, ni d'emprunt, ni de larcin." In *La Deffense du Poëme Heroïque*,¹² he criticizes Tasso for having introduced an angel that appears to Godefroy, and because

il feint le Demon qui tient son conseil dans les enfers. La faute qu'il a faite est de luy avoir donné le nom de Pluton, et d'avoir mis dans les enfers les mesmes suplices que Virgile y a mis, qui sont selon les fables. Car cela ne s'accorde pas avec notre Religion, qui admet seulement ce qui peut estre animé par les Demons.

He also takes Tasso to task for the manner in which he has begun his poem. In the *Avis to Clovis*, he says, in speaking of miracles and prodigies, that he has used them much more sparingly than Tasso.

Boileau had no compunctions about acknowledging Tasso as a genius, but he criticizes him for having employed the 'merveilleux chrétien' and for his disdain for verisimilitude.¹³ Etienne Fourmont¹⁴ cites this passage from Boileau, and says:

¹⁰ *Reflexions sur la poétique d'Aristote et sur les ouvrages des Poètes anciens et modernes*, Paris, 1674. Cf. also pp. 61, 91, 125, 133, 138, 141, 148, 164, 200.

¹¹ *Traité pour juger des Poetes*, already cited.

¹² Paris, 1674, p. 87.

¹³ *Art poétique*, III, 205 ff.

¹⁴ *Examen pacifique de la querelle de Mme Dacier et M. de la Motte sur Homère*, Paris, 1716, I, 190 ff.

Godefroy en oraison n'est pas plus ridicule qu'*Ænée* en prière, mettre Sattan à la raison dans la Jérusalem et ramener Junon à la douceur dans l'*Eneide* sont absolument la même chose, mais quelle est cette tristesse de sujet du Tasse? En un mot Despréaux n'avoit pas assez pezé toutes les ressemblances d'entre le Tasse et les anciens Poètes.

Perrault,¹⁵ in the colloquy between the Président and the abbé, makes the former say:

En un mot vous concluez que le Tasse, que Chapelain, que Desmarests, que le Père le Moine et Scuderi sont de meilleurs Poètes que Virgile et Homere, et que la Jerusalem délivrée, la Pucelle, le Clovis, le St. Louis et l'Alaric valent mieux que l'*Iliade* et l'*Eneide*.

To which l'abbé replies: "Dieu me garde de dire jamais pareille chose."

M. Chevalier Temple¹⁶ states that Ariosto and Tasso undertook to compose heroic poems, but, not having strong enough wings to raise themselves, had to have recourse to the ancients. In *Le Nouveau Mercure*,¹⁷ we read: "Les Grecs ont leur Homère, les Latins leur Virgile, les Italiens leur Tasse et leur Arioste, tandis que les Français n'ont pas un seul Auteur, je ne dis pas à leur opposer, mais même dont on puisse soutenir la lecture." In the same journal of May, 1708,¹⁸ another anonymous writer observes that, although the *Jérusalem* has its beauties, it has too many shortcomings to be taken as a model, and places *Télémaque* above the *Gerusalemme liberata*.

L'Abbé Terrasson¹⁹ declares that Tasso has made the trees of the enchanted forest groan and talk. Saint-Didier²⁰ remarks that these enchantments are no longer suitable to the taste of his century, yet we read in the *Bibliothèque françoise* of l'Abbé Goujet:²¹ "Rien n'est plus beau dans la Jérusalem que l'endroit de la Forêt enchantée, que le Palais d'Armide, etc. Otez du Tasse cette sorte de merveilleux, ce n'est plus un Poète."

¹⁵ *Parallèle des anciens et des modernes*, Paris, 1688, 3 vols., I, 62; III, 147, 150.

¹⁶ *De la poésie*, Utrecht, 1693, p. 304.

¹⁷ Trévoux, fév., 1708, p. 218 (author not named).

¹⁸ Pp. 61, 62, 70, 71, 73, 74, 76.

¹⁹ *Dissertation critique sur l'Iliade d'Homère*, Paris, 1715, p. 241.

²⁰ Preface to *Clovis*, Paris, 1725, p. 11.

²¹ Vol. IV, part II, p. 37. Cf. also, pp. 39, 61, footnote.

Etienne Fourmont²² quotes passages from Tasso to show the lofty Scriptural tone, but later shows that Tasso is not exempt from the fault of mingling Christian and pagan deities.

Il appelle les enfers l'Averne, Pluton, chef des Diables, il parle de Cerbère, de l'Hydre, du Cocyte. Toutes ces idées sont prises du Paganisme. Si l'on répond que les Payens n'auroient jamais eu connaissance de ces dogmes, on peut la supposer dans les démons qu'ils adoroient. On repliquera que le Tasse n'a pas dû traiter les Mahumetans de Payens, ni faire agir pour eux des Dieux dont ils ont horreur comme nous.

In the *Mémoires pour l'histoire des sciences et des Beaux-Arts*,²³ we read that the epic poem is such a difficult work that the world has seen only six of first rank, the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, the *Æneid*, the *Gerusalemme liberata*, *Paradise Lost*, and *Télémaque*.

In the *Bibliothèque française* of l'Abbé Goujet,²⁴ we read: "Il paroît une critique très vive de la traduction du Tasse. Elle est de Mlle Riccoboni, actrice de la Comédie Italienne, connue sous le nom de Flaminia."²⁵ On page 34 of Volume IV:

Si le Tasse avoit dit: Il parut à ce Conseil le Sphinx, la Chimère, Gerion, etc., le Traducteur pourroit avoir quelque sorte de raison, mais il est évidemment dans son tort, puisque ces noms fabuleux sont rapportez par le Tasse au pluriel, pour nous faire entendre que les démons parurent sous des formes monstrueuses, et pour nous donner une idée juste de cette effroyable assemblée. . . . Comme rien n'est plus vif et plus animé que tout ce qui est emprunté de la Fable, c'est une assez bonne ressource pour les Poëmes chrétiens, que de feindre les démons transformez en esprits fabuleux et en Dieux du Paganisme. Le Tasse a mis en usage cette transformation.

Elsewhere one finds: ²⁶

Les divinitez du Paganisme passent pour des êtres chimeriques et la magie, source du merveilleux pour l'Arioste et pour le Tasse . . . Il est étonnant qu'on nous donne cette sorte de merveilleux pour une production toute neuve. Le Tasse, dit l'auteur des notes sur la lettre de Mlle Riccoboni à M. l'abbé Conti, a mis en usage cette transformation. M. de Saint-Didier a peut-être cru que les preuves érudites dont il a fortifié ce système lui donneroient un air de nouveauté. Le sujet est l'établis-

²² *Op. cit.*, I, 108, 177, 190 ff. (already cited), 219.

²³ Trévoux, Juillet, 1730, p. 1423; cf. also, pp. 1459, 1466.

²⁴ IV, 188.

²⁵ The letter of Mlle Riccoboni to l'Abbé Conti on the subject of the new translation is found in Part II, IV, 20 ff.

²⁶ VI, 24.

sement de la Religion et de la Monarchie des François. Après la proposition et l'invocation, qui sont suivies de quelques vers traduits du Tasse, M. de Voltaire a mis en oeuvre la même idée dans le 4^e chant de son poème de la Ligue.

And again: ²⁷

La Jérusalem délivrée du Tasse est un Poème si célèbre que M. de Voltaire l'a jugée digne d'un examen détaillé. M. de Voltaire fait une espèce de Parallèle entre la Jérusalem délivrée et l'Iliade. Le sujet du Poète Italien lui paroît plus noble que celui du Poète Grec.²⁸ Cependant le Tasse, qui fait jouer au Diable le rôle d'un misérable charlatan, parle avec majesté de tout ce qui regarde la Religion, et soutient même ce ton en représentant des Litanies, des Processions, etc. Mais ce que M. de Voltaire ne pardonne pas au Poète Italien, c'est d'avoir donné aux mauvais esprits les noms de Pluton et d'Alecton, et d'avoir confondu les idées Payennes avec les idées Chrétiennes.²⁹

In Volume XXIII there is an article on the *Aminta* of Tasso; ³⁰ in Volume XXXIII ³¹ l'Abbé Rossi defends Tasso; and in Volume XXXIX (1744) we read: "Des divers Poèmes du Tasse on ne lit presque plus en François que sa *Jérusalem délivrée* et son *Aminte*."

J. M. de Pons ³² asks:

Quel est-il ce merveilleux? Quel en est le garant, si le poète, loin de paroître inspiré, se livre uniquement aux caprices de son imagination, comme l'ont fait le Tasse et Milton. A cette phrase du Tasse: "O Muse! dont le front est couronné d'étoiles immortelles," et à cette autre: "O Muse! donne à mes chants ta force et ton éclat!" on se sent transporté chez les modernes. Dans quel ordre de choses (chez les Grecs et parmi nous) dans quel système peut-on supposer une Muse couronnée d'étoiles? La fable ni la vérité ne se prêtent point à cette supposition. A l'égard du Tasse, qui n'a pas moins occasionné que Milton les observations que je viens de faire, je n'ai plus qu'une simple remarque à communiquer. C'est Hector qui, dans l'Iliade, est l'obstacle à surmonter de la part des Grecs. C'est un myrte qui, dans la Jérusalem délivrée, est celui des Chrétiens.

²⁷ XII, partie 2, p. 265.

²⁸ He continues talking about Tasso for several pages.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, XII, 269.

³⁰ Paris, 1735, pp. 350-354.

³¹ P. 235.

³² *Définition de genre Epique et Essai sur le plan de l'Iliade*, Paris, an 13 (1805), pp. 7, 137, 139.

De quel côté sera ce qu'on appelle la vraisemblance, la raison, la belle nature? Que peut-on penser de l'intrigue d'un poème où c'est un plus grand exploit d'abattre un myrte que de terrasser le formidable Argant? Il faut selon moi toutes les beautés répandues dans les détails des poèmes du Tasse et de Milton, pour en pardonner le merveilleux, ou puéril, ou gigantesque.

Marmontel, writing sometime before 1755 the article on the *merveilleux* in Diderot's *Encyclopédie*³³ says: "Le Tasse imagine un perroquet chantant des chansons de sa propre composition. Ces traits ne sont pas assez nobles pour l'épopée. . . Le Tasse a eu de même l'inadvertence de donner aux diables qui jouent un grand rôle dans la Jérusalem délivrée les noms de Pluton et d'Alecton." In his *Poétique française*³⁴ Marmontel says: "Le Tasse n'a presque jamais eu recours à l'entremise des esprits célestes; mais il soulève les enfers, et ce merveilleux passionné lui suffit pour opérer tous ses prodiges."

In the *Lettres critiques sur le Paradis perdu de Milton*, Vol. IV of the 1765 edition of the *Paradis perdu*,³⁵ we find: "On est étonné de trouver partout chez lui (Milton) comme chez le Tasse, ce bizarre mélange d'idées également empruntées de la Fable et de l'Écriture." De la Beaumelle³⁶ says that Tasso enlivens the gravity of the subject and enchants the reader to the point of rendering him incapable of perceiving the lack of verisimilitude of his fiction. He says also that a man who has just read Locke and Addison will not relish finding in the *Jerusalem* a Christian sorcerer who draws Renaud from the hands of the Mohammedan sorcerers.

In addition to those authors already cited, there are many who either quote Tasso or mention him, but lack of space forbids doing more than merely naming these. Le Brun, Mambrun, M. D. S., de La Croix, l'Abbé Bouhours, Chapelain, Guez de Balzac, Boileau, Vauquelin de la Fresnaye, Régnier, Segrain, Basnage de Beauval, M. de Valincour, Sorel, Gomberville, D'Aubignac, de La Motte, l'Abbé Terrasson, Etienne Fourmont, Baillet, Saint-Didier, Paul

³³ Vol. X, p. 393 ff.

³⁴ Paris, 1763, 2 vols. II, 324. Cf. also I, pp. 374, 375, 378, 379, 391, 399, 400, 411, 414, 435; II, pp. 233, 234, 248, 249, 253, 257, 262, 263, 271, 281, 290, 291.

³⁵ P. 75. Cf. also pp. 6, 16, 28, 29, 36, 85, 150, 151.

³⁶ *Commentaire sur la Henriade*, Paris, 1775, II, 4.

Rolli, le Père Buffier, Constantin de Magny, l'Abbé Vatry, Ménage, Sarasin, Joannet, M. de Vixouse, l'Abbé Mallet, Mme de Staël, Michel Cubières de Palméseaux, Viollet le Duc, Rigault, all refer to Tasso.³⁷

RALPH C. WILLIAMS

Amherst College.

³⁷ *Dissertatio de Epico Carmine*, Paris, 1661, pp. 162, 169, 173; *Dissertatio Peripatetica de Epico Carmine*, Paris, 1662, pp. 4, 66, 67 ff., 70, 90, 109, 110, 124, 126, 129, 139, 148, 168, 176, 178, 282; *Le Montparnasse ou de la preference entre la Prose et la Poësie*, Paris, 1663, p. 46; *L'Art de la Poesie françoise et latine*, Lyon, 1694, pp. 169, 586; *La manière de bien penser dans les ouvrages d'esprit*, Paris, 1687-1688, pp. 10-12; *Lettres de Jean Chapelain*, Paris, 1880, in which there are 27 references to Tasso, also *Préface de la Pucelle*, also *Sentiments de l'Académie sur le Cid* (see Searles' edition in U. of Minn. Studies, no. 3, 1916, p. 17); *Entretiens*, pp. 67, 128; *Dissertation critique sur Joconde*, *Œuvres complètes*, II, 2 (Paris, 1872); *Art poétique*, I, 905-912; *Satire IX*; Preface to translation of Vergil, Paris, 1668; *Histoire des ouvrages des savans*, Rotterdam, 1687-1709 (Dec. 1690, Art. III, Life of Tasso); *Lettres à Madame la marquise . . . sur le sujet de la Princesse de Clèves*, Paris, 1678, pp. 115, 256 ff.; in the *Berger Extravagant* in connection with the criticism of romances; *Polexandre*, II, 991; *Conjectures académiques ou Dissertation sur l'Iliade*, Paris, 1715, pp. 158, 159, 228; *Reflexions sur la critique*, Paris, 1715, 2e partie, II, 55, 60; *Dissertation critique sur l'Iliade d'Homère*, Paris, 1715, p. 243; *Examen pacifique de la querelle de Mme Dacier et M. de la Motte sur Homère*, Paris, 1716, I, 113, 143, 152, 178, 179, 189; *Jugemens des savans*, Paris, 1725, III, 1; *Lettres critiques sur le poëme de Clovis*, Paris, 1725, p. 59; *Examen de l'essai de M. de Voltaire sur la poésie épique*, Paris, 1728, pp. 7, 9, 12, 28, 29, 32, 34, 60, 61, 62 ff., 67, 68, 69, 77 ff., 98; *Traité philosophique et pratique de poésie*, Paris, 1728, p. 294; *Dissertation critique sur le Paradis perdu de Milton*, Paris, 1729, p. 163; *Réponse à la seconde Dissertation par de la Barre. Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres avec les Mémoires de Littérature tirez des Registres de cette Académie*, Paris, 1736, IX, 297, also pp. 228, 232, 233; *Bibliothèque poetique ou nouveau choix des plus belles pièces de vers en tout genre*, Paris, 1745, p. 379, also *Anti-Baillet*, VII, part I; *Bibliothèque poetique ou nouveau choix des plus belles pièces de vers en tout genre*, Paris, 1745, p. 287; *Elemens de Poésie françoise*, Paris, 1752, I, 223, 225, 226, 227; *Louis XIV ou la guerre de 1701*, poëme en xv chants, La Haye, 1778, préface, p. 7; *Principe pour la lecture des poëtes*, Paris, 1745, I, 206, II, pp. 105, 107, 108, 126, 149; *De l'Allemagne*, ch. XXII; *Essai sur l'art poétique*, Paris, 1812, p. 11; *Nouvel art poétique*, pp. 40, 41, also *Précis d'un traité de poétique et de versification*, Paris, 1829, pp. 162, 163, 168; *Histoire de la querelle des anciens et des modernes*, Paris, 1856, p. 70.

DEUX LETTRES INÉDITES DE BUFFON

La bibliothèque du Muséum d'histoire naturelle de Paris possède, sous la cote MS. 1985, deux lettres autographes de Buffon que je crois inédites.¹ Je les reproduis ici intégralement d'après les originaux. Elles furent écrites à Jean-Baptiste Guillaumot, architecte de la ville de Paris,² au sujet des carrières qu'on avait trouvées vers 1779 sous le terrain du Jardin du Roi :

I

Je suis très sensible, Monsieur, aux offres que vous avés la bonté de me faire au sujet de la découverte des anciennes fouilles de carrière sous le terrain du Jardin du Roi; je vous serai très obligé si vous voulés bien, Monsieur, m'en faire communiquer le plan et me permettre d'en faire tirer une copie après quoi j'aurai l'honneur de vous porter moi même le plan, enchanté d'avoir cette occasion de vous renouveler tous les sentiments de la véritable estime et du respectueux attachement avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

Le Cte. de Buffon

à Paris ce 3 avril 1779 ³

Guillaumot fut employé pour diriger dans ces carrières les travaux de consolidation nécessaires.⁴ Mais ses ouvriers n'y firent pas toujours de bonne maçonnerie solide, et Buffon ne fut pas content de leur travail.⁵ Il s'en plaignit à Guillaumot en présence

¹ M. Louis Dimier, dans son excellent livre sur Buffon (Paris, 1919, p. 18), a indiqué, le premier je crois, l'existence au Muséum d'un assez grand nombre de lettres inédites du naturaliste. Je dois leur communication au bibliothécaire du Muséum, M. Léon Bultingaire, qui met à la disposition des chercheurs, avec une grande libéralité et une bonne grâce parfaite, les richesses de sa bibliothèque. J'espère pouvoir lui témoigner toute ma reconnaissance lorsque paraîtra le travail plus étendu que je compte terminer d'ici quelques mois.

² Cf. Nadault de Buffon, *Correspondance générale de Buffon* (publiée comme les volumes XIII et XIV de l'édition des œuvres complètes de Buffon par J.-L. de Lanessan. Paris, 1885, en 14 vol.), t. XIV, p. 297.

³ Pièce 322. D'après la coupure collée sur sa chemise, cette lettre a fait partie d'une vente, mais je n'ai pu savoir laquelle: 17. Buffon (le comte de), célèbre naturaliste. L. sig. à M. Guillaumot, Paris, 3 avril, 1779. 1p. in-4 au sujet des offres qu'il a eu la bonté de lui faire relativement à la découverte des anciennes fouilles de carrières sous le terrain du Jardin du Roi.

⁴ Nadault de Buffon, *op. cit.*, XIV, 68, 297.

⁵ *Ibid.*

du lieutenant général de police, Le Noir,⁶ qui était chargé de l'inspection des carrières parisiennes. Apparemment l'architecte de la ville s'était récrié contre ces observations, car le naturaliste lui adressa la lettre suivante :

II

Je serois très fâché, Monsieur, que ce que j'ai eû l'honneur de vous dire en présence de M. Lenoir vous eût fait de la moindre petite peine. il ne s'agissoit point du tout de vos grands travaux dans les Carrières mais seulement de ce petit ouvrage provisionnel dont vous parlez dans votre lettre et qui n'a pas été faite avec toute la précaution nécessaire; car le vieux bâtiment sous lequel cette réparation a été faite à mon insçu, n'a pas cessé de travailler au point que j'ai été obligé de le faire démolir très promptement et dans le plus mauvais temps de l'hiver. L'ouvrage provisionnel que vos ouvriers avoient fait au dessous est encore subsistant et si vous voulés, Monsieur, me faire l'honneur de venir au jardin du Roi, vous en jugerés par vos yeux; au reste je sens parfaitement que dans des travaux aussi immenses et aussi difficiles à conduire, il est impossible qu'il ne se trouve quelques petits inconvéniens; et en vérité j'ose vous dire, Monsieur, que j'ai été et suis encore l'un des premiers à rendre justice à vos grands talens, à votre zèle, à votre activité et tout cela indépendamment des sentimens d'amitié que je vous ai voué[s]. Je serois donc vraiment mortifié si j'avois pu vous blesser par l'observation que je vous ai faite. Je vous prie d'en être persuadé [et d']être en même temps très assuré de l'attachement sincère et Respectueux avec lequel j'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur.

Le Cte. de Buffon

au Jardin du Roi ce 13 mars 1782 *

Ces lettres, je le sais, n'apportent pas une contribution notable à l'histoire littéraire. Les ouvriers de Jean-Baptiste Guillaumot et leur mauvais ouvrage nous sont assez indifférents. Mais aujourd'hui que l'on met un soin particulier à recueillir jusqu'aux moindres fragments des célébrités littéraires, on lira volontiers ces lignes qui portent, elles aussi, le cachet de leur auteur. Et, en effet, je crois trouver dans ces deux lettres l'expression de cette politesse, de cette urbanité qui était une des qualités essentielles du grand naturaliste.

Je signale aussi l'habile tournure de la seconde lettre. Buffon, mécontent de Guillaumot à cause du mauvais travail de ses ouvriers,

⁶ Jean-Charles-Pierre LeNoir (1732-1807).

* Pièce 323. D'après la coupure collée sur sa chemise, cette lettre a fait partie de la même vente que celle qui précède: 18. Buffon. *Le même L. sig. à M. Guillaumot. Paris, 13 mars 1782. 2p. in-4. au sujet de travaux faits sous le jardin du Roi pour la consolidation des carrières.*

allait bientôt confier à un autre⁸ les fonctions de directeur dans les carrières du Jardin du Roi. Il y avait, cependant, de bonnes raisons pour ne pas offenser l'architecte de la ville. Ne voulant pas prendre dans les fonds particuliers du Jardin tout l'argent nécessaire pour défrayer les travaux de consolidation, Buffon touchait des sommes sur les fonds destinés à la dépense générale des carrières de Paris.⁹ Mais les mémoires, par lesquels il en demandait paiement, étaient visés justement au bureau de Guillaumot, et celui-ci, une fois fâché contre le naturaliste, aurait pu causer des difficultés.¹⁰ L'affaire était délicate. Il fallait du tact, et c'est de là, sans doute, que vient cette lettre où Buffon, sans rétracter ce qu'il a dit devant Le Noir, essaye très habilement de ménager l'amour-propre de l'architecte de la ville.

W. F. FALLS

University of Pennsylvania

CHATEAUBRIAND DÉCORÉ DE LA GRAND'CROIX DE L'ORDRE ROYAL DU SAUVEUR DE GRÈCE

Dès 1811, dans l'*Itinéraire*, Chateaubriand avait appelé l'attention émue de la France et de l'Europe sur la Grèce qui gardait, en son infime misère, avec la beauté de ses souvenirs, la grâce de ses sites, de sa lumière et de ses ruines. Aussitôt que la Guerre d'Indépendance hellénique fut déclarée, en 1821, le poète se dévoua à la liberté du pays avec acharnement. Il fit parti du comité grec, à Paris, pour secourir les malheureux descendants des Spartiates et des Athéniens. Il écrivit une éloquente *Note sur la Grèce* en faveur des insurgés. Il travailla dans le même sens à la Chambre des pairs pour mettre en mouvement le corps politique.¹¹ Son vœu se réalisa. La Grèce, secourue par la France, l'Angleterre et la Russie, réussit à secouer le joug ottoman. Au 2^e congrès de Londres, en 1830, les puissances protectrices décidèrent qu'un roi

⁸ A Edme Verniquet (1727-1804), qui devint l'architecte du Jardin du Roi à partir de 1781. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 297.

⁹ *Ibid.* et p. 298, 301, 302.

¹⁰ Ce qui arriva, en effet, quelques années plus tard. *Ibid.*

¹¹ Voir, pour les détails: Emile Malakis, "Chateaubriand's Contribution to French Philhellenism," *MP.*, xxvi, 91-105.

serait donné aux Hellènes. En 1832, au 3^e congrès de Londres, les puissances nommèrent roi de Grèce le prince Othon de Bavière, âgé de dix-huit ans.

Or, Chateaubriand, quoique content des résultats qu'en partie ses efforts avaient accomplis, n'était pas satisfait de la décision des puissances de mettre un roi à la tête du pays. Il nous laisse entendre ceci dans un passage des *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe* (IV, 323, éd. Biré) rédigé en 1838: «La Grèce est devenue libre du joug de l'islamisme; mais, au lieu d'une république fédérative, comme je le désirais, une monarchie bavaroise s'est établie à Athènes.» Et, irrité, il se hâte d'ajouter: «Or, comme les rois n'ont pas de mémoire, moi qui avais quelque peu servi la cause des Argiens, je n'ai plus entendu parler d'eux que dans Homère. La Grèce délivrée ne m'a pas dit: 'Je vous remercie.'»

En réalité, le roi Othon n'a point oublié le poète. Onze ans après son avènement, en 1843, il adressait une lettre, dont la teneur est très aimable, au grand philhellène pour le remercier du soin avec lequel il avait concouru à la délivrance du pays, et lui conférait la Grand-Croix de l'Ordre Royal du Sauveur. Autant que nous sachions, Chateaubriand n'a fait aucune allusion à cet honneur dans ses écrits.² Nos recherches indiqueront que la lettre du roi de Grèce est inédite³. Nous prenons donc plaisir à la publier intégralement pour mettre au point l'étude sur l'activité de Chateaubriand philhellène, et signaler cette attestation d'estime, ignorée jusqu'ici, rendue au grand homme qui l'a bien méritée.

Monsieur le Vicomte de Chateaubriand, Désirant vous donner un témoignage de la satisfaction que J'éprouve des sentimens dont vous avez constamment fait preuve pour la Grèce et du soin avec lequel vous avez concouru dans les occasions à sa délivrance et à son érection en état indépendant, ainsi que de l'estime particulière que J'ai pour les hauts mérites qui vous distinguent, Je vous ai conféré la Grand-Croix de Mon Ordre Royal du Sauveur et vous l'envoie avec autant de plaisir que

² La lettre du prince bavarois ne pourrait être en réponse à la plainte de Chateaubriand puisque les *Mémoires* ne commencèrent à paraître qu'en 1848.

³ Nous avons trouvé cette lettre dans la Salle des Manuscrits à la Bibliothèque Nationale. Fonds français 12454, feuillet 71. Elle est écrite sur papier élégant, au filigrane: J. Waltham Turkey 1838; la bordure est dorée. L'écriture très ornée est celle d'un secrétaire, la signature est celle du roi.

J'ai à vous assurer des sentimens d'affection que je vous porte, et dans lesquels je prie Dieu qu'ils vous ait, Monsieur le Vicomte de Chateaubriand. en sa sainte et digne garde.

Athènes ce $\frac{26 \text{ février}}{10 \text{ Mars}}$ 1834 ⁴

Othon

University of Pennsylvania

EMILE MALAKIS.

FRÈRES AÎNÉS DU JACQUES VIGNOT DE DUMAS FILS

La critique a vivement félicité Dumas fils d'être parvenu à imposer au public le dénouement de son *Fils naturel*. Dumas lui-même (non sans une juste mesure d'humilité, car la lutte, disait-il, avait duré trente-cinq ans) convenait de son triomphe sur les résistances bourgeoises.¹ Il y allait d'une tradition théâtrale qui dictait que le fils naturel et son père, en se voyant, "se jetteraient dans les bras l'un de l'autre aux applaudissemens d'un public en larmes."²

On peut se demander si le public s'est rebellé contre la dureté du dénouement en question, ou s'il a seulement refusé son suffrage à une manière de reconnaissance qui ne tenait point compte du sentiment de l'auditoire. Je serais tenté de croire qu'il en voulut à l'auteur de dédaigner sa collaboration. Car, pour peu qu'il eût meilleure mémoire que l'audacieux dramaturge et les enthousiastes commentateurs, le public était suffisamment renseigné sur la réhabilitation dramatique des fils naturels pour en connaître tous les détours. Or, l'entrevue du fils naturel et de son père possédait aussi bien une autre sorte de tradition . . . celle justement où est tombé Jacques Vignot lorsqu'il a repoussé les avances de M. Sternay.

Le spectacle de fils naturel et de père repentí qui ne s'embrassent pas dès qu'ils savent ce qu'ils sont l'un à l'autre a des précédents jusque dans le XVIII^e siècle. La *Mélanide* de La Chaussée offrait un tableau de reconnaissance auquel on ne peut reprocher aucun

⁴ Nous n'avons pu rien trouver autour de cette date qui indiquerait que la Grèce se préoccupait de remercier les philhellènes. Aux archives nationales de Grèce nous n'avons trouvé aucun accusé de réception.

¹ Cf. J. Lemaitre, *Impressions de Théâtre*, ix, 141-142; L. Lacour, *Gaulois et Parisiens*, p. 7.

² Préface de l'*Étranger*.

excès de hâte. Soupçonnant à bon droit que d'Orvigny est son père, Darviane se présente à lui. D'Orvigny, de son côté, vient d'apprendre que Darviane est son fils. Leur entrevue (v, 2 et 3) n'est cependant pas du genre dont Dumas fils allait débarrasser la scène. On cause. L'un demande à être reconnu, l'autre refuse de se prononcer. Pour arracher à d'Orvigny le mot qu'il ne voulait pas dire, Darviane est allé jusqu'à lui proposer un duel. S'ils ont fini par s'embrasser, c'est qu'entre honnêtes gens on arrive toujours à s'entendre; pour le public, s'il a versé des larmes, il avait été secoué par une longue et pénible discussion.

Une comédie de la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle³ contenait une scène de reconnaissance qui manquait d'élan, entendez de cette spontanéité de sentiments réciproques qui fait que l'on s'embrasse et que tout est expliqué. Quand Gercour et Sainfar connurent qu'ils étaient père et fils le vieillard déclara qu'il assurerait le bonheur du jeune homme; celui-ci remercia en flétrissant la conduite des "mortels imprudens" semeurs de bâtards, puis il compta minutieusement les misères des enfants illégitimes, sans omettre la honte des mères abandonnées. Lorsque Sainfar eut tout dit il offrit enfin une parole de conciliation :

Croyez que votre fils ne saurait vous hair.⁴

Qu'après cela il n'y ait pas eu d'embrassade sur la scène ni d'attendrissement dans l'auditoire, je n'oserais dire; le texte de la pièce marque bien toutefois quelle sorte d'approbation l'auteur a sollicitée.

Je note pour mémoire l'entrevue de Figaro et de son père. Sans doute leur vieille inimitié ne se prêtait pas à plus ample effusion; c'est néanmoins une reconnaissance où le public n'a pas pleuré.

Dans le théâtre de la première moitié du XIX^e siècle l'entrevue du fils naturel et de son père est fréquemment une scène de reproches qui se termine de façons diverses. Il est des cas, tel, par exemple, celui d'Arthur Brémont et du comte de Salmar, où l'on ne songe pas à s'embrasser.⁵ Ailleurs on ne s'embrasse qu'après que le père a consenti à régulariser entièrement la situation en épousant la mère abandonnée.⁶ Ailleurs encore le rapprochement

³ Le *Vieux garçon* de P. Dubuisson, 1782.

⁴ v, 3.

⁵ L'*Homme du monde* d'Ancelet et Saintine, 1827.

⁶ *Arthur, ou Seize ans après*, de Dupeuty, Fontan et Davrigny, 1838.

n'a lieu que lorsque le père est parvenu à justifier sa conduite passée.⁷

L'entrevue sans effondrement, l'entrevue logique du fils naturel et de son père a donc eu sur la scène française un développement graduel, et le public de Dumas eût dû se montrer plus aguerri. Au surplus, on ne saurait nier que si la pièce de Dumas n'a pas inauguré une tradition nouvelle, du moins apportait-elle à la tradition établie une combinaison qui lui manquait: l'indifférence narquoise du fils pour un pauvre homme de père et la sollicitude intéressée du père pour un glorieux bâtard.

MAURICE BAUDIN

New York University

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON MARCEL PROUST

There exist three Proust items which seem to have been overlooked and which should be known to students and lovers of Proust, and collectors of Proustiana. These three items do not occur in the admirable bibliography of Léon Pierre-Quint, to be found in his volume, *Comment travaillait Proust*, Paris, 1928.

The first is an article in the number for August, 1905, of the monthly magazine *Les Arts de la Vie*, entitled "Un Professeur de Beauté", and occupies pages 67 to 79 of that number. One may easily imagine from the title that the *professeur de beauté* is Robert de Montesquiou and, in fact, the article is a review of Montesquiou's book of criticism, *Professionnelles Beautés*. It is written in the deferent tone always used by Proust with regard to Montesquiou, and expresses regrets that Montesquiou is not already a member of the French Academy. There are also numerous references to Ruskin, which can easily be explained since Proust, at this moment, was making his translations of *The Bible of Amiens* and *Sesame and the Lilies*, the preface which he wrote for the latter appearing in *La Renaissance Latine* in June of the same year as "Un Professeur de Beauté".

The second Proust item, which seems to be quite unknown, is a preface which he wrote for a curious publication, *Au Royaume du*

⁷ *L'Orphelin du Parvis Notre-Dame, ou la Jeunesse de d'Alembert*, de A. Guénée, 1838.

Bistouri. This is a brochure of forty-eight pages, 228 x 305 mm., bound in stiff paper covers and printed in Geneva, Edition Henn. No date of publication is given nor *tirage*, although the copies are numbered. The volume consists of thirty caricatures of military hospital life during the late war and the title-page tells us that they were drawn by R. de M. The cover is adorned with drawings of surgical instruments, with a picture of an *infirmier* on the back cover. The preface, written by Proust, does not give much more information than that the Count and Countess de M. were friends of his. The rarity of the volume will perhaps excuse the reproduction of this preface here:

A la Comtesse de M.

Madame,

Je suis désappointé en recevant quelques feuillets du prochain album, de voir, d'une part que vos caricatures ne sont plus en couleur comme celles que vous m'aviez envoyées il y a deux ans; d'autre part, que plusieurs d'entre elles manquent, notamment cet étonnant "Il n'est pas beau, mais c'est quelqu'un", digne pendant de "Il lui sera beaucoup pardonné parce qu'elle a beaucoup soigné" où vous rivalisez avec Abel Faivre tout en restant originale et en différant profondément de lui.

La suppression de la couleur m'a déçu, parce qu'elle a entraîné celle des paysages. Or, bien avant que vous ne connussiez Clément, il était l'un de mes deux ou trois meilleurs amis. Que de soirs nous avons passés ensemble en Savoie, à regarder le Mont-Blanc, devenir, tandis que le soleil se couchait, un fugitif Mont-Rose qu'allait ensevelir la nuit. Puis il fallait regagner le lac de Genève, et monter, avant Thonon, dans un bon petit chemin de fer assez semblable à celui que j'ai dépeint dans un de mes volumes non encore parus, et que vous recevrez l'un après l'autre, si Dieu me prête vie. Un bon petit chemin de fer patient, d'un bon caractère, qui attendait, le temps voulu, les retardataires, et même une fois parti s'arrêtait si on lui faisait signe pour recueillir ceux qui, soufflant comme lui, le rejoignaient à toute vitesse. A toute vitesse, en quoi ils différaient de lui, qui n'usait jamais que d'une sage lenteur. A Thonon, long arrêt, on serrait la main d'un tel qui était venu accompagner ses invités, d'un autre voulant acheter les journaux, de beaucoup que j'ai toujours soupçonnés de n'avoir rien d'autre à faire là que retrouver des gens de connaissance. Une forme de vie mondaine comme une autre que cet arrêt à la gare de Thonon.

Or le château de M., la vieille demeure des ancêtres de votre mari, était fort au-dessus de Thonon mais enchassé dans l'émeraude de ce pays admirable. Vos couleurs me faisaient toujours penser aux couleurs de ce pays là. Il y a bien longtemps de cela; depuis vous avez été une infirmière admirable et pourtant gaie dans l'inlassable dévouement, vous avez extrait un comique tout spécial de ce milieu où vous avez tenu une place héroïque. Un dessin comme le: "Réveillez-vous mon ami c'est l'heure de prendre la potion pour dormir", mérite autant de rester, que vos grosses dames

repenties qui illustrent tout un chapitre de votre "Splendeur et Misère" non pas certes des courtisanes, mais de quelques grandes dames qui ne furent saintes que sur le tard.

Et le château de M. me direz-vous, que devient-il dans tout cela. Je ne l'ai pas perdu de vue. Vous rappelez-vous au début du Capitaine Fracasse, le château lugubre où vit Sigognac. Franchement M. était admirable, mais n'était pas plus gai. Gautier qui comptait faire revenir Sigognac dans le vaste château pour achever dans le noir un livre qui avait commencé dans le noir, fut un peu déconcerté quand ses éditeurs exigèrent une fin gaie, claire, triomphale. A sa fille surtout (Judith Gautier) cela paraissait moins vrai, moins "comme dans la vie". Il s'exécute cependant. Vous êtes venue depuis lui donner raison. En épousant Clément, vous avez amené le bonheur dans la demeure triste, votre charme, votre esprit, un amour partagé, ont forcé de sourire les vieilles pierres.

Veuillez agréer, Madame, tous mes respects.

MARCEL PROUST.

The third of these apparently unknown numbers to be added to Proust's bibliography is a small brochure of twelve pages, 181x243 mm., with the following legend on the cover and title-page: Fête / chez Montesquiou / A Neuilly / (Extraits des Mémoires du duc de Saint-Simon.) / vignette / This is written in the style of the *pastiche* of Saint-Simon to be found in Proust's *Pastiches et Mélanges*. It appeared originally in *Le Figaro* for January 18th, 1904, with the same title, and is signed *Horatio*, the name Proust used for many of his articles in *Le Figaro*. In a letter to la comtesse de Noailles in 1904, he writes as follows:

Je vais tout de suite vous dire la chose effrayante, mais *tombeau*. J'ai dit à Montesquiou que ce n'était pas moi Horatio. Mais qu'est-ce que Montesquiou a fait: il m'a dit que n'ayant pu trouver l'auteur, *il avait fait imprimer une plaquette de cet article!* en y faisant quelques corrections, de simples ponctuations, m'a-t-il dit? Je n'ai rien osé dire, craignant de me trahir si je protestais, mais que dites-vous de ce coup? *Tombeau, tombeau, tombeau.*¹

Although the Countess de Noailles, on being questioned with regard to this allusion, writes: "Je ne sais absolument rien de plus que ce qui est écrit dans mon volume des Lettres de Proust", the *plaquette* which Proust says Montesquiou had printed is evidently the brochure described above: *Fête chez Montesquiou à Neuilly*.

¹ Lettres à la comtesse de Noailles 1901-1919, présentées par la comtesse de Noailles, Paris, 1931, p. 105. *Tombeau* in the above letter and elsewhere in his correspondence means *silence*.

Apart from these three items, there is one omission which should not have occurred in the bibliography of Léon Pierre-Quint. He gives, p. 56, the extract from *Sodom et Gomorrhe*, II, which was printed in *Les Oeuvres Libres* for November 1921, but omits to mention the extract from *La Prisonnière*, which appeared also in *Les Oeuvres Libres* for February 1923.

MILTON GARVER

Yale University

REVIEWS

Deutsche Literatur in Entwicklungsreihen. Reihe: Politische Dichtung. Verlag von Philipp Reclam Jun. Leipzig, 1931. Bd. iv. *Der österreichische Vormärz (1816-1847)*. Bearbeitet von Dr. OTTO ROMMEL. 334 S. Bd. vi. *Dem neuen Reich entgegen (1850-1871)*. Bearbeitet von Dr. HELENE ADOLF. 314 S.

The series which appears under the auspices of Professor Robert F. Arnold of Vienna seeks to include in seven volumes the most important and most characteristic political poems from 1756 to 1914.

The fourth volume aims to be a source book of Austrian political verse in three decades preceding the Revolution of 1848. It is edited by Dr. Otto Rommel, a scholar well equipped for the task, the author of a similar collection, published in 1912 under the title *Die politische Lyrik des Vormärz und des Sturmjahres*.

An introductory essay attempts to clarify the various tendencies and the most important problems which an Austrian poet had to face during the Metternich era. The French Revolution of 1830 and the appearance during the following year of Anastasius Grün's *Spaziergänge eines Wiener Poeten* are correctly interpreted as furnishing the initial stimulus to the flood of political poems that swept over Austria. One misses a reference to the influence of Byronism since the late 1820's.

While Anastasius Grün still believed in the possibility of a peaceful transition from reaction to liberalism, his successors—Nikolaus Lenau, Karl Beck, Alfred Meissner, and Moritz Hartmann—foresaw the violent collapse of the dominant system. Their espousal of extreme radicalism necessitated their voluntary exile from the Danube monarchy and permitted them to drape themselves in the cloak of martyrdom, a pose popularized by Byron and Heine. Their poems rarely deal with specific abuses and are never the expression of a specific reform movement. In the name of

progress, a catchword set in vogue by the followers of Hegel, these poets take up the struggle against the forces of conservatism.

The editor wisely groups their political lyrics in five divisions, each centering about a leading theme, which served as a rallying cry for the Austrian opposition: I. The Struggle against the System; II. The Censorship; III. Josephinism versus Clericalism; IV. The Problem of Nationalities; V. The Social Question. These divisions are followed by a group of poems, mainly by Grillparzer, which voice scepticism of both radical and conservative efforts, and a further group of poems by Sebastian Brunner which champion the cause of the Metternich regime. The final division assembles those lyrics that prophetically warn of an approaching revolutionary avalanche.

Adequate notes explain many allusions which were commonly known to the reader of a century ago but which are unintelligible to the non-specialist of to-day. These notes also bring valuable biographic and bibliographic details.

The sixth volume of the series is edited by Dr. Helene Adolf. It treats the period between the collapse of the March revolt and the unification of Germany under Bismarck, a period characterized by disappointment with the high-sounding phrases of *Vormärz* and finding its best expression in science and industry rather than in literature and art. But even in literature, the lyric was then less important than the novel or the drama. The efflorescence of the Munich School of Geibel and Heyse directed attention to perfection of form rather than to content. Of the political poets of the 1840's some were in exile, chief among them Herwegh and Freiligrath, others were silent, and still others avoided difficulties with authorities by limiting their lyrics to non-controversial subjects. Whatever political poetry survived in this unpoetic age revolved about three dominant themes: democracy, unity, and class-struggle.

The introductory essay deals with these three themes. The selections, however, are arranged chronologically in four groups of approximately five years each, followed by a final group composed of lyrics of the Franco-Prussian War. This arrangement is not entirely satisfactory. The editor attempts to find a *Leitmotif* for each of the groups but is successful only with respect to her first and last groups. The years immediately after the revolution do have a common note of fatigue with all poetic pleas for political and social insurrection. The lyrics of 1870-1871 do stand under the overshadowing influence of the war. The political poems of the intermediate years might however have been better grouped not according to the date of their composition or publication but rather according to the fundamental themes outlined in the introduction: The Lyric of Democracy, The Lyric of German Unity, The Social Lyric.

Although the sixth volume treats a more recent period than does

the fourth, the excellent explanatory notes appended to the selections are no less indispensable. For a generation that did not experience the political incidents that fired the imagination of poets, the elucidation of certain references is absolutely essential and the editor has done so with fine taste and perfect scholarship.

SOL LIPTZIN

College of the City of New York

Geschichte des deutschen Schrifttums in Ungarn, von BÉLA v. PUKÁNSZKY. Erster Band, von der ältesten Zeit bis um die Mitte des 18. Jhdts. Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1931. Pp. xx + 490. (*Deutschtum und Ausland*, 34-36. Heft.)

That even after the amputations effected by the Treaty of Trianon, 500,000 Germans live in contemporary Hungary, is a fact often forgotten; prior to 1918, her German population numbered over two million. This considerable German element whose ancestors have dwelled for over a thousand years on Hungarian soil, though living under conditions very different from those of the Mother Land, has never severed intellectual and moral relations with the country of its descent. Ever since the inception of German letters in Hungary, from the fourteenth century, German-Hungarians have looked to the Fatherland for spiritual and intellectual leadership, and every period in the existence of this modest offspring of German literature mirrors the currents of the infinitely richer and fuller spiritual and intellectual life of Germany.

Owing to peculiar circumstances (colonisation at far between periods in relatively remote sections of the country), the Germans of Hungary were unable to merge into solid and homogeneous masses; accordingly, the literature which they created seldom rose above the level of local interest. The aesthetic value of the whole of this literature is questionable; its historical and sociological value, however, is beyond doubt: it is a store-house of highly interesting and significant data. Indeed, Pukánszky has not called his work a history of German-Hungarian literature but a history of German-Hungarian *Schrifttum*, indicating that the scope of his work goes beyond purely aesthetic interests. In reality, he offers a history of German-Hungarian civilization written with untiring industry and painstaking accuracy, with frequent digressions into German and Hungarian cultural and literary interrelations; thus, his work has grown to be a valuable contribution to comparative literary history which is occasionally of great interest

to the student of general German literature also (*cf. e. g.* the pages devoted to the Hungarian motives in the *Nibelungenlied*). His efforts are the more praiseworthy as they are, besides the author's shorter sketch in Merker-Stammler's *Reallexikon*, the first attempt to construct a synthesis of this much-neglected subject matter.

The astounding amount of buried and forgotten literature which he had to exhume and which at best can be called second-rate, bears throughout the stamp of the Third Estate. Out of a vast conglomerate of didactic and devotional prose and poetry, there had arisen in the fourteenth century the remarkable epic of Oswald, clerk of Königsberg, on Prester John, a few relics of profane lyric, and faint and uncertain traces of folk poetry. It is noteworthy that no monument of the mediaeval drama has come down to us, though liturgic dramas are known to have been performed, and that the *Meistergesang*, in spite of an intensely conservative and exclusive city life, was evidently not cultivated in Hungary. Humanism and Reformation left profound traces in the spiritual formation of the German-Hungarians. Though the new ideas were adopted with fervor and enthusiasm and a great but passing success had been achieved by Hussitism in Hungary in the beginning of the fifteenth century, the position of the Church was not shaken by the critical tendencies of Humanism until a few decades later than in Germany. In the sixteenth century, Humanist literature had an extraordinary vogue; religious controversy was poured out in a torrent of books and pamphlets; the school drama, and under Hans Sachs' influence the popular drama flourished also. The Barocco, in both its Southern and Northern varieties, held sway over German-Hungarian letters for a century and a half. They faithfully reflected the great spiritual conflicts of the period, the struggle between Protestantism and Counter-Reformation. German-Hungarian literature, fundamentally learned and didactic, became a handmaid of religion, whether Catholic or Protestant. The authors were teachers and clergymen who in off moments forgot their professional dignity to make an excursion into profane literature. Besides the curious didactic-erotic stories of Johannes Gorgias, an amazing number of prince-mirrors and emblem literature sprang up like mushrooms, and third-rate occasional poetry as well as the Jesuit and Protestant school-drama had their hey-day. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the secular drama too leaped into existence. The literary output of historians, polyhistor, and philologists, in quality superior to pure literature, was likewise very considerable. The survey closes with a glance at the evolution after 1760 when starting from the Western border of Hungary, from the city of Pressburg, a new and epochal trend began to make itself felt. By this time, Hungarian-German letters had grown conscious of their task to act as intermediary between Hungary and Germany, nay between Hungary and the whole of Western Europe.

A great deal of self-sacrifice was required to open up this new

field, which may be of less interest to Germany than to Hungary, but which offers an important vista on the total panorama of the expansion of the German mind. Pukánszky's work, grounded throughout in original research, abounds in characteristic and significant details. His grasp of the multiple and complex problems is sure, his scholarship mature, and his horizon wide. An 80-page bibliography makes his work, the value of which is further enhanced by an excellent pictorial appendix, indispensable for those seriously interested in the subject.

ARPAD STEINER

Hunter College

The Azure Flower. Lyrics from the German Romantic Poets translated by JOHN ROTHENSTEINER. St. Louis: Privately printed at the Press of Blackwell Wielandy Co., 1930. Pp. ix + 149.

With an astonishing power of introjection and a complete command of poetic diction the author has succeeded in translating 118 poems of German Romanticists from A. W. Schlegel to F. W. Weber, including the best known lyrics of this period. Preserving the original meter, he has not only kept very close to the sense in rendering line by line, but he has also been able to preserve the melody, an art which reveals itself most happily in such characteristic first lines as

My day was placid, happy was my night (Heine)—
 My dear, we two were children
 Playmates in childhood's May (Heine)—
 Rest on me thine eye of darkness (Lenau)—
 Serenely steps the night on land (Mörike)—
 Afar the clocks are striking (Eichendorff)—

and many others. Discrepancies in the English and German as in

Homeless though on earth I wander (Eichendorff):
 Wandern lieb ich für mein Leben,

where the second line

Yet it is my life to roam

is not strong enough to delete the melancholy impression of the first are rare. The sheer music of Eichendorff often forces the translator to bring in his own interpretation in an otherwise vague and ambiguous passage; thus on page 56 *Wie bist du schön* is, to my mind erroneously, referring to the enchanted wood instead of addressing the maiden, thus leading to a change of sentiment in "my heart grows fond and fonder" from the German text "mein Herz bleib frei und munter". In *O Täler weit, o Höhen* the ex-

pression "andächt'ger Aufenthalt", quintessence of Eichendorff's love of native forests, and later "saust die geschäft'ge Welt" are not adequately contrasted through "unforgotten scene" and "the world is bright and cold".

These flaws are mentioned here in the hope that a second edition, which the book (privately printed!) certainly deserves, might here and there find happier renderings and maintain its own standard of poetic achievement coupled with high accuracy in every line.

ERNST FEISE

Diálogos o Coloquios of Pedro Mejía. Edited with Introduction and Notes by MARGARET L. MULRONEY, 1930. University of Iowa Studies. Spanish Language and Literature, No. 1. Pp. 149.

Pedro Mejía (1499?-1551) has received more attention as a historian than as a representative of a somewhat neglected *genre*, the 'literatura de divulgación'. Yet his *Silva de varia lección* (1540) and his *Diálogos* (1547), both very successful in Spain, form an important link in a chain which connects Isidore of Seville with Feijoo—and a study of Mejía's sources, his influence at home and his extraordinary popularity abroad, in Italy, France, England, Germany, would be an interesting chapter in a broadly conceived history of Spanish culture.

For this, of course, reliable texts are indispensable. Of the *Silva* there seems to be no modern edition; the *Diálogos* were republished in Madrid, in 1928, just how well I do not know, but not with a scholarly purpose. The present edition is based on the text of 1551, the last which the author could have supervised himself, and with it go the variants of the princeps (Seville, 1547) and of 1548. The two other editions published in the author's lifetime are disregarded as immaterial. The editor shows laudable restraint in not interfering with the punctuation and accentuation; solved abbreviations outside of title-page or colophon are not italicized, a procedure perhaps more defensible than the omission of page- and folio-indications. Most orthographical variants are excluded, but many common forms are recorded which might have been safely neglected, or might have been grouped, to better advantage, in an introductory analysis of the author's language. Such are *fecho*, *acaballos*, *respeto*, so etc.

As far as may be judged without an actual comparison with the original, the text appears to have been faithfully reproduced, a very important point; indeed, in this case, the most important. Naturally there are mistakes, too many perhaps, among which, we infer, may be counted:

26-12 f. (no full stop after *Consules*, comma after *cinco*, no capital in *No*) 26-18 *grando* 26-20 *despues muerto* (?) 27-1 *que . . . que* (?) 28-9 *embaybieron* (?) 31-25 *preceden* (?) 32-21 *que da he* 46-2 (a line out of place) 54-4 *a cometar* 54-5 *senor* (?) 85-7 *llamanos* 111-3 *qui en* 116-26 *le escriptura* 121-23 *el algunas partes* 127-22 *philosopohos* 128-5 *en poco mi en mucho* 132-12 *feugo* 132-19 *fugo* 134-29 *terromotos* 146-34 *terromoto* 136-28 *la punto* etc. On p. 55-23 it is difficult to believe that it was Mejía who corrected *por esso voy al lado*, of the princeps, to the puzzling *al dado* in 1551, when he evidently meant *al dedo*, *al dedo malo*, to the sore spot.

Outside of that, the editor's main contribution, barring the pleasant but rather sketchy introduction, is the verification of references to classical authors, many of them merely by the author's name, of which 140, out of 160, have been identified. This checking-up, the difficulty of which the editor emphasizes, but which is a matter of course in any proper edition, makes one conscious all the more of the absence of all other pertinent comment: on the *realia*, on the phonology, morphology, syntax, vocabulary and phraseology, a large part, indeed, of that which out of a reprint makes an edition. If no commentary could have been supplied, an index, at least, of noteworthy subject-matter, forms and idioms would have been acceptable. And this might well include forms or idioms, which need no explanation, perhaps, but are recognized as archaic, or fail to answer in some point the definitions of the Dictionary of the Spanish Academy. At random one may note:

38-8 *morar* (trans.) 24-25, 25-9 *Alexandre* 25-19 *lo primero* (adv.) 25-25 *interese* 29-28 *leuadas* 30-11 *Estos pues dos puntos* 31-27 *Eropilo* 32-31 *anothomia* 38-24 *palo santo* 44-9 *comengaron . . . philosophar* 46-24 *Platon en el libro de retorica* (How many readers remember that this refers to the second part of the *Phaedrus*?) 46-17, 117-24, 123-4 *no solamente . . . pero* 56-4 *estos cavalleros y yo* 71-23 *lino biuo* (asbestos) 87-32 *humores* 98-25 *albañies* 104-23 *añido* etc.

Elsewhere Mejía (49-36) retells from Pontanus (where?) the anecdote about the buffoon Gonella (*el otro chocarrero* of line 36) and his successful hunt for self-styled physicians, told already in the *Lozana Andaluza*, and which appears in a number of Italian *novellieri*. There are local allusions to the famous *Gradas* of the cathedral (53), to the *Prado de Tablada* (126), a place with a history long before it became a flying-field; there are proverbs, some of them discussed with entertaining scepticism: *mal de muchos es consuelo* (108), *sabe mas el loco en su casa que el cuerdo en el agena* (114), and here, as well as in the technique itself of the dialogues, the influence of Erasmus is manifest.

But we have what appears to be an authentic text. It is printed without clear separation between the speeches, and therefore not easy to read; we find references to Classics in this form: *Cornelius Celsus on Apollonii duo* (27), and Migne is abbreviated to *Patrologiae* (148), all of which could be avoided; yet the reprint, even

within its all too narrow limits, should be gratefully received as a welcome addition to our small store of usable sixteenth-century texts.

JOSEPH E. GILLET

Bryn Mawr College

Chrétien de Troyes et son œuvre. By GUSTAVE COHEN. Paris: Boivin, 1931. Pp. 513.

Gustave Cohen has turned his vast erudition and unbounded energy into the field of twelfth-century French romances with the avowed purpose of making the works of Chrétien de Troyes better known to the general reader and of contributing toward a greater realization of their literary worth and historical importance. It seems to the present reviewer that he has successfully achieved this purpose. His long book holds the reader's interest to the end. The detailed analyses of Chrétien's romances with accompanying commentary and critical appreciation should be of immense service to those approaching the study of this author. Professor C.'s enthusiasm for Chrétien is contagious, and his estimate of him as one of the great writers of France seems well justified. He calls attention to the portraits of individuals: the males rather monotonous in their even perfection, but offering, by their great courage and remarkable loftiness of soul, excellent models for the young men of the time; the feminine rôles better and more diversified. Chrétien handles crowds well. There is considerable analysis of the motives for conduct and the causes and developments of emotions.

C. calls Chrétien the first *romancier à thèse*. There may be some objection to the use of this technical term in connection with Chrétien's romances but C.'s idea seems to be fundamentally correct if it is not pushed too far; namely, that Chrétien is usually interested in some underlying idea, that the story is not his sole purpose in composing romances. Chrétien intended to furnish models for noble and polite attitudes and conduct and he was interested in the relations between men and women in love.

C.'s book is of somewhat less value to the special student of the romances. The author has made no original or additional contribution to our knowledge or understanding of Chrétien's works. He has often shown excellent judgment in choosing among conflicting interpretations, but he claims no competence in the matter of folkloristic influences and his treatment of the hypothesis of Celtic origins is cursory. He appears to have made no study of Classical influences on Chrétien. In treating the relations between Chrétien and Provençal poets he clings to the views usually held. The question has never been carefully studied and the opinions that are ordinarily accepted are quite arbitrary. They are based

on a chronology that has been arbitrarily laid down without any solid foundation. On the matter of French origins and influences, C. has a great deal to say, but he relies on scholars who have preceded him in this field of study, especially on Wilmotte. The most important questions of French influences on Chrétien depend on the relative chronology of his works and those of his contemporaries. C. has most confused notions of this chronology and his book offers one of the most unfortunate illustrations of the ill effects of pursuing investigation or of writing the literary history of a period in which the dates of the productions have been arbitrarily assigned and maintained by tradition on an unsound basis. C. has not profited from recent indications of better chronology.

Only a few examples can be given. C. assigns the date of 1160 to the *Roman de Troie* because he thinks that Chrétien borrowed the well-known name of Helen of Troy from this romance for his *Erec*. He sees the influence of *Eneas* on *Philomena*. The result of this, according to C.'s various statements, is to place a full half of Chrétien's known work in the years 1161-63 and to include in the years 1160-63 the ten thousand-line romance, *Eneas*, the thirty thousand-line *Troie*, *Philomena*, Chrétien's *Tristan*, a long romance according to C., *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, *Erec et Enide*, and *Cligès*, one after the other in a series, no two being written simultaneously; and in this fruitful period C. would also place the *Eracle* of Gautier d'Arras. To show the priority of *Thèbes* to *Erec* he adduces the authority of Wilmotte and the evidence of the rime *Thessaile-paile*, but Wilmotte ("Évolution du roman français aux environs de 1150", *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, 1903) uses this rime to show the influence of *Troie* on *Erec*. He does not mention the occurrence of this rime in *Thèbes*. It is from my "Chronology of the Earliest French Romances" (*MP.*, xxvi (1929), 257 ff.) that C. has obtained this evidence, which was used in the study from which C. took it to show the weakness of Wilmotte's argument. C. thinks that *Eracle* influenced *Cligès*, that *Cligès* influenced *Ille*, and that *Ille* influenced *Lancelot*. *Ille* however was apparently finished before *Eracle* (see especially Cowper, *MP.*, xvii (1919), 383 ff.). *Eracle* was finished no doubt as late as 1180 and *Cligès* before 1164.

Among the other errors of various types a few will be indicated. C. thinks (p. 13) that the expression *douce France* is original with the author of the *Chanson de Roland*. He could have corrected this false impression by a careful reading of Wilmotte, *Le Français a la tête épique*, which he cites (p. 32) or from Jenkins, *Chanson de Roland*, to which he also refers (p. 32). Either of these books would inform him that various strong physical emotions, including weeping and fainting from grief, are common in Latin poets, contrary to his opinion (p. 52). He refers to the coronation at Nantes in *Erec* (p. 88) as though it were described in the *Lancelot*. He thinks that Chrétien was the first to compare feminine beauty

to roses and lilies (p. 92), but, as a matter of fact, this is a commonplace in Classical poetry (see especially Ogle, *AJP.*, xxxiv (1913), 149 and *MLN.*, xxvii (1912), 234). He is impressed by Chrétien's description of a storm (pp. 101 and 509), but he is unaware that Ovid is closely imitated in this passage, even though he includes in his bibliography the study in which this fact was indicated. He misreads the text of *Erec* and tells us (p. 119) that the *vavasasseur* prepares his own meals, whereas Chrétien tells us that a servant is doing so while the *vavasasseur* is talking to Erec. He speaks of Erec's "royaume de Lac" (p. 151). We are told (p. 156) that the *barbioletes* mentioned in *Erec* come directly from *Eneas*. This statement is based on the authority of Wilmotte (*Evolution etc.*) whom he does not cite; but Wilmotte says that they came from *Troie*. Yvain is said (p. 327) to make an attack on Count Allier's château, whereas it is really the Count who is attacking the castle of the lady of Noroison.

C.'s bibliography is extensive, but not complete and evidently not fully assimilated, though the book contains a great wealth of information and is written in a pleasing style.

FOSTER E. GUYER

Dartmouth College

Les Conventions du Théâtre Bourgeois Contemporain en France, 1887-1914. Par CLIFFORD H. BISSELL. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1930. Pp. xii + 189.

Cette étude embrasse la période qui s'étend de la fondation du Théâtre-Libre jusqu'à la déclaration de la guerre, la seconde limite s'imposant, paraît-il, du fait que la guerre a causé, entre autres choses, la fermeture de plusieurs théâtres. Les documents sont cent cinquante-deux pièces "distinguées par leur succès, par la réputation de leurs auteurs, par leurs qualités littéraires ou théâtrales, ou qui ont des traits particuliers, par exemple en montrant les étapes dans le développement du talent ou de la pensée de ceux qui les ont créées" (vii-viii). Mr. B. a composé son dossier sans arrière-pensée, dit-il, n'ayant pas connu d'avance toutes les pièces qu'il s'engageait à citer. Comme d'autre part il a rigoureusement éliminé les œuvres qui, ne remplissant pas les conditions énumérées ci-dessus, "n'auraient rien ajouté ni enlevé par leur seule masse" à l'autorité de ses conclusions, le répertoire qu'il examine est la crème du théâtre bourgeois d'avant guerre.

On a déjà certes beaucoup écrit sur les conventions théâtrales des quarante dernières années, mais assurément le champ ne se peut tellement moissonner. . . . D'ailleurs, Mr. B. a pour renouveler son sujet des procédés particuliers. Si, d'une part, il ignore les études

antérieures qui compromettent la fraîcheur de ses constatations, d'autre part, il avance des opinions dont on ne lui disputera jamais la priorité.

Je ne prétends pas supplémenter sa documentation; je veux seulement dire que certains ouvrages américains, tel *Antoine and the Théâtre-Libre*, de S. M. Waxman (Harvard University Press, 1926), ont mérité pour le moins de figurer dans sa Bibliographie. Je ne parlerais point de quelques-uns de mes articles (*PQ.*, iv, 1; v, 2; vi, 3), où il était question de la politique au théâtre et des personnages d'Américains, si la discrète approbation de Mr. B. ne me poussait vraiment hors des bornes de la modestie.

Au surplus, je ne songe guère à reprocher à Mr. B. d'avoir emprunté à toutes mains; je m'étonne cependant du style dont il revêt ses redites. Lorsque, par exemple, il écrit: "Qu'on lise *La course du flambeau*, *Les tenailles* . . . etc. . . on ne pourra manquer de reconnaître le type (du raisonneur classique) dans les personnages de Maravon, Pauline Valanton. . ." (125), le ton de la remarque ne laisse pas de surprendre. On pourrait citer maint passage d'égale bravoure, et telle "curieuse observation" (voir 50, 58-59, 126) n'est déjà plus qu'un vieux renseignement.

Il y a néanmoins dans ce livre une part dont on ne saurait discuter la nouveauté. Ce n'est pas la discussion des conventions matérielles de la scène (28-33), du monologue, de l'aparté, ou des termes *pièce* et *comédie* (36-43), ou des questions de l'argent et de la noblesse (93-100). Ce qui revient sans contredit à Mr. Bissell ce sont des constatations et statistiques qui paraissent ici pour la première fois. Je ne parle pas de ce qu'il dit des rapports de Sarcey avec Antoine, ni de ce qu'il fait dire à Sarcey (vii); je veux relever quelques observations personnelles de Mr. B. "Dans *Mariage blanc*, dit-il, c'est la menace d'un adultère qui amène la catastrophe." Il faut convenir que Mr. B. aperçoit cet adultère de loin, de plus loin assurément que Simone de Thièvres, "la petite poitrinaire . . . que son mari a jusqu'alors traitée comme un enfant, qui ignore tout du mariage. . ." (Lemaître, *Impressions de théâtre*, vi, 336). C'est sans doute au flair qu'il possède pour l'adultère que Mr. B. doit une partie de ses étonnantes computations sur cette matière (62 et seq.). Il a dû être le premier à prononcer que si l'on enlève l'adultère de *Révoltée*, la pièce n'existe plus; je gagerais qu'aucun autre critique n'a seulement soupçonné qu'il y eût dans *Révoltée* un adultère. Quand Mr. B. déclare "assez invraisemblable qu'une femme comme Grâce de Plessans (Bataille, *Marche nuptiale*) ne puisse trouver que dans la mort un refuge contre les instances d'un coureur comme Roger Lechâtelier" (75), ou que *la Crise* (Bourget et Beaunier) est une pièce "de pure politique" (108), il est évidemment sur une voie nouvelle. On a pu croire jusqu'ici que Grâce de Plessans s'est tuée pour ne pas survivre à son roman d'amour, et que la crise senti-

mentale de la pièce de Bourget et Beaunier était tout au moins aussi importante que la crise parlementaire. Pour être juste envers tout le monde il sied de reconnaître que les plus frappantes assertions de Mr. B.—comme celle qui déclare que Miss Deacon (*Maman Colibri*) est la maîtresse d'un Français (104)—ne font que dépasser l'intention du dramaturge ou l'action de la pièce. Il n'aurait donc manqué aux autres critiques que de savoir complimenter la pensée des auteurs.

Le livre de Mr. B. est mal composé. Je note, par exemple, que le chapitre des conclusions rouvre à nouveau les discussions qui précèdent. Son style est surchargé d'incorrections. Si la préposition *dans* revient jusqu'à vingt fois sur une page c'est qu'elle cumule les emplois de plusieurs prépositions. Je ne citerai pas des phrases qui sont de pur charabia; il sied de tenir compte de l'intention qui détermina l'auteur à écrire en français. Ce qui me semble plus grave, du reste, c'est que Mr. B. ait commis des non-sens qui ne sont certainement pas dans son esprit. Le "personnage décoré," dit-il, "est présenté sous l'un ou l'autre de deux aspects: ou bien il veut une décoration à tout prix, sérieusement, ou bien la chose est traitée de façon frivole et satirique" (122). Ce qui est à dire, si je ne m'abuse, que, sous l'un comme sous l'autre aspect, le "personnage décoré" n'a pas de décoration. En somme l'entreprise qu'a tentée Mr. B. exigerait une plus large documentation, un travail plus appliqué, une initiative plus sage.

MAURICE BAUDIN

New York University

A History of Early Nineteenth Century Drama: 1800-1850. By ALLARDYCE NICOLL. New York: The Macmillan Company; Cambridge, England: At the University Press; 1930. Vol. I, pp. x + 1-234; vol. II, pp. 235-555. \$11.00.

One lays down these volumes with a profound sense of gratitude toward Professor Allardyce Nicoll. His was an ambitious enterprise. To embark on it took courage; to persevere took more. Perhaps no stage of the project required quite such indomitable persistence as the fifty years considered in the present installment. Yet, having crossed the arid sands of the eighteenth century, the explorer plunged dauntlessly into the morass of post-Sheridan and early Victorian drama. The whole of his second volume is occupied by the hand-list of plays—between ten and twelve thousand of them! Mr. Nicoll's preface should inspire more than one generation of drama students. He hopes that "this mapping out of the country to be surveyed may lead other scholars to enter more deeply into uncharted land. . . . Whatever value the texts of my

volumes may have, I feel that I have been able to do something for the study of English dramatic literature by the preparation of these appendices, which serve the double purpose of stage-list and 'bibliography.' This modest statement deserves the most emphatic endorsement. We may now expect to see a new corps of researchers move in to consolidate the territory. Gleaners will bring more titles to the inevitably and confessedly incomplete hand-list. But it is no derogation of Professor Bradlee Watson's valuable *Sheridan to Robertson*, concerned primarily with the theatres, to acknowledge that to Mr. Nicoll belongs the credit of throwing open this field to intensive cultivation. The plays of the period are practically worthless in themselves. But as a ground for the study of the relation between drama and the background of life, and of the origins of the second great renaissance of British drama, it is certain to reward the attentions of the scholar.

As for the first volume, Mr. Nicoll is habitually sane and discriminating. Well aware of the weaknesses of the theatres of this period, he points out that Shakespeare accepted the limitations of his medium and produced *King Lear*. The approach to the dramatists is critical but not hostile. Especially refreshing is Mr. Nicoll's trouncing of the Romantic poets—for their priggishness, their lack of humor, their pettishness:

Authors,—who blush to throw their pearls to swine;
Vain of their triumphs of *rejected* Plays,
And talents, never mortified by praise. . . .
Their boast, their proud distinction, *not* to please,
Hooted and hiss'd they calmly sit at ease;
While conscious Genius happily supplies
The laurel wreaths a niggard world denies.

Professor Nicoll offers other important reasons for the decline of the drama: the nature of the German influence on the poets; the lack of "a sound body of scientific, historical and appreciative interpretation of past dramatic efforts"; the slender profits of the playwrights; the star system; the increased size of the theatres; the incompatibility of romantic exuberance with the "essential restraint and tremendous condensation" required of the playwright; the general drabness of the age, emphasized by Professor Watson; the evil influence of the Elizabethans, especially Shakespeare. Other features of the book are the argument for the continuity of English drama 1780-1850, despite the vogue of adaptation from the French; and the recognition that the period's most vital genre was melodrama.

There is bound of course to be disagreement about some details. I think, for example, that Mr. Nicoll exaggerates when he asserts that no one ever doubted the dramatic debility of the age. There was certainly a great deal of trenchant protest, but on the other hand it is easy to see the heavy hand of Victorian complacency.

"There has been no period for the last two centuries," boasts Tom Taylor in his introduction to *The Ticket-of-Leave Man* (1863),

in which invention and activity have been more conspicuous in the dramatic field than during the thirty or forty years which include the epoch of such dramatists as Miss Mitford, Sheridan Knowles, Bulwer-Lytton, James White, Jerrold, Browning, G. Darley, Searle, Marston, Horne, Lovell, Troughton, Mrs. Bell, Gore, Sullivan, Peake, Poole, Hook, Planché, Charles and George Dance, the Mortons, Mark Lemon, Buckstone, Selby, Fitzball (who, whatever may be the literary quality of his plays, has given evidence of genuine romantic invention), Bernard Coyne, Oxenford, Shirley Brooks, Watts, Phillips, and those peculiar products of our own time, the burlesque writers, like the brothers Brough, and Messrs. Byron and Burnand.

A great merit of Mr. Nicoll's work is the result of his refusal to be swamped by the welter of details he is obliged to deal with. He constantly looks beyond the confines of his period, relating it to those he has already treated as well as to our own time. Each of his special studies gains immeasurably from his command of the whole range of English drama and his acute and sensitive understanding of its present state. We await with impatience his next installment; but it is devoutly to be wished that he will not stop with 1900. No one else is so well equipped to consider the present of the English drama in the light of its past.

HAZELTON SPENCER

The Handwriting of the Renaissance. Being the Development and Characteristics of the Script of Shakspeare's Time. By SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM. With an Introduction by ASHLEY H. THORNDIKE. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. Pp. xii + 210. \$4.00.

Dr. Tannenbaum's book is a practical manual and will be particularly welcome to the many English scholars who are now making a late beginning in the learning of the Elizabethan hand. In his first chapter the author gives enough Latin paleography, with brief descriptions and illustrative cuts, to form a setting for the study of the English secretary hand of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The second chapter is devoted to the general characteristics of that hand and enters into particulars as to variety of letters,—bodies, stems, joins, angularity, position with reference to the horizontal line, and so forth. The author makes clear, for example, the nature of indentations in stems, the frequent substitution of angles for stems and vice versa, and the forms and uses of spurs. He does not enumerate all calligraphic tricks but describes the basal ones and prepares his scholars for the sort of thing which

may appear in any handwriting or group of handwritings. In other words, he attempts to present the secretary hand analytically. He next subjects each letter, both minuscule and majuscule, to minute study, grouping varieties in such a way as to show both the development of the letter and its retention of characteristic features. This is surely the best approach for mature minds. Not infrequently the author ends these sections on the individual letters with cautionary notes on the possibility of mistaking one letter for another. He has remarks also on the forms of letters as they appear in abbreviations and on the conventional significances of single letters.

There are separate chapters on abbreviations, on punctuation and other scribal marks, and on numerals. The author has also provided an excellent brief bibliography, fourteen plates showing types of handwriting (with transliteration) drawn from various periods, and an index. One must agree with Professor Thorndike, who writes a brief introduction to the book, as to "the author's extraordinary energy and versatility."

HARDIN CRAIG

Stanford University

Shakespeare-Jahrbuch. Herausgegeben im Auftrage der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft von WOLFGANG KELLER. Band 66 (Neue Folge VII Band). Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1930. Geheftet M. 8; gebunden M. 10.

The sixty-sixth volume of the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, like its predecessors, is made up of articles of somewhat unequal interest. But such a result is almost inevitable in a collection of papers contributed by different authors. No essay in the *Jahrbuch* of 1930, it should be said, is without value.

The first of the *Aufsätze* is "König Jakob I, Ein Charakterbild," Professor A. O. Meyer's *festvortrag*, delivered before the Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft at its meeting April 23, 1930. Professor Meyer's evident enthusiasm for Queen Elizabeth perhaps partially blinds him to the positive merits of James I. Yet the sketch, as a whole, is not unfair; and the picture of the first Stuart is a clear one.

Dr. Gertrud Hille's "Londoner Theaterbauten zur Zeit Shakespeares" is upon that already much discussed subject, the English theater. Although few, if any, of the details in Dr. Hille's essay are new, she has sought to handle the extant material in a novel way: she would consider the theater of Shakespeare's time as a whole, trying to rebuild it from a consideration of all known evidence. As the specifications for the Fortune playhouse are still preserved, she naturally reconstructs that building, using them and

the clews of one sort or another to the fabric of the Elizabethan theater which she finds elsewhere. Her Fortune Theater is an interesting but not a wholly convincing edifice.

Dr. Agnes Henneke's "Shakespeares Englische Könige" is a somewhat mechanical dissertation in which is discussed the influence of sixteenth-century theories of government upon Shakespeare's treatment of the kings in his plays. Having defined "die monarchomachische Staatsrechtslehre" and die "absolutistische Staatsrechtslehre," Dr. Henneke sets out to analyze Shakespeare's portraits of the sovereigns in his historical plays. Her conclusion appears to be that he leans rather toward sympathizing with absolutism and aristocracy than with a limited monarchy and its accompaniment, a powerful middle class. After all, this can hardly be called a discovery. More validity possibly might have been secured by the author had she also dealt with Shakespeare's non-historical plays, in which he was less hampered by his source material and by contemporary taboos.

Herr Hans Mortl's "Dämonie und Theatre in der Novelle 'Der junge Tischlemeister'" is a discussion of Ludwig Tieck's tale, which is followed by Dr. E. Weigelin's suggestive "Die Totung des Polonius." Dr. G. Wieninger's brief "Schopenhauer in seiner Stellung zu Shakespeare" determines the philosopher's knowledge of the English poet and—what no doubt will disconcert many readers—argues for the accord in their beliefs.

The last essay in the volume is that of the President of the Deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft, Professor Wolfgang Keller, upon "Shakespeares 'Troilus und Cresside.'" Professor Keller's discussion of this somewhat enigmatical play is likely to arouse controversy. He believes that *Troilus and Cressida* owes its tone to Shakespeare's relations with the executed Earl of Essex (although he dates the drama in 1602); and he admits little or no burlesquing of the Homeric heroes by the dramatist.

The *Jahrbuch*, as usual, is concluded with excellent summaries of publications bearing upon Shakespeare and the Shakespearean theater; a bibliography of Shakespeare literature; and a list of the recorded performances of Shakespearean plays in Germany during 1929. This last "Statistischer Überblick" covers six pages in double column. The *Jahrbuch* amply demonstrates the maintained interest of German scholars in the dramas of Shakespeare; such a formidable record of plays presented proves beyond doubt that the German theatergoer shares that interest.

ROBERT S. FORSYTHE

The University of North Dakota

Thomas Heywood. By ARTHUR MELVILLE CLARK. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1931. Pp. ix + 356. One guinea.

Dr. Clark's own preface is so definite about his contributions that quotation is useful:

Among the points on which I have been able to throw light are the following: Heywood's parentage and Lincolnshire home, his Cheshire ancestry and his family arms, his relatives, marriage(s), and descendants; his education at Emmanuel College, Cambridge; his friends and patrons . . . ; the dating of his plays and other works; wrong identifications of plays with entries in Henslowe and . . . many misattributions . . . ; the circumstances which made Heywood an apologist for the theatre and thrust on him the championship of women . . . ; his lost works and unfulfilled projects, especially *The Lives of all the Poets* . . .

My additions to the canon are numerous, but I beg to assure the reader that my conclusions were neither hasty nor ill-considered. Some of the additions will not be questioned; e. g. *Love's School*, *A True Discourse of two . . . Prophets*, *A True Relation of . . . Purser and Clinton*, *The Rat Trap*, and portions of five other pamphlets; I should also mention here, *The Phoenix of these late Times*, *A Curtain Lecture*, *The Wonder of this Age*, *Machiavel's Ghost*, and *Reader*, here you'll plainly see, which have never been properly recognized as Heywood's. The evidence for other new ascriptions is, I believe, no less sound . . . [four pamphlets, followed by three more in which the evidence is more circumstantial]. Secondly, there are several plays in which I trace Heywood's hand: *Appius and Virginia*, *Dick of Devonshire*, *The Jew of Malta*, *The Martyred Soldier*, and *A Yorkshire Tragedy* with the associated *Miseries of Enforced Marriage*. . . I have also briefly set forth my reasons for assigning Heywood a small share in *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, . . . I have not seen the unique copy of *Oenone and Paris* . . .

Thus it appears that the business of Heywood is settled save for the errant *Oenone and Paris*. Students who read critically the 342 pages of text will find, however, several items less convincing to them than to the author. The fundamental defect in the study is the author's equation of conjecture with proof. His so-called additions to our knowledge about Heywood's private life are based, not upon new facts, but upon personal beliefs. For example, he believes that for Heywood's father, "we have found him in the Reverend Robert Heywood, rector of Rothwell and of Ashby-Cum-Fenby, two livings in the deanery of Grimsby" (p. 2), apparently unaware that Miss Katherine Lee Bates long ago weighed the evidence for the minister's paternity and found it wanting. On inconclusive evidence, assuming that Heywood was an alumnus of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, he later refers to this as an accepted fact (p. 332). "Marriage," a prominent word in the heading of Chapter IV, proves a dim, ghostly matter. Finding two records of marriages of Thomas Heywoods, Dr. Clark assumes that they are both the dramatist, in his first and second ventures, and proceeds to discuss the descendants as if the facts were proved (pp. 57 ff.). Again if he had remembered Miss Bates' remarks on the multiplicity of

Thomas Heywoods, the author might have been less assured. In the entire book there is not a new fact, either proved or soundly reasoned, about Heywood the man.

Indeed, the study reads as if the author had gathered up the works of Heywood with a few miscellaneous treatises and retired to the pleasant precincts of Oriel College to turn out a book, a book which shows industry, but industry which might have been saved had he been more keenly aware of what had already been written. Aside from a few references to Miss Bates' study, he makes little use of her evidence or stimulating suggestions. He ignores the work of R. G. Martin save for one allusion, and apparently is unaware of Philip Aronstein's studies, not to mention many others of less importance. Preferring to hammer his way single-handed, Dr. Clark has wasted unmercifully his own and the reader's time. His announcement that the Heywood bibliography in the forthcoming *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* is to be his handiwork causes apprehension for the completeness and utility of that compilation.

Unscientific scholarship could be forgiven in a brilliantly written book, but 342 pedestrian pages of an author even careless of his grammar one finds a bit thick. "A reading . . . incline us to a belief . . ." (p. 103) can be overlooked more easily than such syntactical whimsicality as may be found on p. 255 (or elsewhere at the reader's will). Misprints and minor errors furnish further distractions. For example: *labout* for *labour* (p. 254); *centemporary* for *contemporary* (p. 255); *F. J.* for *F. I.* Carpenter (p. 259); *Oppius* for *Appius* (p. 273); *Sowerman* for *Sowernam* (p. 96); *delate* for *relate* (p. 122); *Sherburn* for *Shirburn* (p. 276); *Medley of History* for the 1638 title of Brathwaite's *A Survey of History* (p. 98).

But these are mere details. One examines hopefully Dr. Clark's conclusions about the Heywood canon, though his method of disposing of such contemporary scholarship on the subject as he chooses to consider is not reassuring. His comment on Professor J. Q. Adams' claim for Heywood of certain scenes in *Captain Thomas Stukeley* is a brief dismissal: "But in reading the play carefully we could not catch the unmistakable sound of Heywood's voice" (p. 329). Something more than the still small voice seems necessary. Some of Dr. Clark's attributions are already known from earlier publication. Heywood, it seems clear, had a hand in *Appius and Virginia*, though scholars will not agree that he was the original author and Webster the reviser. Two passages convince Dr. Clark sufficiently to make him dogmatic about *Dick of Devonshire*: "These two samples illustrate the Heywood quality which is so pervasive as to eliminate the possibility of a collaborator. The play is in all respects and from every point of view pure

Heywood, . . ." (p. 286). Miss Bates, however, felt that Bullen's ascription to Heywood should be set aside.

With considerable plausibility Dr. Clark argues for Heywood's authorship of *A Yorkshire Tragedy* and his hand in the related play, *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage*. His study of Heywood's clowns as a clue to authorship, employed here, is an interesting approach which warrants further investigation. The contention that Heywood is responsible for the concluding portions of *The Jew of Malta* is merely an interesting conjecture. His attribution to Heywood of a group of Puritan pamphlets, dated 1641, the year of the dramatist's death, is not discriminating. Some of the pamphlets may be from the dramatist's hand, but that the old man wrote all of them in his latter days is inconceivable. Once more Dr. Clark exposes himself to criticism by his method. Assuming the certain authorship of a doubtful pamphlet, such, for example, as *Reader, here you'll plainly see*, he "proves" Heywood authorship for another pamphlet from parallels therein. (Cf. pp. 200 ff.) His belief that Edward Phillips' *Theatrum Poetarum* is a plagiarism of Heywood's lost *Lives of All the Poets*, though still suggested (p. 99), is less positive than when he asserted the relationship in his earlier *Bibliography of Thomas Heywood*.

Perhaps Dr. Clark's efforts might have been clearer had he chosen an arrangement more lucid than the rough chronology, with switchbacks at will, into which he lumps biography, bibliography, and "scholarship" involving the parallel passage process. If he had pursued the study of Heywood's vocabulary (a valuable approach in Heywood's case) with more philological skill and a consciousness of Elizabethan commonplaces, the results, one feels, would have been more convincing. Though useless as a contribution to a knowledge of Heywood, Dr. Clark's work will serve a purpose in graduate courses in research methods.

LOUIS B. WRIGHT

The University of North Carolina

William Congreve. By D. CRANE TAYLOR. Oxford: University Press, 1931. Pp. xi + 252.

This book was undertaken in 1921 at the suggestion of Sir Walter Raleigh. The author implies that it was completed two years later. Unfortunately Mr. Taylor has been a little chary of utilizing the labors of other post-Victorian writers, and has failed to document his work adequately. He tells a plain chronological tale of Congreve's activities, but his sweeping generalizations lay him open to censure. He presents no evidence that Charles II "exerted no small influence in moulding comedy to his taste,"

and implies that the adoption of sex intrigue as its favorite theme was due to the Merry Monarch's addiction to his amours, though in the next paragraph he correctly derives the element of sex intrigue from the pre-Wars drama. More light will be thrown on the origins of Restoration comedy by studying the influence of Jonson and his followers than by assuming that the Restoration involved a break with the past. We need, more than such books as this, careful studies of minor Restoration authors. Most of our generalizations about the drama of this period rest on observation of a handful of the major figures.

Mr. Taylor is very opinionated. He belittles Wycherley and condemns Shadwell as if unaware of the latter's rehabilitation at the hands of Messrs. Borgman, Nicoll, and Summers. Congreve is praised extravagantly. It is absurd to say that since his death no literary artist "could rival him in compactness and polish of phrase or in his understanding of the rich quality of words." It is absurd to say that he is "possibly the greatest innovator among English stylists" and that "in range of effect, from melting tenderness to vituperance and rage, he has never been excelled among prose writers." In support of the last of these claims Mr. Taylor quotes Hazlitt and Macaulay, apparently unmindful that a great deal of the best English prose has been written since their day. The present reviewer yields to no one in taking sheer delight in Congreve, and, temporarily hypnotized by re-reading *Love for Love* and *The Way of the World*, has been guilty of trying to convince college classes that their author is the foremost comic writer of England. But to assert, as Mr. Taylor does, that he is so "by common consent" is more than absurd. Sheridan's claim is brushed aside, and not a word is said of the author of *Candida*. No man can possibly be first "by common consent" who wrote but four comedies, all in essentially the same vein, and whose most brilliant play failed on the stage of its own time. Mr. Taylor attempts unsuccessfully to minimize its failure.

This critic does not appear to be thoroughly familiar with the apparatus of scholarship for his period. He is wrong in holding Downes a reliable authority. He ignores J. W. Krutch's *Comedy and Conscience* when he declares that the Collier controversy has never been adequately treated. His own treatment leaves much to be desired. He is obviously prejudiced against the *Short View* and muddled about its effect. On p. 106 we are told that "within a few years it swept the brilliant comedy of manners from the stage, and so devalitized the comic muse that, except in a few plays of Goldsmith and Sheridan, she inspired nothing of distinction for two centuries." But on p. 142 we learn that "Genest's records of the plays performed and the announcements of new editions in the newspapers prove that many of the most offensive plays were revived with success in the years following the *Short View*, while the

new plays written during the same period were not greatly chastened."

It should, however, be observed that Mr. Taylor has been able to make some minor additions to the Congreve canon. Several of his other discoveries had been anticipated before he published. While his work, like Gosse's, will serve to acquaint admirers of *The Way of the World* with the facts about Congreve, neither its additions to them nor its critical conclusions quite warrant the production of a new book.

HAZELTON SPENCER

Leigh Hunt's "Examiner" Examined. By EDMUND BLUNDEN.

London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1928. Pp. xi+263. 15 s.

Leigh Hunt, a Biography. By EDMUND BLUNDEN. London:

Cobden-Sanderson, 1930. Pp. 402. 21 s.

One of the extraordinary blanks in English literary history and biography is the absence of any careful study of Leigh Hunt's life and works. No modern critic would assert, probably, that he was of the first rank in any department of letters, but he was after all a considerable figure in the London scene for nearly sixty years. He was (with Cobbett as the only possible rival for the title) the leading Radical journalist during many crucial years of the struggle for Reform; he was, in the judgment of Mr. William Archer, "the earliest English dramatic critic"; his personal essays revived a style of writing the direct descendants of which may be seen for better or for worse in the "columns" of our daily and weekly press; his definition of "What is Poetry," by her own admission, taught the late Miss Amy Lowell to appreciate that art; the traces of his influence, both good and bad, can be seen in the works of Keats from beginning to end; and, finally, during his long life he included in his circle of acquaintances and friends practically every English writer worth the knowing. The life of Shelley's *dimidium animae*, Byron's defender, colleague, and accuser (some say traducer), Carlyle's neighbor, the Brownings' correspondent, should be worth writing for its collateral interest if for nothing more. But there is something more: Hunt's own personality presents a problem in interpretation that one would have expected some biographer to have discovered before this. In our own day, although the student of the first half of the nineteenth century knows a fair amount concerning Hunt, almost everyone else thinks of him only as the sweet sentimentalist of "Jenny Kissed Me" and "Abou ben Adhem"—that is, the Hunt of the last years. To his contemporaries on the other hand he was anything from the idealized "Libertas" of

Charles and Mary Cowden Clarke to the "Living Dog" of Tom Moore's scurrilous epigram. It is part of the function of Hunt's biographer to judge these conflicting opinions with detachment and wisdom and to evolve a figure more credible than either.

These two volumes before us are the first real attempts to survey Hunt's life. The previous biographies, by Mr. Brimley Johnson and by Mr. Cosmo Monkhouse, were mere workings-over of the *Autobiography* and the *Correspondence*. The fact that there are two books instead of one is also a result of the circumstances. Mr. Blunden first began work on the biography some ten years ago: it was announced for publication in 1923. The author's appointment to a post in the Imperial University at Tokyo intervened however, a change that naturally separated him from his sources. By great good luck one of his colleagues had a set of the *Examiner*, the most important of all of Hunt's periodicals; he therefore improved his enforced vacation from his major work by leafing through the volumes and putting together a conspectus of their contents. It is not planned as a popular work ("its appeal must be rather to the precise observer of English literary movements a hundred years and more ago, than to the ordinary reader") but it is invaluable for any study of the period, since the *Examiner* was the organ of the poetical and critical Radicals as well as the political. It has one unfortunate limitation, however: it is concerned almost entirely with the literary aspect of the *Examiner* and very little with the political or social. Hunt has never been given his just dues as a political journalist, and one regrets to see lost this opportunity to restore the balance. His Political *Examiners* contain some of his best writings: varied, vigorous, and with an agreeable tartness that mellowed out in his later years. Had Mr. Blunden included some of this political writing among the selections with which he concludes the volume he would have performed an added service.

The "Biography," unlike the other book, is intended for the general reader, and as such performs its work fairly well. It is written in a style which, though it fails to attain Mr. Strachey's incisiveness or Mr. Lucas's charm, is rapid and vigorous and good-humored. And it presents an incomparably fuller account (though one may question whether any portrait may approach in vividness Hunt's own in the *Autobiography*) than any we have. Mr. Blunden has gone faithfully through contemporary published records, and has had access to collections of letters; as a result we read here for the first time a full account of the dispute between John and Leigh Hunt over the proprietorship of the *Examiner*, and we get at some length the exposition of Mrs. Hunt's weaknesses and "ranting Johnny's" sins. Beside these major contributions, there are innumerable minor details brought in that give the picture depth.

Unfortunately, however, one cannot say that the Life of Hunt has been definitively written. Mr. Blunden has "preferred not to

interrupt the reader . . . with a researcher's specifications and bristling references." It would seem that Professor Lowes had amply demonstrated that notes and references need not be intrusive or dull for even the most tender-minded reader; their absence very seriously injures the book's value for other scholars in the field. There are, moreover, some surprising omissions in Mr. Blunden's narrative, omissions which are in part due to his inability to consult manuscript material in American collections. There is, for instance, no consideration of the *Reflector* as a genuinely literary magazine that antedated both *Blackwood's* and the *London* by many years. There is no mention of the quarrel with Murray over the publication of *Rimini* or with Taylor and Hessey at about the same time, both incidents being indicative of Hunt's character. The account of Hunt's journey to Italy and of the *Liberal* is inaccurate in detail. The *Plain Dealer* is omitted from the list of Hunt's periodicals. In other ways also the treatment of Hunt as a person is unsatisfactory. Mr. Blunden had a subject about which an unfavorable legend had grown up, and he has allowed himself to become sometimes (notably in the Byron-Hunt controversy) the apologist rather than the observer. He has also been deterred, apparently by a distaste for raking up forgotten scandals, from treating explicitly certain questions. We should like to know, for instance, as exactly as it can be determined, what Hunt's relationship—and by that one does not necessarily mean adultery—was with his sister-in-law, Bessy Kent. We should like to see it frankly admitted (as Mr. Blunden must know if he has read Dickens's letters) that Dickens at the time of finishing *Bleak House*, growing intensely irritated at Hunt, had in all probability written that irritation into Skimpole, and that the later explanations and apologies, though doubtless sincere, are not wholly ingenuous. We should like to see the story of the Italian interlude written with a frank recognition of the fact that no one of the actors was wholly to blame and no one wholly innocent. The truth is that Mr. Blunden is a poet but no biographer; he has imagination and sympathy, but not cool and judicial understanding of human acts and motives.

G. D. STOUT

Washington University, Saint Louis

Bulwer: a Panorama. Part I: Edward and Rosina: 1803-1836.

By MICHAEL SADLEIR. London (Constable) and Boston (Little, Brown). Pp. xiv + 409. \$4.00.

This is to be a three-volume work. The second part, *Gore House, or the Life of Lady Blessington*, will cover the period from about 1830 to 1850; and the third, the title of which is not yet announced, will cover that from 1850 to Bulwer's death in 1873.

Edward and Rosina has not a few merits. It tells the tragicomic story of young Bulwer and his wife in a vivacious and witty manner. It draws parallelisms between the types and moods of Bulwer's era and those of our own post-war times which are amusing and illuminating. And those readers who like biographies in which the biographer frequently seems as much in the foreground as the subject himself will enjoy Mr. Sadleir's manner of writing. The book is an entertaining interpretation of one feverish age by another.

To the literary scholar, however, it will on the whole be disappointing. I do not deny that Mr. Sadleir was free to choose his audience, and to treat his subject in a manner suitable thereto; but I believe he could have written, had he so chosen, a book of much greater scholarly value than this. He missed a distinct opportunity. Heretofore, the standard work on Bulwer was *The Life of Edward Bulwer, First Lord Lytton* (1913), by his grandson. Though valuable as a fair-minded and well-documented account of the incidents of Bulwer's career, it did not concern itself with literary criticism or history.¹ The road was open to a biographer who should thoroughly clarify Bulwer's position in the literary and intellectual currents of his age. That Mr. Sadleir might have performed this difficult and much needed service is evidenced by his essay, *The Northanger Novels*, and his letter to *The Times Literary Supplement* (August 11, 1927), "Melodrama in Fiction." There he exhibited remarkable powers of analyzing, classifying, and inter-relating various types of novels—powers urgently required in the study of Bulwer's works.

In *Edward and Rosina*, Mr. Sadleir's treatment of such problems is casual and superficial. What he says concerning the influence of the Gothic school (*e. g.*, p. 287) ignores recent studies and is too vague to be helpful. What he says about Bulwer's ideas and their origin is not only superficial but also contemptuous. He is too little interested in the relations between Bulwer's views and those of Bolingbroke, Sterne, Godwin, Goethe, and Byron. He makes the dangerous assumption that because Bulwer was often a poseur, his whole intellectual life was essentially a pose. A man may be an unoriginal and unstable thinker without being always insincere. Silly and ephemeral as were some of the theories that Bulwer took up, they were important motivating forces in his novels; and to underestimate their reality to Bulwer is to distort his portrait. This fault is seen, for example, in Mr. Sadleir's pages on *Eugene Aram*. Here, after giving an account of the hostile comments upon

¹ This work is not superseded by Mr. Sadleir's, for the latter does not reprint all of the Bulwer correspondence, and in fact omits some of the most important letters. Mr. Sadleir frequently and admiringly refers to the Earl of Lytton's biography, and assumes his readers to have access to it.

Bulwer's interpretation of the criminal, Mr. Sadleir waves such objections out of court as impertinent, saying:

Inasmuch as these modern judgments resemble their predecessors in testing Bulwer's novel by standards purely literary, they partake of the same irrelevance. Although no one will deny that as a work of art *Eugene Aram* would have benefitted by forestalling most of the criticisms quoted, these criticisms in their various ways do Bulwer injustice by doing him more than justice. They ignore one element in his novel-writing which was seldom wholly absent and in these early years predominant—the opportunist element of giving the public what it wanted (p. 251).

Here and repeatedly elsewhere, Mr. Sadleir, a director of Constable's, falls into a fallacy congenial to publishers, viz.: that the chief reason why authors write books is in order to make money, and that what they are mainly thinking of as they compose is to please the public. In Bulwer's case, this seems to me to magnify a minor motive, to underestimate many motives of much greater force, and falsely though conveniently to simplify the problem of explaining a complex personality and an extremely rich variety of literary works.

Although disappointing in its fundamental character, *Edward and Rosina* makes some welcome contributions to Bulwer-scholarship in details. Mr. Sadleir, having diligently examined the contemporaneous criticisms of the novels, gives us the first extensive account of the controversies which they aroused. And he furnishes much new information about the enemies and friends of Bulwer, such as William Maginn, the blackmailer Westmacott, "L. E. L.," and Lockhart.

ERNEST BERNBAUM

University of Illinois

Selected Poems of Thomas Walsh. With a Memoir by JOHN BUNKER and Appreciations by EDWARD L. KEYES and MICHAEL WILLIAMS. New York: Lincoln MacVeagh = The Dial Press, 1930. Pp. xxx + 257. \$2.50.

The poems in this definitive edition, which is carefully and artistically printed, reveal in conventional form the thoughts and feelings of a far-travelled and scholarly gentleman. No striving after unusual effects in any of the modern poetic manners disturbs their quiet beauty. Likewise, the subjects are not of the here and now, but of other times, persons, and customs, all interpreted in the light of Catholic tradition and philosophy. If the poems cannot be called great, they are, nevertheless, satisfying and urbane; though few lines make themselves unforgettable, some of the dramatic pieces leave a vivid impression that is reminiscent of Robert Browning.

Certainly the best of the selected poems are the narrative and the dramatic, for it is in this field that the objectivity of Thomas Walsh's artistic power can fasten upon concrete characters and adequately present them in terse dialog at some crisis of their career. For instance, *Egidio of Coimbra—1597 A. D.* portrays the humanness as well as the cleverness of Suarez in disputation. In *Murillo Paints "The Assumption"* the great painter reveals himself as impatient, solely because the young model for the Virgin has fallen in love.

Since of all the countries of the world Spain attracted Walsh most, it is not surprising to discover that much of his poetry deals with Spain, particularly its painters and its monks—art and religion, the twin foci of the poet's life. Indeed, so thoroughly has he saturated himself with things Spanish and so accurately has he recreated them that his poems can well serve as an introduction to the history and literature of that country for those who cannot read Spanish or for those who are only beginning to learn the language.

FRANCIS E. A. LITZ

Baltimore, Maryland

Twelfth Night, or What You Will. By WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

Edited by SIR ARTHUR QUILLER-COUCH and JOHN DOVER WILSON. Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930. Pp. xxviii + 193. \$1.90.

The Merchant of Venice. By WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. (*The Avon Shakespeare.*) Edited with Introduction and Notes by R. ADELAIDE WITHAM. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1929. Pp. ix + 284. \$0.68.

The two books listed above offer a perfect contrast in the approach to the study of Shakespeare. Both approaches are currently followed in the study of Shakespeare in this country, and one would like to see them brought closer together. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch supplies, as heretofore, the introductory essay to the Cambridge edition of *Twelfth Night*. His work is, as usual, somewhat different in its point of view from that of the textual editor, Professor John Dover Wilson. Sir Arthur writes pleasantly about Epiphany and apologizes for having anything to say about so pedantical a subject as sources. The sources, however, thrust themselves forward in this case, and the late Professor Barrett Wendell supplies him with a phrase for *Twelfth Night*—"a masterpiece not of invention but of recapitulation." He next writes charmingly about the characters as if they were veritable persons, taking a serious view of Malvolio, whom he sees at the end impenitent, "his hypocrisy still wrapt

about him for a cloak of maliciousness." Sir Arthur would not, however, have Malvolio made "too sympathetic" in the acting, because we should not allow Malvolio "to dominate this play any more than we should allow his kind to dominate our daily life." Feste is held to be "the master-mind and controller of *Twelfth Night*." In this particular the editors have agreed well, for Mr. Wilson's ingenuity has been exercised in elucidating the double and triple wit of this remarkable clown.

Mr. Dover Wilson's work on this play is unusually conservative. He seems to think of *Twelfth Night* as having been preserved in the Folio practically in the state of its original composition. There is a bit of surprise in this. Fleay's supposition that the verse scenes are much earlier than the prose scenes, a subject much more plausibly treated by Professor Henry David Gray (*The Original Version of "Love's Labour's Lost" with a conjecture as to "Love's Labour's Won,"* Stanford University Publications, University Series No. 31, 1918), is rejected. The Malvolio scenes seem to stand out with some clarity from the main texture of the Italianate comedy. One would not like to see Professor Wilson deliberately refraining from conjecture. In spite of the growing severity of criticism one would like to see him carry through his work as an editor of Shakespeare of intrepid and untrammelled modernism. Professor Wilson does, however, agree with Mr. Richmond Noble that the songs assigned in the Folio to Feste were in an earlier version sung by the boy who played Viola and that various more or less appropriate alterations have been made in the text of the play to provide for this change. The singing clown, the editor thinks, was Robert Armin. The play is to be dated in 1601-2. It bears evidences in its legal references and jests of having been composed for presentation in the Middle Temple, in accordance with the reference in Manningham's *Diary*. Other circumstances pointing to that year, besides the famous mention of the map with the "augmentation of the Indies" (III, ii, 77-8), are to be found in the Star Chamber case of the Puritan Sir Posthumous Hoby (a suggestion derived from Miss Violet Wilson, *Some Women of Shakespeare's Time*, 1924, pp. 238-56) and to the exploits in Persia of Sir Anthony Shirley and his brothers. On the other hand, Professor Wilson finds much to connect the play with the year 1606, several allusions to the doctrine of equivocation, for example, and concludes somewhat doubtfully that these features entered the play at the time of a revival and revision of the play in 1606.

Twelfth Night has an excellent text, printed in the Folio, Professor Wilson thinks, not from Shakespeare's manuscript but from an authoritative prompt-book, itself a careful transcript of the original. It follows that the editor's best work is in the elucidation of details in the text. The intricate jesting of Feste and the always pointed drunken jesting of Sir Toby have been too often

passed over by editors as hopeless nonsense. Again and again Professor Wilson shows a shrewd meaning behind these utterances. Shakespeare, he thinks after editing thirteen comedies, "never places pointless remarks in the mouths of his characters, and . . . where they appear pointless, that is generally because we have missed the point."

The editor of *The Merchant of Venice* in the Avon Shakespeare has set herself the task of providing in one edition all that students should know in order to play the play, or, at least, to appreciate it as a play. This is interpreted as a knowledge of London, of the origin and development of English drama, of the Shakespearean theater, and of Shakespeare himself. To this already voluminous background are added suggestions for cutting the text, setting the stage, and costuming the actors. The mass of materials is intelligently managed and very pleasantly presented. There is really no conflict between this object proposed and the study of the play as literature, although the editor suggests in the preface that there is.

HARDIN CRAIG

Stanford University

BRIEF MENTION

New Links with Shakespeare. By E. A. B. BERNARD. Cambridge: at the University Press; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930. Pp. xiv + 135. \$4.00. The links in this book are not with Shakespeare but with Henry Condell, Shakespeare's associate in the King's Company and the co-editor of the First Folio of 1623. The author has found a second authentic signature of Henry Condell and has established an event of minor importance in his life. In the documents of the Hanley Court Collection, arranged and calendared by the author in 1925, he found an indenture, dated May 23, 1617, and executed in connection with the purchase by Condell of the moiety of a small estate known as Brockhampton in the parish of Stanton in Gloucestershire. With this also was a conveyance in Latin, dated August 18, 1619, which bears the signature of Condell. Both documents are in the handwriting of Humphrey Dyson, London notary public and well known collector of the proclamations of Queen Elizabeth and King James I. Mr. Barnard collects data about the witnesses to the documents and about William Washbourne, who was co-purchaser with Condell. The history of the transaction is followed by studies of the life of Elizabeth, widow of Henry Condell, resting mainly on her will preserved at Somerset House, of various persons and matters connected with the Brock-

hampton and Broadway area of Gloucestershire, and of a Chancery Proceeding (May, 1633) having to do with the release of William Condell, son of Henry Condell, from his apprenticeship to a London grocer named Peter Saunderson. There are also studies of Sir Charles Percy of Dumbleton and of Humphrey Dyson. The contributions are of minor importance but are real. A re-study of the prefatory matter of the First Folio and the Poems is of less value. The Hanley Court documents are now at the Birmingham Reference Library.

Shakespearean Comedy and Other Studies. By AMARANTHA JHA. Allahabad: The Indian Press, Ltd., 1930. Pp. 214. Mr. Jha, who is Reader in English Literature at the University of Allahabad, takes his Shakespearean comedy rather seriously. It may be that he is racially sensitive to certain interesting things. After a brief attempt to state a theory of comedy, which would possibly have been no more successful had it been longer, the author decides, in Sidney's phrase, that Shakespeare wrote no "right comedies and no right tragedies." In the discussion which follows of the comic qualities of a score of plays, one feels that it is the kinship of tears and laughter which has impressed the author most. Mr. Jha is quite sincere, gentle in his point of view, and well read in the nineteenth-century Shakespeare critics. The volume also contains an essay on *Hamlet*, a rather enlightened and intelligible essay, in which the author defends Shakespeare's hero as a normal person and a man of action, whose tragic failure was due to the fact that his lot was cast in circumstances of "havoc, and spoil, and ruin." *Hamlet* was not mad, the author thinks. Another of the essays in the book is an ingenuous defense of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, which does not, however, elevate these unfortunate gentlemen to any great importance. A relatively long essay on "Shakespeare's Treatment of Madness" fails, like many other studies of that theme, for want of knowledge of Elizabethan psychology.

HARDIN CRAIG

Stanford University

The Fairy Queen: An Opera. By HENRY PURCELL. Cambridge: At the University Press. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931. Pp. xviii + 62. \$.70. Here we have the "book" of this opera (originally acted and printed in 1692) as it was "performed at the New Theatre, Cambridge, February 10-14, 1931, with the dialogue taken from Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in place of the alterations made by the anonymous librettist of 1692." Mr. Dennis Arundell writes a brief introduction to

this interesting record of what must have been a delightful occasion. It seems rather a pity, however, that we are given a partial restoration of the text instead of the adaptation intact. But the librettist of 1692 did not tamper very grievously with Shakespeare's diction, and the reader to whom a copy of the old quarto is inaccessible will get from this pamphlet a reasonably fair idea of his curious additions and transpositions.

H. S.

An Introduction to American Prose. Edited by FREDERICK C. PRESCOTT and GERALD D. SANDERS. New York: Crofts, 1931. Pp. xvi + 757. This beautifully printed volume is large enough to include as much from the standard American prose writers as most anthologies contain and, in addition, extended selections from the historians, orators, and novelists, such as Crèvecoeur, Washington, Jefferson, Prescott, Parkman, Melville, Lincoln, Sarah Orne Jewett, Lafcadio Hearn, Paul Elmer More, and Sherwood Anderson.

R. D. H.

Übungsbuch zur deutschen Versgeschichte. Zusammengestellt von ANDREAS HEUSLER und HERMANN SCHNEIDER (= Germanische Bibliothek III. Reihe II. Band). Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1931. viii + 104 pp. Mk. 3. Dies Übungsbuch hat mit Vorbedacht in erster Linie Versarten berücksichtigt, welche der Lesung Probleme aufgeben. Die Verteilung der Stücke auf Althochdeutsch, Mittelhochdeutsch, Neuhochdeutsch ist etwa 20:40:40 Seiten, was für uns hierzulande, wo metrische Übungen sowieso spärlich gesät sind, nicht übermäßig günstig ist, denn außer Klopstock und Goethe kommen nur einige Proben von Eichendorff, Rückert, Platen und C. F. Meyer zur Geltung. Ich bedaure, daß z. B. Mörike mit seiner reichen und oft problematischen Versgestaltung und die neusten Dichter ganz ausgeschaltet sind. Aber was vorliegt, ist wohl gewählt, und es ist besonders zu begrüßen, daß Klopstock in Doppelfassung, Goethe mit Schlegelschen Verballhornungen vertreten sind. Anregung ist reichlich gegeben, umsomehr als sich die Herausgeber jeglicher theoretischen Erörterung enthalten haben.

Der Volks-Brockhaus, Deutsches Sach- und Sprachwörterbuch für Schule und Haus mit über 3600 Abbildungen und Karten im Text und auf 71 einfarbigen und bunten Tafel- und Kartenseiten sowie 36 Uebersichten und Zeittafeln. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1931. Students of German will find this popular edition, issued a few months ago, an indispensable handbook, similar in scope to

the *Petit Larousse illustré*. It is probably unique in the accuracy of its information, the succinctness of its definitions, the up-to-dateness of its tables and statistics, the technical perfection of its reproductions and, last not least, in the remarkably low price at which it is offered. Even the possessor of the four volume edition will find that its concentration is in many cases an improvement. A later edition might take into consideration the needs of foreign students by adding the plural of nouns and similar indispensable data.

German Poetry for Students. Chosen by A. WATSON BAIN. London: Macmillan and Co., 1931. Pp. xviii+236. This collection includes 75 poets from Luther to Lersch, most of them represented with one or two poems so that, for instance, Keller and Mosen, Hebbel and Körner, Lienhard and George are on an equal footing. Of the recent generation Agnes Miegel appears but not Lulu von Strauß and Torney; Bröger, Flex, and Lersch but not Werfel, Heym, and Ina Seidel. An appendix of sonnets neglects George and Rilke in favor of Schaukal. What is the principle of selection?

Die Soziologie der literarischen Geschmacksbildung. By LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING. Leipzig und Berlin: Teubner, 1931. Pp. iv+119. Mk. 5, 60. In this lucidly written and very compact treatise Levin Schücking sets forth the principles of his literary investigations, among which his studies on Shakespeare and on the Puritan family are perhaps the best known. Dismissing biological and *Volksgeist* theories as *petitiones principii*, he illustrates his thesis of *Geschmacksträgertypen* (representatives of public taste) with examples of historical developments in English and German literatures. He contrasts, for instance, the rôle of the scop and the mediaeval poet, who serve the taste of a king or feudal lord, with that of the Elizabethan playwright in regard to their audience; the position of the critic in the early nineteenth century, who professes to be the mouthpiece of the public with that of the modern propagandist for new modes of expression; the attitude of the novelist who carefully searches out the taste of his readers, with that of the esthete, who writes in conscious opposition to the *profanum vulgus*.

Although Schücking opposes Pinder's Hypothesis on the problem of generations in its salient points, he seems to concur with his views concerning the tendency of all art to become autonomous, to free itself from any esoteric influence, however much this process may deepen the gulf between the creative artist and the community.

He attributes this schism perhaps a little too onesidedly to the naturalistic movement (the characterization of which, by the way, is very striking). Pinder has shown how similar conditions of *Verselbstung*, a finally sterile autonomy, were reached in the different fields of artistic manifestation of mankind. But the very fact that the dangers of such disregard of art as a social function are recognized by creative as well as by critical minds in our day, may indicate that we have reached a turning point, or, at least, that we are willing to face the dilemma with open eyes.

E. F.

Henrik Ibsen, Œuvres Complètes. Traduites par P. G. LA CHESNAIS. 2 vols. Paris: Plon, 1931. Pp. cxxxi + 395 + 496. Fr. 80. When during the nineties a French company performed *The Master Builder* in Oslo, it is reported that Ibsen pronounced this performance the best that he had ever seen because it came very close to fulfilling all of the author's intentions. French appreciation of Ibsen on the stage and as a literary influence has always been very keen, and it is therefore to be welcomed that a definitive and critical translation is now appearing in Paris. In sixteen large volumes M. La Chesnais is presenting everything that Ibsen has written, except his letters. Two of these volumes are now off the press, and it is apparent that it is much more than a mere translation, for in these two books of about 400 pages each 375 are devoted to an account of Ibsen's environment and early years in Norway; thus the author gives us what must be considered a new Ibsen biography, making use of the mass of new material that has come to light since the centenary in 1928. Since the notes in these volumes are more complete than those in any other Ibsen translation, the work is of great value to any scholar interested in the Norwegian dramatist. M. La Chesnais is the author also of a book on Johan Bojer and the translator of many other works by Scandinavian authors. He knows his Norway very well and has done his translation with scholarliness and charm.

A. E. ZUCKER

University of Maryland

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The *Dialogues Curieux* attributed by some historians to Gueudeville, but really the work of an adventurous Gascon baron de Lahontan, have not been reprinted in the original French since the eighteenth century, although they constitute one of the most valuable items in the list of Americana. In this volume, Professor Chinard, after comparing the different texts, has reproduced the original edition of 1703 and added the portions of the 1705 edition which may be rightly attributed to Gueudeville. In an introduction of seventy-two pages the editor has studied the life of Lahontan, the publication of the *Dialogues* and their influence throughout the eighteenth century. (*The entire volume is in the French language.*)

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The correspondence published in this volume will be of particular interest to students of American history and the history of ideas; it provides us with the conversation of two men whose intellectual curiosity was encyclopaedic and whose minds were decidedly of a rare order.

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These letters written by Du Pont de Nemours to his children while he was expecting to be led to the guillotine give a curious insight into the character of the great Physiocrat, and contain many interesting details on prison life during the Revolution and particularly after the Neuf Thermidor.

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SOME FORGOTTEN LETTERS OF VOLTAIRE

A MS.¹ which originally belonged to Beuchot and which is now at the Bibliothèque Nationale seems not to have received adequate attention from either Beuchot or later editors and bibliographers of Voltaire's works. The title upon the back of the MS.: A. Beuchot: *Matériaux pour son édition de Voltaire* would easily lead one to believe that all of this material entered into the Lefèvre 1834 edition of the *Œuvres complètes*. But even a cursory examination of the MS. disproves such an assumption. Evidently, this material was assembled after Beuchot's edition, not before. The indefatigable student of Voltaire would not accept his own edition as definitive. He chose rather to correct and enlarge it with documents which he continued to assemble, but which unfortunately he had no opportunity to use. Moreover, these corrections and enlargements found their way only imperfectly into the *Œuvres complètes* by later editors, including Moland.

The MS. contains three different kinds of material. The first part consists of documents concerning the Arouet family copied from the registers of the churches. These documents are (1) Acte de baptême de F. M. Arouet,² (2) Acte de baptême de Robert Arouet, (3) Mort de Marguerite Cathérine Arouet,³ (4) Mort de Pierre-François Mignot,⁴ (5) Acte de baptême d'Alexandre Jean

¹ See Omont, N. Ac. Fr. 11776. *Papiers de A. J. Q. Beuchot pour son édition des Œuvres de Voltaire*.

On y remarque des lettres autographes des frères Cramer, de Mme Denis, de Voltaire, Malesherbes, etc., et des copies de lettres de Voltaire, Malesherbes, Fréron, Schoepflin, Mme d'Epinay, etc.
XVIII^e et XIX^e S. Pap. 217 fauillets, montés in-4°. Demi-rel.

² Published both in Beuchot and Moland, I, 294.

³ Saint-Paul 1726.

⁴ Saint-Paul 1740.

Mignot,⁵ (6) Acte de baptême d'Armand François Arouet (1684), (7) Acte de mariage de François Arouet et Marguerite Daumard (1683),⁶ (8) Acte de baptême de Marguerite Cathérine Arouet (1686), and (9) Acte de baptême d'Armand Arouet (1685—cérémonies). A second part consists of corrections, additional references, and sometimes variants. Thus folio 51 of the MS. reads:⁷

xxxvii, p. 494, l. 19. Après le vers *ami redouté*
il en manque trois. Les voici:
détestable guide
D'un amour qu'Ovide
N'a jamais chanté.

Folio 52 reads:⁸

xxxvii, p. 496, l. 27:
Un Catalan subtil s'il en fut onc
Se confessait d'avoir fait sa conquête
D'un léopard: "Eh! comment fis-tu donc?"
Dit le frater.—"Parbleu, je mis la bête
Dans une tonne, et là je lui fis fête.
Tirant sa queue à travers le boudon."
"Homme de bien, lui dit frère Fredon,
Tu m'apprends là chose très profitable:
Car l'autre jour, exigeant pareil don,
Un simple chat me fit un mal de diable."

Voy: *Légende joyeuse*, Londres, Pyne, 1751, in-12, p. 69.

A correction of a more important nature can be found on folio 54:⁹

LI, 39.

L'original de cette lettre était, en 1835, en la possession de M. de Châteaugiron, pair de France.

. . . d'un alambic dans votre laboratoire et que vous serez tenté . . .

Entre *Humbert* et Despréaux.

renvoyez-le-moi par le premier ordinaire avec les notes.

. . . vous et moi, et faites-moi réponse bien vite

Je suis avec un dévouement infini, . . .

Arouet.

A Sully, ce 20 juillet, 1717.

Je relève ces variantes d'après une copie.

⁵ Saint-Paul 1725.

⁶ Published by Moland I, 293.

⁷ This correction has not been made in Moland.

⁸ Omitted also in Moland.

⁹ This letter is published in Moland under the date 1716. The variants have not been utilized.

Finally a third part consists of letters of Voltaire, Fréron, Malesherbes, Cramer, Mme Denis and others. These letters fall under three distinct headings. One group was evidently assembled or copied from originals by Beuchot for the purpose of clarifying the relationship of Voltaire with Malesherbes. Thus two letters of Cramer to Malesherbes solicit permission for the publication of the *Œuvres complètes* and their entry into France, a letter of Mme Denis to Malesherbes concerns the publication of the *Pucelle*, and there is a series of letters between Voltaire and Malesherbes dealing either with the publication or distribution of the *Siècle de Louis XIV*, the *Essai sur les mœurs*, and the *Précis du siècle de Louis XV*. Some of the letters are originals, but a considerable number are copies made from MS. N. Ac. Fr. 3344. The Cramer letters, Mme Denis' letter, and the Malesherbes replies to Cramer, Mme Denis, and Voltaire have never been included in the *Correspondance*. But it seems none the less to have been the intention of Beuchot to incorporate them in a later edition. A second group of these letters concerns the presentation of *L'Ecossaise* and Fréron's articles in the *Année littéraire* dealing with the performance. All are copies by Beuchot of the originals which are now in F. Fr. 22191. A third and last group consists either of original Voltaire letters or copies of originals made by Beuchot.

Thirty-six letters in the MS. are by Voltaire. Of the thirty-six, twenty-one¹⁰ have found their way through Beuchot or other editors into the Moland. Portions of another (Voltaire to Malesherbes, June 13, 1752) have been printed in Cornou, *Elie Fréron*, and in *Études* for 1922.¹¹ The remaining fourteen seem to have remained unnoticed, since they are not printed in either Beuchot or Moland. Moreover, they are neither mentioned in Bengesco,¹² in Miss Barr's excellent bibliography,¹³ nor in the bibliographies of *ZRPh.* and *RHL*. Of the fourteen letters, two are addressed to La Tour (one undated and one of Feb. 18, 1743), three to Male-

¹⁰ These letters are Nos. 177, 1059, 1911, 1917, 2498, 2673, 2678, 2689, 2699, 2702, 2726, 2729, 2747, 2761, 2763, 3533, 3952, 5861, 9317, 9884, in Moland, and Moland xxvii, 436.

¹¹ Cornou (95-97) and *Études* (577) cited portions of this letter from D'Hémery's *Journal*, N. Ac. Fr. 3531. The copy of D'Hémery was both defective and incomplete.

¹² Voltaire, *Bibliographie de ses œuvres*, Vol. III, 1889.

¹³ *A Bibliography of Writings on Voltaire (1825-1925)*, N. Y. C., 1929.

sherbes (Dec. 21, 1751; Jan. 18, 1752; April 10, 1752); four to Grimm (Oct. 22, 1759; June 27, 1760; July 14, 1760; Oct. 29, 1760); one to Spallanzani (Feb. 17, 1766); one written in Italian to an unknown correspondent (Oct., 1766); one to M. Bachelier (May 9, 1769); one to an unknown correspondent (March 29, 1769); and one to Mme la Duchesse d'Aiguillon (Aug. 3, 1771).

Princeton University

IRA O. WADE

I. A M. de la Tour.¹⁴

Mon cher Apelle, si vous devez brûler votre maison, c'est parce qu'elle n'est pas digne de vous. Si j'avais une de ces brochures, je vous l'enverrais sur le champ. Je vais en faire venir; je vous les porterai. Je suis enchanté que vous aimiez un peu la physique; Vous avez raison; celui qui embellit la nature doit la connaître. Je vous embrasse, mon cher la Tour sans cérémonie. Elles ne sont pas faites pour ceux qui cultivent les arts.

II. A M. de la Tour, peintre.¹⁵

[18 février, 1743]¹⁶

Ce Samedi.

M. de Voltaire arrive de la campagne et part pour Versailles; il prie M. de la Tour de vouloir bien venir entendre lundi le discours qui sera prononcé à la Comédie française avant la représentation de *Mérope*. Il devrait bien y amener M. le Moine.¹⁷ Il y sera un peu question des Apelle et des Phidias.

III. A M. de Malesherbes.¹⁸

Berlin 21 Xbre [1751].

Monsieur,

Sur les nouvelles publiques qui ont redoublé la crainte où j'étais touchant l'état de Mr de la Reinière,¹⁹ permettez que j'aye l'honneur de vous témoigner ma sensibilité pour vous et pour lui. Quelque chose qui

¹⁴ N. Ac. Fr. 11776, f. 214. Copy. Maurice-Quentin de la Tour, portrait painter (1704-1788). His portrait of Voltaire is one of his most renowned paintings. Moland gives only one letter of Voltaire to La Tour, No. 946.

¹⁵ N. Ac. Fr. 11776, f. 215. Copy.

¹⁶ I have dated this note from the first presentation of *Mérope*, Feb. 20, 1743.

¹⁷ Lemoyne, French sculptor. Among his works are a bust of Fontenelle (1748) and a bust of Montesquieu. See R. Schneider, *L'Art Français, dix-huitième siècle*, 85-88.

¹⁸ N. Ac. Fr. 11776, f. 153. Autograph. Malesherbes, son of the Chancellor, was "directeur de la librairie." Beuchot (LVI, 476) published a note of Clogenson which stated that some letters addressed to Malesherbes previous to July, 1754, had not been admitted to the *Correspondance*. See also Papiers De Cayrol, F. Fr. 12897, f. 220, where the same remark is made.

soit arrivée, daignez croire qu'un homme de lettres ne peut que s'intéresser vivement à tout ce qui vous regarde. Personne ne contribue plus que vous monsieur à échauffer les sentiments qui m'attachent à ma patrie et je l'aimerais davantage tant que vous serez à la tête de la littérature.

Madame Denis m'a écrit que vous trouviez bon que je prisse la liberté de vous adresser Monsieur un petit paquet pour elle. J'use de cette permission, si vous le trouvez bon, et je vous renouvelle au commencement de cette année, les assurances du respectueux attachement avec lequel je serai toute ma vie

Monsieur

Votre très humble et
très obéissant serviteur
Voltaire.

IV. A M. de Malesherbes.²⁰

A Berlin 18 janvier 1752.

Ce n'est pas seulement à Madame Denis,²¹ c'est à vous, monsieur, que j'adresse ce paquet. C'est en qualité de bon français, et d'homme qui veut mériter votre estime que je sou mets cet ouvrage ²² à vos lumières et que je le recommande à vos bontés. Je ne peux arrêter en Allemagne le torrent qui m'entraîne. Tout ce que j'ai pu faire c'est de mettre quelques cartons. Mais c'est ici en quelque façon un ouvrage nouveau par le grand nombre de changements que vous verrez d'un coup d'oeil si vos occupations vous le permettent. Ils sont tous dictés par l'amour de la vérité et de la patrie. Si malgré tous les soins que j'ai pris et après tant d'histoires dans les quelles on a voulu flétrir Louis 14 et la nation, un ouvrage consacré à la gloire de l'un et de l'autre ne peut trouver grâce devant mes compatriotes, j'attendrai du temps la justice qu'on n'obtient guères que de lui, et votre suffrage me tiendra lieu de la faveur de la plus part des hommes. J'aurais été plus digne de ce suffrage si j'avais pu achever *le siècle de Louis 14* dans ma patrie, et si j'avais eu un peu de santé. Mais les persécutions des gens de lettres m'ont privé de l'une, et il y a longtemps que la nature m'a ravi l'autre. Mais les bontés d'un homme comme vous sont une grande consolation.

Je vous supplie monsieur de vouloir bien remettre cet exemplaire à ma nièce, quand vous aurez eu le temps de le parcourir. Je vous demande très humblement pardon de tant d'importunité. Vous êtes accoutumé à celles des barbouilleurs de papier comme moi. Ils disent pour leur excuse que c'est envie de vous plaire. Je n'ai pas de meilleure excuse qu'eux. Je vous prie monsieur de recevoir avec vos bontés ordinaires mes libertés et mon respectueux attachement.

V.

Je me flatte que monsieur de la Reinière aura entièrement recouvré sa santé.

¹⁹ Grimod de la Reynière, famous fermier-général and erstwhile Maecenas, was the father-in-law of Malesherbes.

²⁰ N. Ac. Fr. 11776, f. 151-2. Autograph.

²¹ See Moland XXXVII, 361.

²² *Le Siècle de Louis XIV.*

V. A. M. de Malesherbes.²³Au Château de Potsdam.
10 Avril 1752.

Je suis obligé monsieur de grossir la foule des importuns qui peut-être vous font trouver dans le gouvernement de la littérature moins d'agréments que cet employ n'en promet. Mais il faut que je vous demande tout le contraire de ce qu'on sollicite d'ordinaire auprès de vous. On vous persécute monsieur pour des permissions de faire paraître des livres et moi je vous demande en grâce de vouloir bien employer toute votre autorité et celle de monsieur le Chancelier votre père pour empêcher que mon livre ne paraisse. *Le Siècle de Louis 14* n'est encor digne ni de ce monarque ni de la nation, ni de vos bontés. L'édition qu'on a faite a Berlin n'est qu'un faible essai, dont je tire un très grand fruit, celui de recevoir de tous côtés des remarques et des instructions utiles. Un tel ouvrage ne peut se perfectionner qu'avec du temps et des secours. J'ose donc croire monsieur que vous rendrez service à la littérature à la vérité et à la patrie si vous voulez bien entrer dans mes sentiments, et défendre absolument de tout libraire de faire entrer en France cet ouvrage informe. La même raison qui m'empêche de livrer *Rome sauvée*²⁴ à l'impression me fait désirer de supprimer *le Siècle de Louis 14*. C'est mon respect pour le public qui m'inspire cette juste sévérité pour moi-même. Je voudrais n'avoir encor rien imprimé et je ne souhaiterais de la santé et de la vie que pour avoir le temps de corriger ce que j'ai pu faire de supportable. C'est bien dommage que les forces diminuent dans l'âge où le goût se perfectionne. Je ferai au moins ce que je pourrai et rien ne m'encouragera davantage dans ce dessein que la bonté que vous aurez monsieur de vous prêter à mes vues. C'est une grâce que je vous demande très instamment. Si les libraires avaient déjà fait venir des exemplaires avant la réception de ma lettre, je vous supplie monsieur de leur ordonner de les renvoyer. Je serai toute ma vie sensible à ce bon office. Je suis même persuadé que tous ceux qui pensent judicieusement en France me sauront gré du sacrifice que je fais, et surtout que vous approuverez ma conduite. Cette approbation est bien au-dessus du vain plaisir d'être lu par la multitude. J'ai l'honneur d'être monsieur avec la reconnaissance la plus vive et la plus respectueuse

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

Voltaire.

²³ N. Ac. Fr. 11776, f. 158-9. Autograph. On April 15, [1752], Voltaire wrote to the Marquis de Thibouville: "J'ai écrit à M. de Malesherbes que je le suppliais très instamment d'empêcher que l'édition du *Siècle de Louis XIV* n'entrât dans Paris, parce que je ne trouve point cet ouvrage encore digne du monarque ni de la nation qui en est l'objet." In a note to this passage, Beuchot (LVI, 68) states: "La lettre n'est pas imprimée." Moland (xxxvii, 407) does not reproduce Beuchot's statement although he does not print the letter. See also F. Fr. 12897, f. 220.

²⁴ Presented Feb. 24, 1752. Printed circa July 25, 1752. See Moland, xxxvii, 455.

VI. A. M. de Malesherbes.²⁵

Au Château de Potsdam.

13 juin 1752.

Monsieur,

J'apprends que vous avez retiré la permission qu'avait un homme de lettres nommé je crois Fréron de publier toutes les semaines des nouvelles littéraires à Paris,²⁶ et que c'est en punition de quelques calomnies qu'on dit qu'il a insérées contre moi dans ses feuilles périodiques. Tous les honnêtes gens monsieur doivent vous avoir obligation d'arrêter le cours de cette licence qui a longtemps déshonoré la littérature française si respectable d'ailleurs et si respectée dans l'Europe. Cette brutalité poussée impunément aux derniers excès et dont j'ai été si longtemps la victime a été en partie une des raisons qui m'ont fait quitter ma patrie. Je n'ai jamais vu l'auteur dont il est question ni lû aucune de ses feuilles, mais on me mande que c'est un homme mal à son aise et chargé de plusieurs enfants qui ne vit que de son travail, et à qui le débit de ses feuilles produisait un petit revenu. Oserais-je monsieur ajouter aux remerciements que je vous dois sur la justice que vous avez faite, mes très humbles prières en faveur d'un homme de lettres qui se trouve à mon occasion dans un état malheureux. Il n'y a pas d'apparence qu'il abuse contre d'autres personnes de la permission que vous pourriez lui rendre. Le bon ordre que vous avez mis dans la librairie, et les bienséances dont cet auteur sentira sans doute le prix le contiendront dans les bornes d'une critique honnête et permise. Je n'ai d'autre droit auprès de vous, monsieur, pour obtenir cette grâce, que le mal qu'il m'a voulu faire et la bonté généreuse que vous avez eue de le reprimer; mais souffrez que j'ose employer ces raisons-là même pour vous supplier très humblement de vouloir bien lui pardonner. Je vous aurai

²⁵ N. Ac. Fr. 11776, f. 160. This letter has already been published in part in Cornou, *Trente années de luttes philosophiques—Elie Fréron*, pp. 95-97. Another portion was published in *Etudes*, 1922, p. 577. Since both portions were published from D'Hémery's *Journal* and are somewhat defective, I reproduce the whole letter here. This letter has given rise to much discussion. In a letter to M. Formey (Beuchot LVI, 115-6) Voltaire wrote: "J'avais en effet ouï dire, monsieur, qu'on avait ôté à ce malheureux Fréron son gagne-pain. On m'a dit que ce pauvre diable est chargé de quatre enfants; c'est une chose édifiante pour un homme sorti des *Jésuites*. Cela me touche le cœur. J'ai écrit en sa faveur à M. le Chancelier de France, sans vouloir, de la part d'un tel homme, ni prières, ni remerciements." Beuchot in a note to this passage states that the letter is lost. Moland in his edition repeats Beuchot's note. Brunetière (*Etudes critiques*, II, 209) concluded that Voltaire had never written the letter. Cornou (*op. cit.*, p. 95-97) gives a full discussion of the whole affair, but is somewhat biased in his interpretation.

²⁶ Fréron's journal was the *Lettres sur quelques écrits de ce temps*. The suspension lasted from April to October 1752, according to Beuchot.

eu une double obligation dans cette petite affaire et je joindrai d'ailleurs toute ma vie les sentiments de reconnaissance à tous ceux avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être

Monsieur

Votre très humble et très
obéissant serviteur
Voltaire.

VII. [A. M. Grimm.] ²⁷

22 oct. [1759] ²⁸

A Tournay par Genève, car je n'aime point qu'on m'écrive à Genève, car cela a l'air d'un réfugié, car je ne le suis pas.

Je suis très sensible à votre souvenir mon cher profète. Vous savez que je vous préfère à Isaye et à Ezechiel. Vous êtes dans l'abomination de la désolation, et nous n'y sommes nous autres allobroges que parce que vous et Made D'epinay vous nous avez quittés pour Babilone. Mes compliments. je vous en prie à Jérémie Diderot persécuté par les enfants de Bélial.²⁹

J'ai envoyé au ressusciteur Tronchin votre paquet. Je vous remercie du mien. L'estampe est bien dessinée bien gravée; mais je vous avoue que je suis fâché de voir le petit fils de Henri le grand qui se vautre dans un fauteuil, avec l'attitude de Lucas, tenant une boule qui semble sortir de sa culotte, et son fils badinant derrière lui. J'aimerais mieux voir le père faisant essayer une cuirasse à son fils. *Disce puer virtutem ex me.*

Bénissons Dieu de ce que le géomètre assassin a fait courir ce papier dont vous me parlez. Apparemment qu'il en était l'auteur. Qu'importe par qui la vérité nous vienne pourvu qu'elle vienne. Je prie le Seigneur que cette semence fructifie, et que les ouvriers de la vigne ne se relâchent pas dans leurs saints travaux. Je suis occupé à présent à des oeuvres bien profanes. Nous représentons demain une pièce nouvelle sur mon petit théâtre vert et or.³⁰ J'en demande pardon à Jean Jacques,³¹ mais enfin il a fait des comédies. Je l'imite dans ses péchés, ne pouvant encor l'imiter dans sa pénitance. On me mande de Paris qu'un journaliste jésuite est mort. Je tremble que ce ne soit le révérend père Bertier³² qui rendait tant de services à la religion et à la raison.

²⁷ N. Ac. Fr. 11776, f. 162-3. Original. A copy of the same letter can be found f. 184.

²⁸ See end of letter No. 3954. Moland XL, 202.

²⁹ The persecutors of the *Encyclopédie*.

³⁰ *Tancrède*, in the theatre at Tournay.

³¹ Rousseau.

³² Bertier [†1782] was director of the *Journal de Trévoux*. For this hoax, see Voltaire's *Relation de la maladie, de la confession, de la mort et*

S'il y a quelques nouvelles intéressantes, je vous supplie de m'en faire part. Je n'ai rien à vous dire du pays où je suis. Il cesse d'être compté dans le monde depuis que certaine philosophe³³ ne l'habite plus. Je me console comme je peux entre mon théâtre et ma charité. *Utile dulci*³⁴ est ma devise.

Luc³⁵ m'a écrit une lettre admirable. Il dit qu'il se soutiendra très bien dans cette fin de campagne. Mais n'entendrai-je jamais parler que de meurtres et de ruines, et de notre honte? Mon cher profète, nos français ne jouent pas un beau rôle sur ce globule. Encor s'ils étaient aimables, comme ils l'étaient autrefois! Mais la décadence porte sur tout. Adieu, mon cher philosophe, je vous aimerai toujours, car vous le méritez. car vous pensez bien. car vous êtes selon mon coeur.

V.

(Addressed)

A Monsieur

Monsieur Grim secrétaire de Mgr. le Duc d'Orléans

Rue neuve du Luxembourg

Porte St. Honoré

A Paris.

VIII. A M. Grimm.³⁶

Mademoiselle Vadé³⁷ a reçu la charmante lettre du cher prophète;³⁸ elle s' imagine qu'Habacuc ne paye point de ports de lettres attendu la secrétairerie du premier prince de Juda,³⁹ partant, elle hazarde ce paquet, et en fera tenir incessamment un autre dans un autre goust pour varier. Elle aura toujours une grande attention pour les besoins de Le Fr;⁴⁰ pour ceux de mtre Abraham,⁴¹ du divin Palissot;⁴² elle respectera comme elle le doit le *Journal de Trévoux*, le *journal Chrétien*; et tous les sages persécuteurs; elle fait mille compliments au philosophe de la Rue Targañe;⁴³

de l'apparition du Jésuite Berthier. This letter dates the *Relation* October, 1759, rather than November, as given in Beuchot XL, 12.

³³ Mme d'Epinay.

³⁴ Horace, *De Arte Poetica*, 344. See Beuchot LXI, 470.

³⁵ Frédéric II. The letter mentioned is possibly the letter of September 22, 1759. Moland XL, 176-7.

³⁶ N. Ac. Fr. 11776, f. 168. Original. A copy of this letter can be found at f. 198.

³⁷ Voltaire. Cf. *Contes de Guillaume Vadé*.

³⁸ Grimm, author of *Le Petit prophète de Boehmischbroda*, 1753, in-8°.

³⁹ Grimm was secretary of the Duke of Orleans.

⁴⁰ Le Franc de Pompignan.

⁴¹ Abraham Chaumeix, author of pamphlets against the *Encyclopédie*. Chaumeix occurs as a character in Voltaire's *Socrate*, under the name Chomos.

⁴² Author of *Les Philosophes*.

⁴³ Diderot.

s'il se trouve jamais à Paris quelque honnête Libraire qui veuille imprimer le sermon ⁴⁴ du cousin Vadé il fera une bonne oeuvre; elle écrira demain un petit mot à la belle philosophe ⁴⁵ qui a de si beaux yeux et un si bon coeur.

Au reste, Mlle Vadé est un peu malade, mais elle croit que rien n'est plus sain que de rire, et elle rit beaucoup de tout ce qui se passe; elle embrasse de tout son coeur le cher prophète; c'est dans le fonds une très bonne fille, quoi qu'elle ait l'air un peu malin.

du 27 juin. 1760.

IX. A M. Grimm.⁴⁶

du 14 juillet 1760.

Je reçois mon cher voyant, et bien voyant, mon cher profète d'Alithée, votre lettre du 4 juillet; vous voulez ma réponse à Palissot.⁴⁷ La voici.

J'y joins ma réponse ⁴⁸ au pere de Menou qui m'a envoyé *l'Incrédulité combattue par le simple bon sens, essai philosophique par un Roy*, ouvrage dans lequel je reconnais le simple bon sens de Menou.

Pour émuquer à jamais tous les traits qu'on lance contre la raison, il faut mettre Diderot de l'Académie française. C'est une négociation dans laquelle vous réussirez plus aisément qu'à faire donner de l'argent à votre ville de Francfort.⁴⁹

Cependant, il serait utile et honnête que Robin Mouton ⁵⁰ imprimast *le pauvre Diable, le Russe à Paris* et la lettre du frère de la charité.⁵¹ Comme dans tout cela on n'attaque aucune belle femme, ces petits ouvrages ne seront point censurés par la Sorbonne. *Plura alias*. L'esprit d'Elie soit toujours sur vous avec un bon manteau. Faites sous terre votre brigade pour mettre Diderot de notre académie. Je viendrai lui donner ma voix, après quoi je retournerai aux Délices. La chose est possible. Donc on y réussira. Il n'y a pas à hésiter. C'est une victoire qu'il faut remporter sur les sots et sur les fripons à quelque prix que ce soit.

N. b. que la poste part et qu'on ne peut transcrire aujourd'hui la lettre à Frère Menou.

Dieu vous fasse réussir dans toutes vos entreprises excepté à faire donner de l'argent à Francfort.

⁴⁴ *Le Pauvre diable, ouvrage en vers aisés de feu M. Vadé, mis en lumière par Cathérine Vadé, sa cousine, dédié à Maître Abraham . . .* Paris, 1758 (sic).

⁴⁵ Mme d'Epinay.

⁴⁶ N. Ac. Fr. 11776, f. 161. Original. A copy can be found f. 199.

⁴⁷ See Moland *XL*, 456.

⁴⁸ Moland *XL*, 455.

⁴⁹ Grimm was chargé d'affaires of the city of Francfort.

⁵⁰ Robin was a printer and bookseller at Paris.

⁵¹ *La Vanité par un frère de la doctrine chrétienne*, s. l. n. d. [1760]. See Beuchot *XIV*, 174.

X. A M. Grimm.⁵²

Du 29 octobre 1760.

Je suis précisément comme Didrot, vous aimant et n'écrivant point. Je vous dois deux lettres mon cher profète mais je vous dois mille remerciements. Vous avez été un de mes preux chevaliers. Il y a deux mois que je veux vous écrire tous les jours et à la belle philosophe, mais j'ai été accablé de fardaux. Deux cent vers à *Tancrède*, autant à une nommée *Fanime*, et puis les Cramer, et puis *le Czar Pierre*, et il a fallu jouer la comédie, faire la pièce, le théâtre, les acteurs, labourer mes champs, faire mes vendanges, bâtir un chateau, et pour achever mon salut, bâtir une église. Je sais que Lefranc de Pompignan n'entendra pas la messe chez moi: mais il sera forcé d'avouer que je suis bon chrétien. Fréron n'a-t-il pas trouvé quelques impiétés dans *Tancrède*? Revoiez *Tancrède* je vous prie quand en le jouera—j'espère que vous en serez plus content. Je dois beaucoup à Mr et à Mad. D'Argental. Ils m'ont fait corriger plus d'une faute, c'est le plus grand service qu'on puisse rendre à un pauvre auteur. Mais dites-moi ce que vous pensez de *Pierre*. Rendez-moi sur *Pierre* le même service que Mrs D'Argental m'ont rendu sur *Tancrède*. Vous êtes plus au fait des affaires du Nord que nos parisiens; et vous savez en qualité de Saxon que l'empire de toutes les Russies est quelque chose. Crammer ne vous avait-il pas déjà montré le premier volume à Genève? Ne vous en [a]-t-il pas fait tenir un à Paris aussi bien qu'à ma belle philosophe? Il m'avait juré que ces deux devoirs seraient ceux dont il s'acquitterait d'abord. Mandez-moi ce que vous pensez des tetons d'ébène des Samoièdes,⁵³ et des raisonnements qu'on fait en Sibérie sur l'origine des français. Dites-moi cordialement si vous pensez que Luc⁵⁴ puisse se tirer d'affaire. On mande de Berlin que les Autrichiens ont partagé les femmes avec mes Russes.⁵⁵ Ils ont fait deux lots, les jeunes d'un côté, les vieilles de l'autre. Les Russes ont choisi les vieilles par vanité. Ils ont fait voir que tout leur est égal. Voilà de braves gens. Ils ont pillé les *Oeuvres* du philosophe de Sans-souci, et sont en possession de son beau poème⁵⁶ sur la culotte du feu Maréchal de Broglie ouvrage qu'il ne manquera pas de faire brûler dès que M. de Solotzof l'aura imprimé. Il y a dans toutes ces aventures un mélange de ridicule et d'horreur comme dans *Candide*.

⁵² N. Ac. Fr. 1177, f. 164-5. Original. A copy can be found f. 196-7. On October 28 [1760], Voltaire wrote to D'Argental: "Pardon à mes divins anges. Jamais le prophète Grimm ne met au bas de ses lettres un petit signe qui les fasse reconnaître; Jamais il ne donne son adresse. Je prends le parti de vous adresser ma réponse." Beuchot (LIX, 107), copying Clogenson, states that "elle n'a pas été recueillie." Moland (XLI, 41) reproduces the same note. See also F. Fr. 12897, f. 166.

⁵³ See *Histoire de Russie*, Beuchot, xxv, 8-10 and 49-50.

⁵⁴ Frédéric II.

⁵⁵ Voltaire related the same story in a letter of October 21, 1760 to the Councillor Tronchin. See Moland xli, 26-27.

⁵⁶ See Moland xxxv, 132.

Crammer vous a-t-il envoyé les facéties?

Il y a des philosophes dont je ne suis point content. Ils deviennent tièdes; je ne veux pas les vomir de ma bouche mais je prie Dieu de leur inspirer ce zèle ardent qui seule peut faire du bien aux humains nos confrères.

Diderot aurait du m'écrire. Il faut au moins avoir la politesse de remercier son avocat.⁵⁷

Jean Jacques est tout à fait fou. J'en suis fâché.

V.

XI. [A Spallanzani].⁵⁸

Au Château de Ferney, par Genève,
17 février 1766.

Je reçus, il y a quelques semaines, par la voie de Genève, deux dissertations physiques, sans nom d'auteur. Il n'y avait point de lettre dans le paquet. Je viens d'apprendre que ces deux ouvrages qui montrent une grande sagacité, et des connaissances très approfondies, sont de vous, monsieur, et sont dignes d'en être. Je voudrais pouvoir vous remercier dans votre belle langue italienne que vous parlez avec tant de politesse. Mais l'état où je suis ne me permet pas d'écrire; ma vieillesse et une maladie me réduisent à dicter.

Vous avez très grande raison de combattre les prétendues expériences de M. Needham. On l'a attaqué depuis peu à Genève⁵⁹ sur les miracles. Il pourrait se vanter en effet d'avoir fait des miracles, s'il avait pu produire des anguilles sans germes. Il faut se défier de toutes ces expériences hasardées qui contredisent les loix de la nature. Il paraît que vous mettez autant d'exactitude dans vos expériences que de justesse dans vos raison-

⁵⁷ Voltaire had exerted every effort to have Diderot elected a member of the French Academy.

⁵⁸ N. Ac. Fr. 11776, f. 200. Copy. The letter in all probability is published somewhere although I have not found it. A pencil notation on the side of the manuscript reads: "v, 141-142. Ringratio 20 mai. Ib. 139-141." See Moland XLIV, 175. A M. le Marquis Albergati Capacelli, Ferney, 10 janvier [1766]: "Il y a un philosophe naturaliste, que je crois de Toscane, qui m'envoya, il y a quelques mois, un recueil d'observations faites avec le microscope; il y combat les erreurs insensées d'un Irlandais nommé Needham, avec toute la politesse d'un homme supérieur qui a raison. J'ai malheureusement perdu la lettre dont ce philosophe aimable m'honora. Peut-être son livre sera parvenu jusqu'à vous, monsieur, quoiqu'il me semble que votre goût ne se tourne pas du côté de ces petites recherches. Mais si vous pouvez savoir, par quelqu'un de vos académiciens, le nom de cet ingénieux observateur, je vous supplie de vouloir bien m'en instruire, afin que je n'aie pas à me reprocher d'avoir manqué de politesse envers un homme qui m'a fait tant de plaisir." . . . The author of the work was Spallanzani, professor of natural history at the University of Pavia. See Moland XLIX, 572 and L, 27.

⁵⁹ *Questions sur les miracles*, 1765.

nements. On ne peut après vous avoir lu vous refuser la plus parfaite estime. C'est avec ces sentiments et avec beaucoup de reconnaissance que j'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

Voltaire.

Gentilhomme ord. de la chambre du Roi.

XII. A M. * * * ⁶⁰

Au Château de Ferney, par Genève, Octobre 1766.

Son venuto rauco col gridare a i miei francesi che tutta Leuropa fu istruita nelle buone arti dagli Italiani: ho intronato le parisine orecchie con questa verità. La vostra cortesia me ne rende ampia mercede. Si degna di tradurre una tragedia d'un de' vostri discepoli. Fate conoscere al mondo che tutti i litterati sono dal medesimo paese, anzi della medesima famiglia.

Ho letto col più gran piacere i vostri versi; n'ero tanto trasportato che mi scordavo a chi erano indirizzati; all' legger' del mio nome io arrossi: all' legger' del foglio ammirai. La ringrazio umilmente, e de' suoi leggiadri versi, e della sua lettera, e della sua impresa. Viva sempre in Italia la bella poesia. Siate ancora i nostri maestri, risorga il teatro dalle sue ruine; non sia più Melpomene schiava della musica. Reverisco i castrati; ma mi sia lecito d'anteporre a i loro trilli i virtuosi che hanno . . . e buon gusto, a questi convien de rappresentare Cesare, Augusto e Catone. L'opera è una bella cosa. Ella è figlia della tragedia, ma la figlia ha svenato la madre. La mia querela è forse la zotichezza d'un zvizzero, ma sono un uomo libero, amo la verità, la dico, o credo di dirla; et sono certo di dire il vero quando vi assicuro che sarò sempre, mio signore, coi più vivi sensi di stima, di gratitudine, di rispetto,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

Voltaire, gentilhomme ord. de la Chambre du Roi de France.

XIII. [A M. Bachelier, peintre du Roi, A Paris.] ⁶¹

Ferney ce 9 mai 1769.

Le livre ⁶² que vous avez bien voulu m'envoyer, monsieur, est aussi

⁶⁰ N. Ac. Fr. 11776, f. 201. Copy. This letter, which is defective, is probably published somewhere although I have been unable to locate it. A pencil notation on the manuscript reads: "iv, 242-243."

⁶¹ N. Ac. Fr. 11776, f. 202. Copy. Bachelier, J. J., was a French painter (1724-1805). See Moland XLVI, 308, letter to d'Argental, 9 avril [1769]: "... Vous avez eu la bonté de m'envoyer une lettre de M. Bachelier. Comme je ne sais point sa demeure, voulez-vous bien me permettre de vous adresser ma réponse?" In a note to this passage, Moland states: "Elle manque." Evidently, the letter to d'Argental or this letter is wrongly dated.

⁶² Durosioi, B. F., *Essai philosophique sur l'établissement des écoles gratuites du dessin pour les arts mécaniques*, 1769, in 8°.

éloquent que votre entreprise est noble. Rien n'est plus digne de vos talents que d'encourager ceux des autres, et de faire fleurir les arts qui sont l'ornement de la capitale. Enseveli dans la retraite, je n'étais occupé que de l'agriculture, avant que mes maladies m'eussent mis entièrement hors d'état d'agir. Je n'en sens pas moins l'étendue de votre mérite; et je me ferais un grand honneur d'être admis au nombre de ceux qui vous ont secondé dans vos desseins utiles à l'Etat.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec toute l'estime que je vous dois etc.

XIV. A M. * * * ⁶³

Ferney 29 mars 1769.

Vous vous êtes adressé, monsieur, à un homme très indigne des bontés dont vous l'honorez. Je sens tout votre mérite et celui de vos amusements, mais quand on a soixante seize ans et qu'on est accablé de maladies, on ne peut qu'applaudir à vos plaisirs sans les partager. Pardonnez à ma vieillesse et au triste état où je suis qui est bien plus près des *de profundis* que de vos chants d'alégresse, si je donne si peu d'étendue aux remerciements que je vous dois.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, avec tous les sentiments qui vous sont dûs, monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

(sig) Voltaire.

XV. A Madame la Duchesse D'Aiguillon.⁶⁴

A Ferney, 3^e Auguste 1771.

Madame,

Je vous demande pardon en qualité d'aveuglé: je ne pus relire ma lettre et voir s'il y avait Rochefort ou Beaufort.⁶⁵

Je vous demande beaucoup plus grand pardon de mon importunité et de mon incongruité. M. le comte de Beaufort était venu chez moi me prier de lui obtenir un sauf-conduit, croyant que cela dépendait de M. le Duc d'Aiguillon, et moi qui suis très compatissant, je pris cette liberté avec vous, quoiqu'il s'agisse de venger un prêtre et qu'on doive être sans pitié en pareil cas. Pendant ce temps-là, M. le comte de Beaufort est allé dans mon voisinage, en Suisse, et Madame sa femme, intimidée, avait pris

⁶³ N. Ac. Fr. 11776, f. 208. Another copy of the same letter can be found f. 209.

⁶⁴ N. Ac. Fr. 11776, f. 180. Manuscript note by Beuchot: "Copié le 31 mars 1841 sur l'original de la main de Wagnière, qui m'a été communiqué par M. Ballin." On October 16, [1771], Voltaire wrote to Mme d'Aiguillon: "Mme, je vous ai importunée deux fois fort témérairement; la première, pour un gentilhomme qui disait n'avoir point tué un prêtre, et qui l'avait tué, la seconde . . . etc." In a note to this passage Beuchot states: "Ces deux lettres sont perdues." Moland (XLVII, 525) does not reproduce Beuchot's note, although the two letters are not in his edition. See also F. Fr. 12897, f. 5.

⁶⁵ For the Comte de Beaufort see Moland, letter No. 8351.

déjà le parti de demander à M. le Chancelier la grâce de son mari. Voilà pourquoi, Madame, elle n'est pas venue implorer votre protection. Demander grâce, c'est se dire coupable. Les procédures sont graves, le mort est prêtre; il a juré en mourant qu'il avait été assassiné dans sa chapelle. Il y a là meurtre et sacrilège: Je doute que la grâce s'obtienne aisément. On n'en a point donné au chevalier de la Barre qui n'était coupable que de n'avoir pas fait la révérence à des capucins qui marchaient deux à deux. Ainsi je retire ma sollicitation. M. le comte de Beaufort, ancien officer, a six enfants: je doute que le prêtre mort en ait davantage. Le meilleur des mondes possibles est plein de ces aventures affreuses.

Permettez-moi de vous entretenir un moment d'un Directeur des Fermes qui vient de se tuer d'un coup de pistolet dans la bouche et qui avait laissé sur sa table cet écrit: "A quoi sert la vie? Les insectes et les commis des fermes en jouissent."

Agréez, Madame, le profond respect de votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

Le vieil aveugle du Mont Jura.

THE COMPOSITION OF VOLTAIRE'S *CANDIDE*¹

The anecdote that *Candide* was dashed off by Voltaire in three days, due seemingly in its origin to a misreading of Perey and Maugras,² those biographers of the intimate life of Voltaire at Les Délices and at Ferney, has been repeated in the last few years by a popular American writer, Mr. Will Durant,³ as also by Philip Littell in his Introduction to the Modern Library translation, and has thus been given a rather wide currency. The story in that form seems to have nothing in its favor but its picturesqueness. Even Formey, who gave the earliest and until recently the only known contemporary testimony, claimed merely that Voltaire began the novel during his stay at Schwetzingen, the summer

¹ For several very valuable suggestions in connection with this article, I am indebted to Professor Ira O. Wade of Princeton University, who very kindly read it in manuscript.

² Perey and Maugras, *La Vie intime de Voltaire aux Délices et à Ferney*, Paris, 1885, pp. 241-42.

³ Will Durant, *The Story of Philosophy*, New York, 1926, p. 248. *Candide*, By Voltaire. Introduction by Philip Littell. The Modern Library, New York [1918], pp. vii, ix. Victor Thaddeus, in his *Voltaire, Genius of Mockery*, New York, 1928, discreetly extends the period of composition to "a few days," but manages to advance the date of publication by a year (p. 202).

palace of Charles-Theodore, Elector of the Palatinate, during the month of July, 1758, and took away with him on his departure "ce qu'il avoit fait de *Candide*,"⁴ after reading aloud to his host the chapters as they were composed from day to day. In modern times M. Morize in his Introduction to the critical edition of the novel has shown by internal evidence that it was written, probably not earlier than July, certainly not later than December, and possibly not after the first week in September, 1758.⁵ Still more recently Mr. Torrey has discovered the very definite statement of Voltaire's secretary, Wagnière, that he did in fact make what he calls "la première copie" of his master's work in July, 1758, at Schwetzingen⁶ for the Elector Charles-Theodore, thus agreeing with Formey at least in part on this point, though showing him wrong as to Voltaire's alleged rude treatment of his host.

The question naturally arises as to how long Voltaire remained at Schwetzingen. Desnoiresterres says that the author of *Candide* arrived at the summer palace of the Elector on July 16⁷ and that Voltaire "annonçait son départ pour le lundi 7 août."⁸ This latter statement is found in a letter of Voltaire to Colini on August 2, in which the great Frenchman told his former secretary that he expected to meet him in Strasbourg on the evening of August 7. The seventy-five or eighty mile journey from Schwetzingen to Strasbourg could presumably have been made in a day by coach and Desnoiresterres does in fact give Strasbourg as Voltaire's first stop. Thus the "quinzaine de jours" mentioned elsewhere by Desnoiresterres⁹ as the duration of Voltaire's stay with the Elector and apparently accepted hitherto without question should according to his own reckoning be rather a period of *three* weeks. As a matter of fact, however, in a letter as early as July 9, not mentioned by Desnoiresterres, Voltaire says: "Je

⁴ Quoted by Desnoiresterres, *Voltaire aux Délices*, Paris, 1875, p. 292. Formey states: "C'est ce que m'a raconté et certifié l'envoyé de Saxe qui étoit alors à la cour de Munich, et qui est encore en vie, lorsque j'écris ceci."

⁵ André Morize, *Candide*, édition critique, Paris, 1913 (reprinted, 1931), p. ix.

⁶ Norman L. Torrey, "The Date of Composition of *Candide*, and Voltaire's Corrections," *MLN.*, XLIV (Nov., 1929), 446.

⁷ Desnoiresterres, *op. cit.*, 291, n. 2, and Moland, XXXIX, 468.

⁸ Desnoiresterres, 294, and Moland, XXXIX, 478.

⁹ Desnoiresterres, 293.

suis depuis quelques jours chez l'électeur palatin."¹⁰ It is of course possible, though of no great consequence, that the Elector at this date may still have been at his winter capital of Mannheim for which Voltaire was to have departed on or before June 30, when his journey was delayed on account of the arrival of Mme du Bocage.¹¹ The matter is still further complicated by the wording of Voltaire's statement above referred to under date of July 16: "Je n'arrive que dans ce moment à Schwetzingen, . . . ayant été assez longtemps malade en chemin."¹² Is the letter of July 9 incorrectly dated, was Voltaire perhaps detained by illness at Mannheim, or was he merely offering an excuse for delay in replying to the Duchess of Saxe-Gotha? The question is obscure. In any case, Voltaire may have passed a full month with the Elector at this time and certainly he spent at least three weeks, perhaps more, of his stay at Schwetzingen.

It is important to go into these, perhaps tiresome, details in order to date as accurately as possible Voltaire's visit in the Palatinate since an additional week or two there makes the statements that *Candide* was composed at the palace of the Elector, Charles-Theodore, more plausible than if the whole work on this masterpiece, including an additional manuscript copy by Wagnière for Voltaire's host, had to be compressed into a single fortnight along with the festivities which would naturally attend his stay.¹³ Even *Zaïre*, one of Voltaire's *tours de force* in respect to com-

¹⁰ Moland, xxxix, 466.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 463.

¹² *Ibid.*, 468.

¹³ "On se réjouit à Schwetzingen," wrote Voltaire to Colini, "comme on faisait quand nous y séjournâmes en 1753." (Letter of August 2, 1758; Moland, xxxix, 478.) Of their 1753 visit, Colini wrote: "Les fêtes se succédaient, et le bon goût leur donnait un agrément toujours nouveau. La chasse, l'opéra bouffon, les comédies françaises, des concerts exécutés par les premiers virtuoses de l'Europe, faisaient du palais électoral un séjour délicieux pour les étrangers de distinction ou de mérite, qui y trouvaient en outre l'accueil le plus cordial et le plus flatteur. . . . Tous les jours, après le dîner, Charles-Théodore avait dans son cabinet, un entretien avec Voltaire. Celui-ci lisait un de ses ouvrages, ou dissertait sur la littérature." (Come-Alexandre Colini, *Mon séjour auprès de Voltaire*, Paris, 1807, pp. 106, 107.) Unfortunately, Colini was not with him in 1758 to give an account of Voltaire's second visit, but in view of the latter's comment quoted at the beginning of this note it is probable that life at Schwetzingen was little changed. Even the industrious Voltaire must have found it difficult to work as assiduously as usual.

bined excellence and speed, is said to have taken three weeks for the first draft alone¹⁴ and, if the much later play *Olympie* was written in six days, "en comptant un peu les nuits,"¹⁵ it gave clear signs of undue haste in composition and required many months of toilsome revision before becoming even moderately acceptable.

Candide is eighty-one pages long in the Moland edition. At six pages a day, the rate attributed to Maupassant, also an exceptionally rapid and sure writer,¹⁶ it would have taken thirteen and a half days for the composition of the whole novel. Wagnière could hardly have copied it at a maximum speed greater than three of these pages in Moland an hour, or twenty-seven hours for the entire manuscript. Thus it would have taken him at least two days, or, if he worked more normal hours, three and a half to four days, to make his copy for Charles-Theodore. Part of this time of course could have been simultaneous with Voltaire's work of composition. These are only estimates and Voltaire may have worked even faster than seems possible. It is clear, however, that it is most difficult to conceive of the whole of *Candide* as composed and copied in the short space of two weeks.

If now we re-examine the statement of Perey and Maugras referred to at the beginning of this article and interpreted as saying that *Candide* was composed in three days (a manifest impossibility), we see at once that it has been rather generally misread.¹⁷ This statement is worded as follows:

Peu après l'acquisition de ses châteaux, Voltaire termina *Candide*, qu'il avait commencé pendant son séjour chez l'électeur palatin. Il mit tant d'ardeur à l'achever, qu'il s'enferma pendant trois jours, ne voulant ouvrir sa porte que pour laisser passer ses repas et son café, qu'il prenait toujours en grande quantité. Le quatrième jour, madame Denis, effrayée, força la consigne; son oncle lui jeta à la figure le manuscrit qu'il venait d'achever et lui dit: "Tenez, curieuse, voilà pour vous."¹⁸

¹⁴ Moland, II, 533.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, XII, 483.

¹⁶ E. Maynial, *La Vie et l'œuvre de Guy de Maupassant*, Paris, 1907, p. 123.

¹⁷ In his quotation M. Morize has omitted the significant first sentence and the first clause of the second. Thus the all-important words, *termina*, *commencé*, *achever*, do not appear, and the sense, by implication, is radically altered. Cf. Morize, *op. cit.*, p. viii, n. 1.

¹⁸ Perey and Maugras, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-42. The anecdote is repeated,

The worst feature of this statement is that it is given by Perey and Maugras absolutely without supporting evidence for its authenticity. It is not, however, upon examination unduly sensational or inherently impossible. In fact it agrees in essentials with that of Formey, who had said that Voltaire *began* the novel at Schwetzingen and on leaving took away with him what he had completed of the manuscript.¹⁹ Perey and Maugras do not say that Voltaire *wrote* *Candide* in three days. They say that he *finished* in three days the novel which he had *begun* while visiting the Elector. Such a statement is entirely plausible. If it is accepted, it means that *Candide* was finished at Les Délices where Mme Denis had stayed during Voltaire's absence in the Palatinate, which he left, as we have seen, on August 7.²⁰ Wagnière's reference to a "première copie" implies a later "deuxième copie," which would evidently in any case be needed for the printer, since the first copy was written for Charles-Theodore and presumably left with him. Hence, it is possible to give still another interpretation to the careless statement of Perey and Maugras and conclude that Voltaire quickly revised on his return to Les Délices the first draft made, and tentatively completed, at Schwetzingen. On his return journey from the Palatinate, Voltaire reached Lausanne by August 24 or earlier.²¹ By the 28th at the latest he was once more back at Les Délices near Geneva.²² If he thus finished, or revised, *Candide* in haste shortly after his return, the time accords exactly with M. Morize's theory, arrived at independently by internal evidence, that the novel was perhaps finished about the first week in September.²³

in abbreviated form and with an erroneous reference to Ferney, by H. Tronchin in *Le conseiller François Tronchin et ses amis* (Paris, 1895, p. 167): "A peine installé à Ferney, il termine en trois jours *Candide*."

¹⁹ Desnoiresterres, *op. cit.*, 292.

²⁰ Moland, xxxix, 478. On Mme Denis' remaining behind at Les Délices during Voltaire's absence, cf. Moland, xxxix, 458.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 481.

²² *Ibid.*, 483, 484.

²³ A. Morize, *op. cit.*, p. ix. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 168-69. M. Morize believes also that the latter part of the novel, much less documented, less patiently composed, moves along far more rapidly than the first, seemingly the work of a man now sure of his material and ready to bring the book to a prompt conclusion. The break is put after Chapter XXII, the chapter dealing with the Périgourdin mentioned in derogatory terms by Grimm.

Possibly *Candide* was, as M. Morize says,²⁴ whether written in three months, in three weeks, or in three days, "une improvisation," but there is no reason for exaggerating beyond the bounds of probability, as some writers have done, Voltaire's well-known facility. Certainly the lack of basis for the legend of complete composition in three days has already been sufficiently exposed.

Indeed it is well to remember, in connection with the question of "improvisation," M. Lanson's brief characterization of *Scarmentado*, published in 1756 after the Lisbon earthquake,²⁵ as a sort of preliminary sketch of *Candide*.²⁶ M. Morize also has pointed out in more detail parallels between the two works. There are still other similarities which appear not to have been previously indicated. Not only the general framework of the rapid voyage of adventure and disillusion, common to most of Voltaire's *contes philosophiques*, ties *Scarmentado* and *Candide* together, but many of the same countries are visited in both, France, England, Spain, Holland, Turkey, North Africa.²⁷ The situation of the lady Fatelo between three suitors, *Scarmentado*, and the Reverend Fathers Poignardini and Aconiti, exactly parallels that of Cunégonde amid the Grand Inquisitor, Don Issachar, and *Candide*. The execution of Barneveldt strikes the eyes of *Scarmentado* on his arrival in Holland just as that of Admiral Byng horrifies *Candide* disembarking in England. Notre Dame d'Atocha, Mulei-Ismael are referred to in both. The experiences of *Scarmentado* with the Inquisition resemble strikingly, even to the language used for their narration, those of *Candide*.²⁸ In both novels there are

(Cf. *ibid.*, p. lvi.) Thus this so-called latter part would begin with Chapter XXIII or XXIV and there would remain only seven or eight brief chapters to finish. This is a matter of some twenty pages in Moland which might certainly have been composed during a three-day period. Such a break is, however, by no means sufficiently definite to furnish basis for a positive argument on this point, and M. Morize indeed makes no application of it to the present discussion. Moreover, Voltaire while still at Schwetzingen, anxious to finish his work, feeling further documentation unnecessary, might have brought it to a prompt conclusion there before his return home.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. viii.

²⁵ Cf. Moland, *xxi*, p. xi, and Bengesco, *Bibliographie de Voltaire*, Paris, 1882-90, I, 443.

²⁶ G. Lanson, *Voltaire*, Grands Ecrivains français, p. 150.

²⁷ A. Morize, *op. cit.*, p. lii.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

the *devils* and the *flames* painted on the costumes of the victims of the Auto-da-fé. In *Scarmentado*, there are "des chrétiens qui avaient épousé leurs commères";²⁹ in *Candide*, as M. Morize indicates,³⁰ the detail becomes more precise; it is "un Biscayen convaincu d'avoir épousé sa commère."³¹ The "cachot très frais" of *Scarmentado* becomes the more piquant "des appartements d'une extrême fraîcheur"³² of *Candide*. Of his treatment by the Inquisition, *Scarmentado* says: "J'en fus quitte pour la discipline,"³³ and *Candide* is released after being "fessé en cadence."³⁴ Both works have reference to a dispute over "la manière de faire la révérence."³⁵ Both bring in the African corsairs and their victims.³⁶ A reference in *Scarmentado* to "une espèce de terre jaune qui par elle-même n'est bonne à rien"³⁷ appears to be the first hint of the precious pebbles and the yellow mud which arouse the covetousness of *Candide* and *Cacambo* in *El Dorado*. *Scarmentado* was born in *Candide*, whose similarity in sound may or may not have suggested to Voltaire the appropriate title *Candide* chosen for the later novel. In any case the parallels are sufficiently numerous and definite to show a real connection in Voltaire's mind between the two works. Evidently *Candide* is a more complete working out of the brief sketch known as the *Histoire des voyages de Scarmentado*, which occupies therefore a somewhat special place among the numerous parallels and sources of *Candide* to be found in other works of Voltaire himself.

A still further inspiration for *Candide* may perhaps be found, as has been casually proposed by Mr. William R. Price,³⁸ in an interesting suggestion of Frederick the Great, contained in a letter to Voltaire of March, 1758:

²⁹ Moland, *xxi*, 127.

³⁰ Morize, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Moland, *xxi*, 128.

³⁴ Morize, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

³⁵ Moland, *xxi*, 130. Morize, *op. cit.*, 120. "Cacambo demanda à un grand Officier comment il fallait s'y prendre pour saluer sa Majesté."

³⁶ Moland, *xxi*, 131; Morize, pp. 60 ff.

³⁷ Moland, *xxi*, 131; Morize, 108, 110, 119, 124.

³⁸ William R. Price, *The Symbolism of Voltaire's Novels*, New York, 1911, p. 11, where the application is, however, barely mentioned and is left undeveloped.

Si vous vouliez faire un *Akakia*, vous auriez bonne matière en recueillant les sottises qui se font dans notre bonne Europe. Les gens méritent d'être fessés, et non pas mon pauvre président, qui pourrait avoir fait un livre sans beaucoup l'examiner; mais ce livre n'a fait ni ne fera jamais dans le monde le mal que font les sottises héroïques des politiques. S'il vous reste encore une dent, employez-la à les mordre; c'est bien employé.³⁹

Thus Frederick invites Voltaire to write a more general satire, not like the *Diatribes du Docteur Akakia* (1752) directed against the President of his Academy, Maupertuis, but aimed at the follies of the human race in general and particularly at the "sottises héroïques des politiques," responsible for the Seven Years' War, which had already caused Voltaire to shudder in horror at so much human butchery⁴⁰ and had brought Frederick to despair even of his own life.⁴¹ The application of this passage to *Candide*, if there is an application, must of course be general, but no more could be expected nor would more be needed to urge Voltaire's train of thought along a line in which his mind for years had been more and more tending. The fact that the Seven Years' War does play an important part in the early pages of *Candide* should be recalled in this connection, and certainly, whether weight is to be attached to it or not, "les gens" figuratively, as well as Candide and Pangloss literally, are "fessés" in a way calculated to satisfy Frederick's request to the full.⁴²

If Frederick did in this way furnish a further inspiration for the little masterpiece which was to become *Candide*, then it is probable that Voltaire from time to time during the spring turned over in his mind the copious materials already lodged in his memory as a result of his extensive reading for the *Essai sur les mœurs*, recalled, too, his bitter experiences in Germany and elsewhere, mulled over the Lisbon earthquake and his exasperation concerning Rousseau and the argument regarding Providence, dwelt again over some of the incidents treated so incompletely in *Scarmantado* and found them worthy of fuller development, perhaps set pen to paper even in June before he left Les Délices,⁴³ and finally completed his work,

³⁹ Moland, xxxix, 434.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 224-25, 449-50.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 250 (Aug., 1757), 256, 274, 276-77, 291, 292.

⁴² Cf. *Ibid.*, I, 350, and more particularly, xl, 82.

⁴³ Note that the phrase "ce globe ou plutôt ce globule," nearly identical with that in Voltaire's letter to Diderot of June 26, 1758 (Moland, xxxix, 462), occurs in *Candide* as late as Chapter XX. Cf. Morize, p. ix.

perhaps during the three or four weeks, instead of two formerly supposed to be the length of his stay in the Palatinate with Charles-Theodore, or possibly wrote a great part of it at Schwetzingen, but finished the last seven or eight chapters out of the total thirty on his return to Les Délices at the end of August. Still another possibility, agreeing in substance with the testimony of all witnesses, is that Voltaire revised at Les Délices the manuscript already completed in its first draft at Schwetzingen.

There are many uncertainties here still and we must be content with probabilities. It is inexcusable that Perey and Maugras should have reported their story without indication of its source—if any. Perhaps, if such a source exists, some one will yet come upon it. Possibly there is somewhere a common source for the story reported by Formey and that reported by Perey and Maugras, since they correspond in essentials. Perhaps Formey and his “envoyé de Saxe,”⁴⁴ embroidered upon by Perey and Maugras, are that source. The fact that Voltaire in his voluminous correspondence does not mention *Candide* until after its publication in February, 1759,⁴⁵ leaves us without definite information from the author as to the circumstances and the time of its composition and shows that he himself considered it only as a “bagatelle”, unworthy of the detailed serious comment given his plays and his philosophical poems. Prudence, too, no doubt played its part in this complete silence.⁴⁶

This discussion has corrected the rather general misinterpretation of the statement of Perey and Maugras relative to the *finishing* of *Candide* in three days; it has shown that Voltaire stayed with the Elector, Charles-Theodore, possibly a full month, or at any rate three weeks, instead of the two weeks previously supposed, thus considerably increasing the length of time available for writing *Candide* at Schwetzingen according to the combined testimony of Formey, Wagnière, and Perey and Maugras. It leaves unsolved, for lack of evidence, the question of whether Wagnière meant to imply—writing after the lapse of nearly thirty

⁴⁴ See above, footnote 4.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. viii.

⁴⁶ Beuchot mentions a manuscript of *Candide* as having been sent to the Duchess de la Vallière, but gives no reference in proof. Moland, *xxi*, p. xii.

years⁴⁷ may have somewhat dulled his recollection of the circumstances—that he copied the *completed* manuscript of *Candide* at Schwetzingen or only a large part of it. With this exception, our discussion harmonizes the statements of Formey, Perey and Maugras, Wagnière, and the deductions of M. Morize. It recalls the fact that a kind of first sketch of *Candide* is to be found in *Scarmentado* of 1756 and indicates that a further inspiration for *Candide* may have been furnished by Frederick in March, 1758. Finally, it suggests the possibility that a great part of *Candide*, extending perhaps through Chapters XXII or XXIII,⁴⁸ was composed at Schwetzingen in July, 1758, but that the work was finished, or perhaps merely revised, at Les Délices toward the end of August or during the first week of September after Voltaire's return. The twenty pages or so of these last chapters could indeed have been composed, or the whole work revised, at white heat in three days.

GEORGE R. HAVENS

Ohio State University

VOLTAIRE: BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ITEMS (*Essay upon the Civil Wars . . . and Epick Poetry; Alzire*).

Voltaire's *Essay upon the Civil Wars of France . . . and . . . upon the Epick Poetry of the European Nations* first appeared in 1727, in London, and was published in French in 1728 (*Epic Poetry*) and in 1729 (*Civil Wars*). Bengesco in his *Voltaire Bibliography*¹ speaks of various reprintings of the English text and continues:

Enfin une édition de 1760, imprimée à Dublin (in -8 de 82 pp.; British Museum, 9225 aa) est précédée d'une notice sur Voltaire par J.S.D.D.D. S.P.D. (Jonathan Swift, Doyen de Saint Patrick, à Dublin).

In a note Bengesco adds:

Cette notice, très courte d'ailleurs, doit avoir été écrite par Swift vers 1731 ou 1732.

⁴⁷ Wagnière's statement for the information of Catherine the Great was made toward 1785 or 1787. See *RHL.*, III, 328, 529, 530, and IV, 79.

⁴⁸ See above, footnote 23.

¹ Vol. II, No. 1551.

There has been considerable speculation about this notice and about Dublin editions of the *Essay*. J. C. Collins² describes the little book and remarks:

Its popularity is sufficiently attested by the fact that in 1760 it was reprinted at Dublin, with a short notice attributed, but attributed erroneously, to Swift, who had of course been long dead.

Emile Pons³ states that an edition of the *Essay* was published in Dublin in 1740⁴ with "une très courte notice . . . écrite, nous informe l'éditeur, en 1728."

Professor Florence D. White⁵ thinks there may have been a Dublin edition published in 1728. She quotes the *Short Account of the Author*, the attribution of which to Swift she like Bengesco and Pons accepts, and then remarks:

Clearly this somewhat inaccurate account was written at the beginning of 1728 before the publication of the subscription edition of the *Henriade* in March. It was shortly before this that Voltaire had sent Swift a copy of the first edition of the essays and had asked his help in gathering subscriptions. It is entirely reasonable to suppose that Swift conceived the idea of reprinting the essays in Ireland as an easy way of interesting the Irish public in Voltaire's epic. The tone of the preface shows that the writer wishes to advertise the poet and the poem. The edition of the essays published in 1760, fifteen years after Swift's death, is probably merely a reprint of a 1728 edition now lost.

With less detail of argument A. Ballantyne also suggests a 1728 Dublin edition and then remarks: "It is fair, however, to add that Voltaire's bibliographers are not acquainted with any such edition."⁶

The event proves that Miss White and Mr. Ballantyne have made an exceedingly shrewd guess. It happens that the John Carter Brown Library in Providence possesses a copy, possibly a unique copy, of the very edition which they imagine to have existed. The title page reads as follows:

² *Bolingbroke, and Voltaire in England*, pp. 220-224.

³ *Swift, les Années de Jeunesse et le "Conte du Tonneau"*, Oxford, 1925, p. 40, note 2.

⁴ A misprint for 1760? There seems to be no mention anywhere else of a 1740 edition.

⁵ *Voltaire's Essay on Epic Poetry*, Bryn Mawr dissertation, 1915, p. 10.

⁶ *Voltaire's Visit to England*, p. 115. Cf. also Foulet, *Correspondance de Voltaire (1726-1729)*, p. 111, note 1.

An | Essay | upon the | Civil Wars | of France | extracted from curious Manuscripts. | And also upon the | Epick Poetry | of the | European Nations | from Homer down to Milton. | With a short account of the Author. | By Mr. de Voltaire. |

Dublin: | Printed by and for J. Hyde, Bookseller in Dames- | Street, MDCXXVIII.

The book is in -8, with 5 pp. unnumbered (A Short Account of the Author; Advertisement to the Reader), plus 20 pp. (1-20: History of the Civil Wars), plus 56 pp. (21-76: An Essay on Epick Poetry). It is quite possible, as Miss White suggests, that the 1760 edition is merely a reprint of this 1728 edition. In any case in 1760 not only the title page but the *Short Account*, as shown by differences in punctuation, italics and capitals, is new. It is affirmed by M. Pons that Voltaire definitely asked Dean Swift for a preface. But the request is certainly not explicit in the letter to which Pons refers.⁷ It seems likely that here again Miss White, with her theory about the initiative taken by Swift, is close to the exact facts.

Voltaire's *Alzire ou les Américains* was first published in 1736 in Paris. Bengesco (Vol. I, Nos. 106-117) lists twelve editions from 1736 to 1849, but makes no mention of a 1736 printing issued in London "chez Charles Hoguel, et Compagnie, Libraires dans le Strand, à l'Enseigne de Juvenal." The John Carter Brown Library possesses a copy of this printing,⁸ and also a Dutch translation of *Alzire* published in Amsterdam in 1781.

HORATIO SMITH

Brown University

⁷ This letter, as Miss White indicates (p. 6, note 2), is published in "a rather inaccurate French translation" in the Garnier edition of Voltaire (xxxiii, p. 175) "with no indication of the original's having been written in English." Cf. Foulet, *op. cit.*, 109-112.

⁸ It corresponds very closely to the edition published in 1736 in Amsterdam (Bengesco, No. 108) and may well have been printed in Holland for English distribution.

VOLTAIRE, A SOURCE FOR HUGO'S *SULTAN MOURAD*

Sultan Mourad has always been an enigma in the work of Hugo. It is a particular source of annoyance to those admirers of Hugo whose sense of good taste in literature is shocked by the lack of restraint it manifests. Surely there is no more astounding paradox in all literature than that of this blood-thirsty sultan who, after sabering the world, becomes an angel in heaven through the intervention of a pig which the sultan had kicked into the shade one day as it lay covered with flies and bleeding to death in the hot sun. The moral, according to Hugo, is that a "succored pig outweighs a slaughtered world."

Where could such an idea have come from? P. Berret, in his interesting book, *le Moyen Age dans "la Légende des siècles,"* has a section devoted to *Sultan Mourad*, but he does not explain the origin of this idea.

There is a passage in Voltaire's *Essai sur les mœurs*¹ which might have given Hugo the inspiration for the poem. Zoroaster is being shown the wicked in hell:

Il y voit plusieurs rois, un entre autres auquel il manquait un pied;
il en demande à Dieu la raison; Dieu lui répond: "Ce roi pervers n'a
fait qu'une action de bonté en sa vie. Il vit, en allant à la chasse, un
dromadaire qui était lié trop loin de son auge, et qui, voulant y manger,
ne pouvait y atteindre; il approcha l'auge d'un coup de pied: j'ai mis
son pied dans le ciel, tout le reste est ici."

In Hugo's poem God insists upon the one good act of Sultan Mourad as He admits him to heaven. The great Judge says to the sultan:

Tu penchais sur l'abîme où l'homme est châtié;
Mais tu viens d'avoir, monstre, un éclair de pitié;
Une lueur suprême et désintéressée
A, comme à ton insu, traversé ta pensée,
Et je t'ai fait mourir dans ton bon mouvement; . . .
Un seul instant d'amour rouvre l'éden fermé;
Un pourceau secouru pèse un monde opprimé; . . .
Viens! tu fus bon un jour, sois à jamais heureux.

All due allowances made for the free rein Hugo would give to his romantic imagination, it is reasonable to suppose that he was originally inspired by Voltaire, and borrowed a theme from a

¹ Moland edition, XI, 198.

Zoroastrian legend to use in a poem dealing with Arabian ethics. This kind of freedom in manipulating source material is frequent with him. Hugo would be quick to see that a charitable act toward a bleeding pig would be more striking than one toward a thirsty camel.

C. WESLEY BIRD

Princeton, New Jersey

CHATEAUBRIAND "LE CHANTRE D'ODÉRAHI"

Several "chateaubriandistes"¹ have already devoted able and adequate studies to an anonymous novel, published a few years before *Atala* and bearing striking resemblance to it, entitled *Odérahi, Histoire américaine, contenant une peinture fidelle des mœurs des habitans de l'intérieur de l'Amérique Septentrionale. Odérahi est la sœur aînée d'Atala* (Paris, chez Boiste, Pichard, Desenne. s. d. ix + 261 pp. in-12°). The authorship of *Odérahi* constitutes an interesting problem. It has been suggested that Palisot de Beauvais is the author.² The fact is pointed out that Chateaubriand, without crudely plagiarizing, owed much to *Odérahi*.³ That Chateaubriand was declared, by some of his contemporaries (rightly or wrongly), to be the author of this long forgotten novel, has not been brought to light.

The popularity of *Atala* created a greater demand for similar stories. It was because of this that *Odérahi*, which had first appeared in 1794 as one of a series of episodes grouped under the title *Les Veillées américaines*, emerged from its merited obscurity after 1800,⁴ and was even translated into German and Spanish.

¹ G. Chinard, "Une sœur aînée d'Atala," *Revue bleue*, 21 décembre 1912; *L'exotisme américain dans l'œuvre de Chateaubriand*, Paris, Hachette, 1918 (cf. pp. 139-60); V. Giraud, "Les Veillées américaines," *Revue bleue*, 1er février 1913; P. Hazard, "L'Auteur d'Odérahi," *R.L.C.*, juin-juillet, 1923, pp. 407-418.

² See P. Hazard, *loc. cit.*

³ "Les ressemblances sont telles qu'il ne nous paraît pas possible de dire simplement que ces idées étaient dans l'air et que les deux auteurs ne se sont point connus." G. Chinard, *L'exotisme américain dans l'œuvre de Chateaubriand*, p. 159.

⁴ See Giraud, *loc. cit.*, p. 154. *Odérahi* was reedited in 1800 and again in 1804.

We were able to consult two editions of the German translation entitled: *Oderahi, eine Amerikanische Erzählung. Seitenstück zur Atala. Von demselben Verfasser. aus dem Französischen übersetzt* (Berlin, G. W. Müller, 1803, x + 417 pp. in-12°). A copy of one may be found at the British Museum (No. 12512.b17) and of the other at the Preussische Staatsbibliothek at Berlin.⁵ How far we may accept this testimony as to the authorship of *Odérahî*, we do not know. It may simply be an unethical, but much practised device on the part of a foreign publisher to capitalize the vogue for a popular work. It may be that the extraordinary similarity between the two stories led the German translator and publisher to believe that they were both by the same writer. Chateaubriand's name, however, is not mentioned. The editor's preface in the French edition of *Odérahî* is reproduced with one pertinent omission, namely, that *Atala* and *Odérahî* "are of the same muse but of a different father." Evidently, the German translator had reasons to attribute to Chateaubriand the paternity denied him by the French publisher.⁶

In 1812 appeared a scathing satire on Chateaubriand's work entitled *Saint-Géran ou la nouvelle langue française. Anecdote récente. Suivie de L'Itinéraire de Lutèce au Mont Valérien, en suivant le fleuve Séquanien et revenant par le Mont des Martyrs. Petite parodie d'un grand voyage* (2^e edition, Bruxelles, Weissenbach, 1812, 139 pp. in-12°), by Ch. Louis Cadet de Gassicourt. A rabid opponent of the new romantic tendencies, Cadet holds up to ridicule the sentimentality, the verbosity, the pompousness of Chateaubriand, whom he finds too declamatory, "dénudé de fond" and full of "phrases boursoufflées, des alliances de mots barbares, des détails ridicules, des images burlesques" (p. iii). Cadet parodies each of Chateaubriand's works. In *Atala* he finds that Chactas is neither French nor savage, that is, "moitié l'un moitié l'autre. Aussi quand il veut parler français, nous croyons qu'il

⁵ Another edition exists at the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek at Königsberg, "*abgesehen von einer französischen,*" which we were unable to consult.

⁶ Cf. "Avis de l'Editeur: toutes deux ont eu pour mère la muse qui aime à peindre les hommes de la Nature; elles n'ont pas, il est vrai, le même père; encore se trouve-t-il beaucoup de ressemblance entre les deux amans de cette muse." (p. v.)

est Iroquois." Of the author of *Le Génie* he says mockingly, "il a pleuré et il a cru." *Les Martyrs* is history "romancée."

Most pertinent, however, are Cadet's frequent references to *Odérachi*. He refers three times as often to the latter as he does to *Atala*. One is given implicitly to believe that *Odérachi*, which he admits "fort antérieur" and "du même genre" as *Atala*, is by the same author.⁷

In the following passage from Cadet's parody of Chateaubriand's *Itinéraire*, we find Maisonerne being received, during his journey to the Mont des Martyrs, by Nyctophile, who exclaims (p. 91):

Quoi, . . . j'ai l'honneur de posséder dans mon ermitage le célèbre écrivain qui, en ouvrant toutes les sources du sentiment a su en inonder toutes les âmes, le chantre d'Odérachi! J'ai lu, monsieur, j'ai dévoré votre admirable livre; il sera le rêve de ma vie entière; il est l'optique de mon bonheur.

If the details given above do not prove conclusively that the author of the two novels were one and the same person, they are, nevertheless, significant in revealing the literary repercussions of *Atala* as well as adding new data toward determining the authorship of *Odérachi*.

MAURICE CHAZIN

Johns Hopkins University

LOST STAGE DIRECTIONS IN ORRERY'S PLAYS

During the first decade of Charles II's reign the "heroic plays" of Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, were so fashionable and hence so widely esteemed that numerous persons made transcripts of the texts before the plays appeared in print. Consequently there are still extant considerably more manuscripts of Orrery's pieces than of any other Restoration playwright. Upon examination they are found to offer undeniable evidence that Orrery's lines were occasionally both improved and garbled by the time publication was accomplished. In the case of *Mustapha* and *Tryphon* the existing manuscripts make an even more interesting contribution. A hitherto perplexing passage of dialogue in each play is at last clearly illuminated by the manuscript texts, which supply stage directions

⁷For citations from *Odérachi*, see pp. 23, 91, 107, 129-130.

mistakenly omitted from the printed versions. Indeed the manuscript directions afford not only a proper understanding of the necessary stage business, but they also constitute additional significant illustrations of the curious Restoration practices in scene-drawing.

In *Mustapha*, the sixth scene of Act V presents Solyman, the Turkish sultan, in his pavilion. At his command the execution of his son, Mustapha, for alleged treason, has been completed shortly before in the inner room of the royal tent. There the corpse still lies. Solyman is now awaiting the coming of his other son, Zanger, that he may inform the latter of the deed, and of its political consequences. On Zanger's entrance, father and son exchange a few words, and then Solyman says:

Behold then the revenge which I did take
On him who kept me many Months awake.¹

In the printed editions no stage directions appear at this point; yet Zanger replies to his father's unstated revelation:

My Brother dead? You have the world bereft
Of much more Virtue then is in it left!²

After several more lines of eulogy the printed text contains the surprising direction, "*Zanger goes towards Mustapha.*"³ While so doing he laments thus:

Ah Loyal Prince! till death does close my Eyes,
Accept these Tears, my Friendships Sacrifice!⁴

It is obvious from the foregoing excerpts of dialogue that somehow the corpse of Mustapha must have appeared on the scene and the sight of the corpse must have prompted the first outburst of the hitherto ignorant Zanger,—“My Brother dead?” Nevertheless the printed text offers not the slightest clue as to the manner of this stage business.

An examination, however, of the three extant *Mustapha* manuscripts makes clear at once the whole situation. After Solyman's speech, “Behold, etc.,” and before Zanger's exclamation, MS. EL 11641 (Huntington Library) reads: “The Scene opens and shews Mustapha sitting dead on a Couch att which Zanger starts back.”

¹ F₁ (1668), p. 59.

² F₁ (1668), p. 59.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

B. M. Add. Ms. 29280 contains this selfsame description: "The scene opens and shows Mustapha sitting dead on a Couch: At w^{ch} sight Zanger starts back." The identical direction is also given by Ms. Rawl. poet 27 (Bodleian Library): "The scene opens and shows Mustapha sitting dead on a Couch: at which sight Zanger starts back."

The complete handling of this scene is thus finally revealed by the manuscripts. As Solyman addresses Zanger with "Behold then the revenge," etc., he steps backward from the apron into the "House" as if to draw aside the hangings before the inner room of the tent. Simultaneously the back flats of the pavilion scene are drawn apart to represent the removal of the tent curtains and to bring to view the inner room where Mustapha's corpse reposes on a couch located deep upstage. At this sight Zanger cries out "My Brother dead?". Here then is a vivid example of the old Elizabethan "discovery" done in the Restoration manner, but, strangely enough, left undescribed in the published text of *Mustapha*.

In *Tryphon*, the last scene of Act V presents the royal chamber in the palace of Tryphon, the usurper. During the course of the scene "Tryphon goes to an elevated Place like a Throne", situated apparently just in front of the scene flats quite far upstage, "seats himself in it, then draws a Ponyard", and finally stabs himself when Seleucus, Demetrius, and Nicanor break into the apartment to do him violence. Immediately afterwards, the faithful servant, Arcas, also kills himself and falls at Tryphon's feet. At this point Cleopatra, Stratonice, Hermione, and Irene enter to perceive the bloody end of the tyrant. The following dialogue and action are then given in the printed text.⁴

Seleucus: See where he now Pale as his Guilt does Lye.
(*They all goe towards the dead Body.*)

Cleopatra: This sight at once my Joy and Grief does raise.

Stratonice: Tis an ignoble Triumph thus to gaze;
Sir, let his Body be from hence convey'd;
He by his Death for all his Crimes has paid.

The published version contains no evidence that Stratonice's request for the removal of Tryphon's corpse was ever complied with. Seleucus makes the next speech and takes up a line of thought which has no direct connection with the words of Stratonice. He says:

⁴ F₁ (1669), p. 54.

Since by the justice done by Tryphon's hand,
The throne of *Syria* does now empty stand . . .
I judge *Nicanor* should the throne ascend.

Yet, in the light of subsequent developments, the corpses of Tryphon and Arcas obviously were not intended to remain on the scene until the end of the play. How were they removed from view? No attendants of the noble personages present are mentioned at any time, so that the silence of the printed edition cannot be taken to imply the carrying out of Stratonice's command by servants who were standing by.

The two extant manuscripts of *Tryphon*, both in the Bodleian Library, supply the solution to the problem of the stage business in this situation. After Stratonice's lines MS. Malone 11 inserts the following direction: "A Curtaine is drawn afore the dead bodyes." MS. Rawl. poet. 39 reads almost identically at the same point: "A Curtaine is drawne before Tryphon and Arcas." It is plain, then, that the playwright planned for the corpses to vanish from the scene as soon as Stratonice had spoken her request. The suggested use of "a curtain" (presumably the stage curtain is not the one in mind since "the curtain falls" at the end of the play) is so unusual for the Restoration period that it almost certainly was not literally followed in the performance of *Tryphon* at the Duke's Theatre. By "a curtain" Orrery possibly visualised scene flats resembling chamber hangings when drawn shut. In any case, what quite surely occurred on the stage was the closing of a pair of shutters in front of the throne and the corpses. Thus Seleucus, Cleopatra, Stratonice, and the others, are left still conversing in the royal apartments, but the visible reminders of the bloodshed have been completely and swiftly removed in obedience to Stratonice's command. The simple expedient of drawing together the flats took the place of the awkward and distracting actions by court attendants in the Elizabethan theatre. The smooth efficacy of the Restoration method may be admired despite its evident unnaturalness. Once more in *Tryphon*, as in *Mustapha*, a most significant and necessary employment of the highly artificial mode of scene-drawing is passed over without mention in the printed version. Again one wonders what strange turn of chance caused these important omissions from Orrery's published texts.

WYCHERLEY, MONTAIGNE, TERTULLIAN, AND
MR. SUMMERS

In his edition of Wycherley¹ Mr. Montague Summers notes that in the dedication of *The Plain Dealer* "To my Lady B——,"² Wycherley quotes two lines in Latin:

Nimirum propter continentiam, incontinentia
Necessaria est incendium ignibus extinguitur. (*Works*, III, 99)

After consulting a Latin scholar, Mr. Summers appends the following annotation:

Professor Bensley has obliged me with the following note: "Tertullian, *De Pudicitia*, cap. I, after quoting I Cor. vii, 9, 'melius est nubere quam uri,' continues, 'Nimirum, propter continentiam incontinentia necessaria est, incendium ignibus extinguetur.' In Migne's text, 1844, tom. 11, col. 983, we have *extinguetur*. Wycherley gives the present tense and seems to treat the quotation as verse. Did he, when ending one line with *incontinentia* and the other with *extinguitur*, allow himself to look on it as a sort of rough iambic metre? Some of the Latin University dramas . . . are very haphazard in their metrical licenses." (II, 296-7.)

This is ingenious, but unnecessary, and Professor Bensley's concluding guess³ is better than his first one. Mr. Summers notes that the line of French quoted in the dedication ("Eles [Ils] envoient leur conscience au Bordel, & teinnent leur contenance en regle." II, 98) is from Montaigne's *Essais*, Livre III, chapitre 5⁴—that famous, or infamous, chapter strangely entitled "Sur des vers de Virgile," but really on the sexual question. Had Mr. Summers continued to turn over the pages of this essay, he would have found the passage from Tertullian (on p. 92 of the edition cited), and would have seen that Wycherley follows Montaigne in reading *extinguitur* for *extinguetur*. Nor is this all.

When Wycherley in his Dedication further remarks (*Works*, II, 100) of women that "as the *Scythian* women of old, must baffle

¹ *The Complete Works of William Wycherley*. London: The Nonesuch Press, 1924.

² Mrs. Bennet, known as "Mother" Bennet and "Lady" Bennet, the most celebrated procuress of the day in London.

³ "Does not the treatment of the passage from Tertullian as verse (if Wycherley, not his printer, was responsible) suggest that it may have been taken from some place where it was already a quotation?"

⁴ III, 76-77, in the *Essais de Michel de Montaigne* edited by Strowski et Gebelin, Bordeaux, 1919.

a man, and put out his Eyes, ere they will lye with him," he is but following an assertion of Montaigne, based on Herodotus: "Les femmes Scythes crevoient les yeux à tous leurs esclaves et prisonniers de guerre pour s'en servir plus librement et couvertement" (p. 102, *ed. cit.*).

These borrowings suggest what soon appears to the careful reader of the essay and the dedication; namely, that Montaigne in this piece has had a profound effect upon Wycherley's imagination. The cynicism, the frankness, and the disillusioned view of the sexual relationship, and especially of the sexual nature of women, which are the substance of the dedication, are but echoes of Montaigne's scabrous discussion. It is likewise possible that the discussion of the sexual problem in *The Plain Dealer* itself owes more to Montaigne than has been guessed; and the parallelism further suggests that an exploration of the relation of Restoration comedy to *libertin* thought in France might prove fruitful of new relationships. Hitherto, scholars have been mainly content to point out Wycherley's indebtedness to Molière.

Mr. Summers' note, though mistaken, is not unprofitable. No editor of Montaigne has hitherto been able to discover the source of the two lines of Latin which Montaigne quotes and Wycherley borrows. They are found, as indicated, in Tertullian.

University of Michigan

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES

HUDIBRAS AND SWIFT

In his admirable work, *Swift, les Années de Jeunesse et le "Conte du Tonneau,"* M. Emile Pons neglects one very obvious proof that Swift had carefully read *Hudibras*.

M. Emile Pons is certain that there was some influence of Butler upon Swift, although he seems to admit that it cannot be definitely proved.¹ Yet he might have called attention to a com-

¹ "Lorsqu'il [Churton Collins] rapporte, comme les autres, qui tous le tiennent de la seule Mrs. Pilkington, que Hudibras était la lecture favorite de Swift. (Car la seule allusion à Hudibras que l'on trouve dans la correspondance de Swift émane non de Swift, mais d'un de ses correspondants. Cf. Archb. King to Swift, April 19, 1711)." Pons, Emile, *Swift*, p. 8, note 3.

ment by Mr. W. E. Browning on these lines in Swift's *Baucis and Philemon*:

The ballads, pasted on the wall,
Of Joan of France, and English Mall.²

Mr. Browning has this note: "Mary Ambree, on whose exploits in Flanders the popular ballad was written. The line in the text is from 'Hudibras,' Part. 1, c. 2, 367, where she is compared with Trulla:

'A bold virago, stout and tall,
As Joan of France, on English Mall.'³

C. M. WEBSTER

University of Tennessee

WAS JOHN DRYDEN COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS?

In most of the biographies of Dryden, since Malone's, is noted the "fact" that the poet was appointed Collector of the Customs at the Port of London in 1683. Whether that is really a fact, I have reason to question.

The belief in such appointment rests, apparently, upon two documents. The first records the appointment, on December 17, 1683, of John Dryden to the post of collector.¹ The second is a letter written by the poet, in which he complains of his desperate financial circumstances and suggests to the addressee that "either in the Customs, or the Appeals of the Excise, or some other way, means [for alleviating his distress] cannot be wanting, if you please to have the will."² This letter, unfortunately, contains neither date nor address. Malone hoped "that one part of his request was immediately attended to, though another was certainly neglected; for he never obtained either of the offices he solicited, or any other equivalent."³ Furthermore, he says that the letter "appears to have been written in 1684", and he believes that it was addressed to Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester. Yet when he prints the letter, he dates it "August 1683," without explanation.⁴ There is, so far as I can discover, no definite evidence for either conjecture.

¹ *Poems of Jonathan Swift*, I, 70.

² Christie, W. D., *Poetical Works of John Dryden*, London, 1902, p. lv and note.

³ Malone, Edmund, *The Prose Works of John Dryden*, London, 1800, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 179.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pt. II, p. 19.

Indeed, Dryden's supplication, and Malone's ingenuity, have fitted in too easily with the wishes of subsequent biographers.

It may well be that the appointment, in December 1683, of one John Dryden as collector gave rise to the obvious conjecture that such appointment was necessarily the result of the poet's letter. Therefore, logically enough, the letter must have been written in the late summer of 1683. It is possible, however, to find a different outcome to this letter. Before he closes, Dryden writes: "In the meantime be pleased to give me a gracious and speedy answer to my present request of half a year's pension for my necessities."⁵ Now, if the poet's begging letter had any effect at all, it is, I think somewhat more reasonable to suppose that the addressee acceded to his request for the pension money, already overdue, than to suppose that he made the appointment of uncertain remuneration. By a close study of Dryden's pension payments I have recently found that the only grant of a half-year's salary (since 1678) during this period was made on December 15, 1684.⁶ Therefore, I should agree with Malone's first conjecture, and upon the evidence of the pension payment, date the letter toward the end of 1684. By so dating it, we of course destroy the value of it as evidence with reference to the appointment.

In addition to the document recording the appointment of the Collector John Dryden, there are others concerning the same post, which, I believe, have hitherto not been noticed. The first item is dated November 12, 1683, and reads: "Henry Guy to Mr. Halsey. You have named Jno. Dryden to be inserted in the fiant for the office of Collector of the duties on Cloth, London Port. Bring to the Treasury Lords some authentic certificates from proper persons of the ability and fitness of the said Mr. Dryden for that office."⁷ The report on "the said Mr. Dryden" was favorable, for on December 3 is recorded a "treasury fiat for royal letters patent to constitute John Dryden, of the Parish of St. Bridget, London, Collector of Customs and Subsidies [outwards] London Port *loco* Philip Warwick, deceased: to hold during pleasure and to be exercised by himself or deputy: with the annual fee of 5£ and all

⁵ Malone, *loc. cit.*

⁶ *Cal. Treas. Books*, vi, 1450. The payment of May 6, which Christie (p. lv) regards as for a half-year, is in reality only for a quarter.

⁷ *Cal. Treas. Books*, vii, pt. ii, 949.

other fees and profits thereof.”⁸ Nearly a year later occurs another item: “Warrant to Sir Nicho. Crisp, Bart. Collector outwards London Port, to swear Nicholas Hardy in as deputy to John Dryden, gent. who by the Great Seal of 1683, December 17, is appointed Collector of duty on cloth.”⁹ After the accession of James, this John Dryden petitioned, on November 16, 1685, for a renewal of his patent, “now void by the late King’s death.”¹⁰ The petition was confirmed by fiat on January 19, 1685-6.¹¹ Two other items, small money warrants, close the account of John Dryden, Collector.

From the six items concerning the collector, several facts emerge. In all these items, except one, he is called “John Dryden, gent.”. In the exception he is “John Dryden of the Parish of St. Bridget.” The poet, on the other hand, in the scores of reference to him in the Treasury Books, is called “John Dryden, esquire”, “M. A.”, or “Poet Laureate”; he is never called “gent.”.

There is, moreover, a suggestion in the first item that the man named Mr. Halsey was entirely unknown to the Treasury Lords. The instructions—to ascertain the ability and fitness of the applicant—are such as Henry Guy, then Secretary of the Treasury, would have found unnecessary to give, I believe, had the applicant been the poet. Indeed, his connections were so distinguished that it seems somewhat odd that his nomination for this place did not come through an influential man of the court, rather than through Mr. Halsey.¹²

One more fact remains to be examined. The collector is described as of the Parish of St. Bridget. May this not, in all probability, be a means of identification, to distinguish him from the poet of the same name? The poet, so far as I can learn, was never of that parish. At his marriage in 1663 he lived in St. Clements Danes.¹³ In December 1679, when he was waylaid and beaten by ruffians in Rose Alley, his home was in Gerard Street, in the Parish of St. Anne’s, Soho.¹⁴ Apparently he lived here for some years, for in a letter to Mrs. Steward in 1698 he indicates the position of the house. Geographically, there is no possibility of confusing the

⁸ *Ibid.*, 972.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1275.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, VIII, pt. II, 534.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, VIII, pt. I, 428.

¹² I have not discovered who this man was.

¹³ *The Works of John Dryden*, ed. Scott-Saintsbury, I, 74 and note.

¹⁴ Malone, *op. cit.*, p. 493. Rose Alley was the most direct route from Covent Garden to Gerard Street.

parishes: St. Anne's was between Soho Square and Leicester Square, perhaps a mile north and west of St. Bridget's, which was off Fleet Street, not far from St. Paul's.

In view of the patently flimsy "evidence" upon which Dryden has been appointed, by critics, to the Collectorship of Customs, and in view of these additional facts concerning the post, should we not question, until further positive evidence appears, whether the poet's financial difficulties were ever ameliorated by an appointment to the sinecure of the Collectorship?

CHARLES E. WARD

Duke University

THE *NED.*:¹ ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Chiefly through the courtesy of Miss Edythe N. Backus, reader at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, and Miss Mary Isabel Fry of the same institution, I am able to present an interesting list of words, some of which are not in the *New English Dictionary*, together with a few queries as to words that are in it. Only a few of the sixty-odd terms are of my own finding, in connexion with a study of obsolete words; and accordingly, to give due credit, I append our initials—(B), (D), and (F). It will be seen that Miss Backus is the chief contributor; her study of Music and Literature in the Seventeenth Century has led her into the reading of hundreds of delightful old plays and entertainments. The words have been sent to Oxford, but are listed here as, in part, a timely convenience.

abrodietical 1693 George Powell *A Very Good Wife* Act 4, Sc. 2. *Mrs. Sneak*. Good lack a day, what pity 'tis such an abrodietical Person should want wherewith to accrew.

The *NED.* gives this as a dictionary word—"prob. never used." The above passage is much "in character." (B)

adagy *a* 1834 S. T. Coleridge *Marginalia* in Fuller: *Worthies* (pub. 1811; see *N & Q* 7th S., vi., 501-2) [Coleridge prefers Fuller's version of a line from Raleigh's poetry] as more quippish and adagy.

This word is in the *NED.*, but the dates for it are all early—1549 to *a* 1670, with Milton, Jeremy Taylor, and others cited. (D)

appropriate 1689 R[obert] W[ild] *The Benefice* Act 4 [p. 40; a letter

is being read] As I was Equitating in these Rural Dimensions . . . I did appropriate to your resplendent Habitation.

This word is, in the Oxford Dictionary, a dictionary word only—Cockeram, Johnson cited. (B)

articke 1668 Howard *Usurper* [Recto A^o] No less Articke seems to many, the wrestling in of Dances.

Misprint for *Antic*? (B)

busiless 1662 Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle *The Publique Wooing* I. xvii [p 386, line 2 of first folio edn.] [*Prudence*, a character, speaks] . . . for Nature hath made women and children to have restless spirits, unquiet minds, busiless active, and such voluble tongues.

The *NED.* has *busyles* as a conjectural reading for a line in Shakespeare. (B)

bundlement 1776 Henry Brooke *Fool of Quality*. "Dedication" [Public asks the author where he got together] such an old fashioned bundlement of scientific balderdash? (D)

cadeedlo Nov. 16, 1667 Thomas Jordan *Money is an asse* [p. 5, lines 25, 27, 29] *Feminia*. Are you Cadeedlo. *Ceredit*. I dare not take that Oath, unless I knew the meaning. *Fem.* Oh me do you not know the meaning of Cadeedlo. *Cred.* No. i'll assure you. *Fem.* I'll tell you then, in that one word, Cadeedlo, is concluded, all the Oaths man can invent.

A made-up word? (B)

carillon 1781 Horace Walpole *Common-place Book* (1927) 71 When the late Duke of York was in Holland he had a mind to hear the Carillons in the great Church.

For this use the *NED.* has as the earliest date 1836. In view of the date for *Carillonneur* (1772), I think the above interesting. (D)

chartophylatium c 1704 John Evelyn *Memoirs for my Grand-Son* (1926) 52 Next the library, should be carefully inspected the Chartophylatium of your pamphlets and unbound Books and loose papers, wich [*sic*] would require an accurate Visitation and to be put in proper Method. (D)

cow heroes 1690 *The Royal Voyage* Act 1, Sc. 2 Are these the Champions, these the Stil-Cow Heroes . . .

Obviously a term of abuse of Irish. (B)

customable 1614 Thomas Ravenscroft *A Briefe Discourse of . . . Character'ring the Degrees* . . . [p. 11, recto C^o, line 3] O most *Vnproportionate Customable Comporitors*, whose Art serves them not so much as to distinguish *Prolation* from *Proportions*!

degenerous 1691 *The Bragadocio* Act 3, Sc. 2 *Bravado*. Alas Madam, 'tis too degenerous a Trophy, only your Commands will gloss it.

Apparently not in the *NED.* in sense of "ungerous." (B)

delicass 1678 Edward Howard *The Man of Newmarket* Act 3 [pp. 29-30] The Song [sung by a fop] By the Lilies of thy Cheeks, and the Roses of mine. . . . My fineness I'll yield to delight thee, And should thou clip more refine Then French or English when they twine My Delicass thou't prove sublime. (B)

derecitude 1682 N. Tate *The Ingratitude* Act 4 [p. 41, line 20 ff.] *Servant*. . . . Which Friends Sir, as it were, durst not (look you Sir) shew themselves (as we say) his Friends whilst he was in Derecitude. 2 *Serv.* Derecitude, what's that? *Serv.* Why? that is . . . Derecitude but when they shall see his Credit up again, and the Man in Blood [*etc.*] (B)

earwigmaker *a* 1834 S. T. Coleridge *Marginalia* to Beaumont and Fletcher: "The Prophetess" (W. F. Taylor's *Critical Annotations*, 1889, p. 16) . . . no *Interest* [in the play] (for a vulgar curiosity about—not what is to *happen* next—but about what a Witch will *do* next, whether Thunder or a Brimstone She Devil, Earwigmaker cannot be called Interest)—[*etc. etc.*]

Taylor thinks this "a purely Coleridgian word", and cites Halliwell and Nares. (D)

geognostico-geological *a* 1834 S. T. Coleridge *Marginalia* in Henrich Steffens *Anthropologie* (1822) [C. most perplexed over S's. "geognostico-geological" essays.]

See T. M. Raysor in *MLN.* XLIII. 182 ff., and H. Zimmern in *Blackwoods* 131:107. (D)

glaggard 1690 *The Royal Voyage* 6 . . . yet grown by their late Freedom Glaggard and Wild, Unruly, Careless, Vain . . . (B)

glebe 1678 Edward Howard *The Man of Newmarket* Act 4 *Luce*. What a fertile Glebe of love have some illegal beliefs!

If this means "crop," it is very rare, according to the *NED.* (*s. v.* 1 b.) (B)

heroickesses 1662 Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle *Bell in Campo* Part 1, Sc. 9 [pp. 587-8 of first fol. edn.] *Lady Victoria* [at the head of a body of women, bound for war] Noble Heroickesses, I am glad to hear you speak as with one voice and tongue . . . (B)

help 1663 Thomas Killigrew *The Pilgrim* Act 4, Sc. 7 [p. 202] *Ferdinando*. 'Tis visible enough in thy impudence; . . . this is a secret of the camps, Sir, that help to bring one of them . . . (B)

hunckish 1608 Thomas Walkington *Salomons Sweete Harpe* 47 [Abigail] then told [Nabal her husband] . . . of his fault [drunkenness] and hunckish demeanour. (F)

imminish 1682 N. Tate *The Ingratitude* Act 5, Sc. at Rome *Valeria*.
And I swear, Madam, 'tis the greatest comfort in nature to have 'em
take after their Ancestors; for when they degenerate, they do as it were
recede, decline, imminish . . .

The dates for this obs. word in the *NED*. are 14., 1562, and
1565-73. (B)

interwaves See *Lifferous* below.

kniped 1662 Margaret Cavendish. *The Unnatural Traveler* iv. 25 And
you, Pantler, must have . . . the Napkins finely knip'd and perfum'd,
and that the Limons, Orenge, Bread, Salt [*&c.*] . . . be set and placed
after the newest Mode. (B)

lifferous 1662 Margaret Cavendish *The Comical Hash* Sc. 13 [p. 568
of 1st fol. edn., line 5] *Lady Examination*. Come let us go abroad,
for I love to refresh my self in the Serene Ayr, taking the pleasure of
every Season, as when the returning Sun spins Golden Beams, which
interwaves into the thinner Ayr, as Golden Threads with softer Silk,
making it like a Mantle, Rich and warm [*&c., &c.*] . . . so in the
Summer when lifferous winds do fan the sultry heat. . . . (B)

luxations 1608 T. Walkington *Salomons Sweete Harpe* 69 [interlocutor
speaking of how Lucifer has come to possess men's hearts and tongues,
&c.:] witness some of our audacious *theatres*, now made as *spanish*
strappados for luxations, like *Pityocampes* his bending pine-trees to
racke the best good names, persona of state, and Vniuersities withall
[*&c.*] (F)

maculated 1676 Thomas Jordan *London's Triumph* [p. 6, line 2]
[*Arithmetic*, a character in a pageant] Enrobed with Cloth of Gold;
a white Sarsnet Vail, maculated with diuers Figures. . . .

The *NED*. apparently has this word only in the sense of
"blemish" or "unpleasantly spotted"—plus one scientific use.

martingale 1620 T. Walkington *Rabboni* 52.

For *martingale* as a transitive verb in this sense, the *NED*.
has as the earliest example a quotation dated 1882. (F)

matroness 1662 Margaret Cavendish *The Female Academy* Sc. 8 [stage
direction] Enter the Academy of Ladies, and the Grave Matronesse.
. . . [italics omitted] (B)

ningle 1668 Thomas Jordan *Money is an asse* [p. 2, line 1 ff.] *Money*.
Ningle Credit, dost thou know this fellow. *Credit*. Why do you injure
me so. Ningle Money. (B)

officers 1668 Howard *Usurper* [p. 18] Cleom *officers to go off*.

Curious mistake for "offers"? (B)

opiniastrement 1664 Pepys *Diary* June 4 (Braybrook: *Memoirs &c.*, 1825
2 vol.; vol. 1, p. 297) For the latter, he [Mr. Coventry to Pepys]
brought as an instance General Balke, who, in defending of Taunton

and Lime for the Parliament, did through his sober sort of valour defend it the most opiniastrement that ever any man did any thing.
... (D)

oyl 1681 *Romes Follies* "Ded." [The author refuses to magnify his patron:] as it is against my Temper to dip my pen in such fashionable oyl. (B)

paramouncy a 1834 S. T. Coleridge *Marginalia* in Wieland: *Comische Erzählungen* (edn. 1785? see L. L. Mackall in *MLR.* xix. 344-6. No pp. given) Yet I will hazard one observation— . . . that Wieland's remark on the paramouncy and predominance of beauty in the mind of *women* in their preference of lovers, is really a calumny. (D)

phillising 1691 *The Bragadocio* Act 1, Sc. 1 *Flush.* You shall have . . . a young breeding pair penning Madrigals on his Bed-maker, or Phillising the Skull's Daughter. (B)

plumbeous 1696 J. Hayn[e]s *A Fatal Mistake* Act 3, Sc. 1 . . . Dull plumbeous Brain. (B)

propense 1679 Jordan *London in Luster* [p. 11, line 37 ff.] His Lordship being in a propense posture of Expectation . . .

The *NED.* references suggest for *Propense* a mental rather than a physical attitude or idea. (B)

printure 1814 Barrett *The Heroine* (1908) 124 Nor think the printure of my lip . . . (D)

quippish See *Adagy* above.

roage 1696 Geo. Powell *The Cornish Comedy* Act 3, Sc. 2 *3. Bailiff.* Along with him, roage him along, he shall to prison immediately.

This word is in the *NED.*, but this sense? (B)

shash (sash) 1676 Jordan *London Triumphant* [p. 9, line 1] [Tamberlain's habit described:] a purple silk Shash about his waste. (B)

sedementary 1696 Geo. Powell *The Cornish Comedy* Act 4, Sc. 1 *Froth* [to *Swash*] Would you have it like the sedementary Ale, thick, heavy, fulsom, phlegmatick, nasty stuff . . . ? (B)

shabbed 1668 Howard *The Usurper* [p. 32] The People! Hang the shabbed multitude.

This may mean "shabby," and so earlier than the citation in the *NED.* But Miss Backus, in view of the context, believes it a derogatory epithet: "scabby," "scabbed."

skull See *Phillising* above.

squelch 1668 Thomas Jordan *Money is an asse* [p. 29, line 5] *Clutch.* Thou saiest true ile call, ile call, they will be gone ere can moderately go down staires. *Callumney.* Call, fy leap Sir—'tis but a squelch I have a kinsman an excellent bone setter. (B)

streiten 1678 Thomas Shipman *Henry III of France* [p. 40, line 1] Here at St. Clou we'l streiten so the Town 'Twill either famisht be, or yielded soon [poetry] (Act 4, Sc. 1. In Sc. 2:) *King.* Now,

- Larchant*, now my thoughts have room to move: Streiten'd with bus'ness, now I turn to Love. (B)
- surfled** 1676 Jordan *London's Triumph* [p. 5, line 18; description of first pageant] 2. *Logick*. In a Purple Robe semened with Stars of Gold; . . . red Buskins laced and surfled with Gold Ribbon. (B)
- snoons** 1691 [John Smyth] *Win her and take her* [p. 11, line 26] Act 1, Sc. 3 *Waspish*. What again Snoons grant me patience, Devil Incarnate, what do you mean [*&c.*]
- As Miss Backus remarked to me one day, some of these old Restoration plays fairly swarm with light oaths fancifully created. Probably quite a number are not in the *NED*. (B)
- totterdas** ? 1660 *Life of Mother Shipton* [p. 33, line 1] She was a Totterdas slut of fifteen. (B)
- trans-scriptural** a 1834 S. T. Coleridge *Marginalia* in Henry Brooke: *Fool of Quality* (1775) IV. 272. This is not only trans-scriptural, but anti-scriptural, I fear . . .
- tredoudle, -ing** 1671 Edward Howard *Womens Conquest* First Prologue [recto, C 3 ll. 29 and 31] *Changling*. Shall it be with my face, feet, and hands, tredoudling thus? *Omnes*. 'Tis very correct and well. *Chang*. I'll warrant you, I'll tredoudle it so, that it shall take to purpose. (B)
- twank** 1691 [John Smyth] *Win her* [p. 2, line 28] My kittle I'll twank in the chorus. (B)
- tynsy'd** 1691 [Smyth] *Win her* [p. 37, line 23] Act 4, Sc. 1. *Florell*. You grace me with your favours, and dazzle me with all this bravery;—You're extreemly proper, really Sir;—Tynsy'd Ass [This last according to a stage direction is an "aside."] (B)
- udsneaks** 1691 [Smyth] *Win her* Act 4, Sc. 1. *Dullhead*. Farewell to you Udsneaks, if you go to that. (B)
- wardropian** 1662 Margaret Cavendish *The Unnatural Tragedy* IV. 25 [line 2] *Steward*. My Master and our new Lady are coming home; wherefore you must get the House very clean and fine: you Wardropian, you must lay the best Carpets on the Table, and set out the best Chairs & Stools [*&c.*] (B)
- wezill** 1664 Killigrew *Cicilia and Clorindes*. Pt. 2, Act V, Sc. 2 [p. 302 Wks] *Souldier*. Hold your preting, or I shall cut your wezill. (B)
- whimmerings** 1696 Geo. Powell's version of Beaumont's *Bonduca* Act 3 Sc. 2 [p. 21, line 45] Your Whimmerings, and your Lame Petitions . . . (B)

EDWIN BERCK DIKE

*The Huntington Library,
San Marino, California*

THE ENGLISH VOGUE OF PROLOGUES AND EPILOGUES

An examination of miscellanies, folio half-sheets, newspapers, and more than 1300 plays that were published before Pope wrote his famous Prologue for *Cato* offers several facts concerning the vogue of Prologues and Epilogues and leads one to speculate regarding the stage-oration that became *une chose nécessaire* after 1660. Before the middle of the sixteenth century one play out of five made use of an introduction or a conclusion or both, which may be termed prologue and epilogue. From 1558 to 1642 the popularity of stage-orations increased, and about forty-eight per cent of the plays of this period had prologues and epilogues. Of these some—according to my count, sixteen per cent—had only prologues; eleven per cent only epilogues. This evidence drawn from statistics may be cited along with the testimony of the plays themselves. Benvolio, for example, scoffs at prologues:

The date is out of such prolixity:
We'll have no Cupid hoodwink'd with a scarf . . .
Nor no without-book prologue, faintly spoke
After the prompter, for our entrance;
But let them measure us by what they will;¹

and Prologus Laureatus spoke of the vogue of epilogues when prologues were not used:

I am a Prologue, should I not tell y[o]u soe
You would scarce knowe me; tis soe longe agoe
Since Prologues were in use; men put behinde
now, that they were wont to put before.
Thepilogue is in fashion; prologues no more.²

After 1660 it is well known that both the prologue and the epilogue enjoyed an extraordinary vogue. The theatres had been open but two years when the poets prophesied a dearth of fancy because the demands for stage-orations were so persistent.³ For more than half a century nine out of ten plays had both prologue and epilogue, and it was not uncommon to provide a drama with

¹ *Romeo and Juliet*, I, iv, 3-9.

² *The Birthe of Hercules* (1610), The Malone Society, 1911, Prologue. The date of composition is before 1600.

³ Robert Howard, *The Surprisal* (1665), Prologue. The play was presented in November, 1662.

more than one of these stage-orations.⁴ The most popular writers turned their hands to prologue-writing; and prologues and epilogues thrived, feeding on satire, wit, and raillery, while lines denouncing the custom that gave them their vogue testified to their popularity.⁵ Reluctance to provide a prologue or an epilogue thus furnished a theme for several stage-orations;⁶ and by this trick of protest the poets conformed to the demand of custom without repeating the stale matter of an argument or a *plaudite*. Right or wrong, prologues had to be written;⁷ epilogues were inevitable.⁸

Reasons for this increase in the popularity of prologues and epilogues suggest themselves: the vogue of discourses in miniature, the rise of journalism, the demand for novelty and wit, the critical and often disrespectful attitude of the audience, the influence of classical drama, and certain changes in the playhouse itself. It is possible that the last was the chief reason. The Elizabethan theatre, with its stage surrounded on three sides by the audience, did not keep its imaginary world free of contact with reality. There, no principle of verisimilitude forbade an exchange of confidences between the player and his audience. The soliloquy consulted the pit, and the pit mounted the stage. But as this stage gradually withdrew from its audience, and the ideal world developed behind the frame, the intimacy between actor and spectator lessened. The soliloquy and the aside grew infrequent. The link remaining—a link between the real and the imaginary—was the prologue or epilogue, in which the actor standing on the apron before the frame,

⁴ Before the Restoration plays were sometimes published with more than one prologue and epilogue; after 1660 the custom was well established.

⁵ See especially the Prologues to Wilson's *The Cheats* (1664), Wycherley's *Love in a Wood* (1672), Powell's *A Very Good Wife* (1693), Mrs. Pix's *Queen Catharine* (1698), Crauford's *Love at first Sight* (1704), and the Epilogues to Waller's *Pompey the Great* (1664), Cibber's *She Wou'd and She wou'd Not* (1703), Crauford's *Love at first Sight* (1704), Baker's *Hampstead Heath* (1706), and Mrs. Trotter's *The Revolution of Sweden* (1706).

⁶ See, for example, the following: Killigrew's *The Siege of Urbin* (1666), Epilogue; Tuke's *The Adventures of Five Hours* (1671), Epilogue; Orrery's *Typhon* (1672), Prologue; Crowne's *Henry the Sixth* (1681), Prologue; and Crauford's *Love at first Sight* (1704), Epilogue.

⁷ Mrs. Mary Pix, *Queen Catharine* (1698), Prologue.

⁸ John Banks, *Cyrus the Great* (1696), Epilogue.

outside the ideal regions of the play, spoke directly to his audience, drawing them into his world within the frame by means of a prologue, or driving them out of the unreal into the real by means of an epilogue. If a chief fact in the history of drama is this gradual separation of spectator and player, bringing finally the establishment of an ideal world of the stage never cognizant of the presence of an audience, then a little speculation indicates the relation of the vogue of prologues and epilogues to the changing theatre. The Elizabethan dramatist had, not only prologues and epilogues, but soliloquies and asides to make sure that the audience followed the action. Prologues and epilogues were therefore not always necessary to the play. After the Restoration the theatre approached verisimilitude, drawing plays away from the audience. But the spectators were not willing to be shut out and left to sit as silent watchers. Descendants of the Elizabethan audience, they demanded recognition. The most convenient organs for complying with their wishes were the prologues and epilogues, links between the real and the unreal. Eventually, of course, the spectators came to desire that the illusion of the ideal be unbroken. There were complaints in the early years of the eighteenth century against merry epilogues that destroyed the pleasing deceptions of the stage-world. And when the audience at last preferred to sit as lookers-on, inducting themselves into the ideal and taking away with them the illusion of the ideal, then prologues and epilogues had no excuse for being, so far as dramatic technique is concerned. Their vogue and their decline are, therefore, another demonstration of the change that crept into the theatre when the players gradually withdrew into their world and left their audiences to the rôle of non-participant spectators.

AUTREY NELL WILEY

The Texas State College for Women

CHAUCER'S SERMON AND RETRACTATIONS

After expressing skepticism as to whether Chaucer had intended his sermon and the *Retractations* as a part of the *Canterbury Tales*, Mr. Manly suggests that 'they may have been found in Chaucer's chest after his death, and, on the inadequate ground that they were in prose, have been falsely supposed to have been intended

for use as the Parson's tale'.¹ A thoughtful reading of the Retractations tends to confirm this view.

The casual mention of the *Canterbury Tales* in the middle of a long list of the poet's works certainly offers no proof that the list was written to be appended to the *Tales*. On the contrary, it suggests that the *Tales* were not uppermost in Chaucer's mind when he wrote it. To make this perfectly clear, I quote the well known list, which forms the body of the Retractations:

Wherefore I biseke yow mekely for the mercy of god, that ye preye for me, that Crist have mercy on me and foryeve me my giltes:—and namely of my translacions and endytinges of worldly vanitees, the whiche I revoke in my retracciouns: as is the book of Troilus; The book also of Fame; The book of the nyntene Ladies; The book of the Duchesse; The book of saint Valentynes day of the Parlement of Briddes; The tales of Caunterbury, thilke that sounen in-to sinne; The book of the Leoun; and many another book, if they were in my remembrance; and many a song and many a lecherous lay; that Crist for his grete mercy foryeve me the sinne. But of the translacion of Boece de Consolacione, and othere bokes of Legendes of seintes, and omelies, and moralitee, and devocioun, that thanke I oure lord Iesu Crist and his blisful moder, and alle the seintes of hevene; bisekinge hem that they from hennes-forth, un-to my lyves ende, sende me grace to biwayle my giltes, and to studie to the salvacioun of my soule . . .'²

No more attention is here paid to the *Tales*, mentioned *en passant*, than to Troilus, or to 'The book of the Leoun', or to the Boethius. Had the Retractations been preserved in MS. by themselves, it is doubtful whether any student would ever have suggested that Chaucer had intended them as a part of the *Canterbury Tales*. The evidence is negative, to be sure, but such as it is it seems to indicate that they were not written to be attached to that long work.

That Chaucer intended to append them to something, however, is clear from the opening words of the Retractations:

Now preye I to hem alle that herkne this litel tretis or rede, that if ther be any thing in it that lyketh hem, that ther-of they thanken oure lord Iesu Crist, of whom procedeth al wit and al goodnesse. And if ther be any thing that displese hem, I preye hem also that they arrette it to the defaute of myn unconninge, and nat to my wil, that wolde ful fayn have seyde bettere if I hadde had conninge. For oure boke seith, 'al that is written is written for oure doctrine'; and that is myn entente.³

This pious petition, with its emphasis on good doctrine and its

¹ *Canterbury tales by Geoffrey Chaucer*, N. Y., 1928, p. 656.

² I. 1084-90.

³ I. 1081-83.

allusion to Romans xv. 4, clearly allies itself, in spirit, with the sermon. That Chaucer surely intended it to accompany that discourse on penitence is indicated by the phrase in the first sentence, 'this litel tretis'.

Reference to the Chaucer concordance reveals that of the twenty-one times Chaucer uses the word 'treatise' or 'treatises', five times carry the meaning 'treaty', 'negociation', and sixteen bear the modern connotation defined in the *N.E.D.* as 'A book or writing which treats of some particular subject; commonly . . . one containing a formal or methodical discussion or exposition of the principles of the subject'. Eleven times Chaucer applies the word to his *Treatise on the Astrolabe*; he speaks of the *Melibeus* as 'this litel tretis here'⁴ and refers to its source as 'this tretis lyte'⁵; and in *Troilus* he speaks of 'a tretis and a lettre, that Ector hadde him sent',⁶ where the word obviously signifies a political communication, expository in nature. Finally, in the sermon itself he ejaculates, 'I hope to god they [the ten commandments] been touched in *this tretice*, everich of hem alle'.⁷ In each case Chaucer applies the word to a formal exposition of a subject, in prose; never to a romance, or a fabliau, or a tale, or to anything in verse. In the light of this usage, the phrase in the *Retractations* refers certainly to the sermon, not to the *Canterbury Tales*.

Our conclusion from this evidence seems clear. Since the *Retractations* were written to accompany the sermon (which they follow in all the MSS. in which they occur), yet have no connection with the *Canterbury Tales*, the sermon itself must have been composed by Chaucer as an independent work. Indeed; its failure to harmonize with the *Tales* in length and in manner has often been pointed out.⁸ As an explanation of the occurrence, in the MSS., of the sermon and the *Retractations* as the Parson's tale, that of Professor Manly appears most reasonable.

JAMES A. WORK

Yale University

⁴ B. 2147.

⁵ B. 2153.

⁶ *Troilus and Criseyde*, II, 1697-8.

⁷ I. 957.

⁸ The most cogent argument in favor of its inclusion among the *Tales* is its fulfillment of the Parson's avowed purpose,

To shewe yow the wey, in this viage,

CHAUCER'S TURKISH BOWS

In two passages Chaucer speaks of the Turkish bow. The reference in *The Knightes Tale* is very casual.

The thridde bar with him his bowe Turkeys.¹

The other passage, in Fragment A of *The Romaunt of the Rose*, is more significant.

Turke bowes two hadde he.
That oon of hem was of a tree
That bereth a fruyt of savour wikke;
Ful croked was that foule stikke,
And knotty here and there also,
And blak as bery, or any slo.
That other bowe was of a plante
Without wem, I dar warante.²

Chaucer translated from Lorris, so the initial blame is with the French poet, but the former, living in the hey-day of archery, displayed no desire to correct the latter's mistake. Lorris and Chaucer wish to describe a very strong bow. The Turkish bow was certainly very powerful, but it was *not* made of wood; instead, it was a reflexed bow, skillfully fashioned of layers of horn, wood, and sinew.³ The result was a very far-shooting weapon, even surpassing the famed English longbow which Chaucer probably had in mind, although no bowyer would choose a stave "full croked . . . and knotty here and there also."

University of Tennessee

C. M. WEBSTER

Of thilke parfit glorious pilgrimage
That highte Ierusalem celestial.—I. 49-51

But anything the godly Parson would have said would have 'sounded in-to salvacioun', had he paraphrased the sermon on the mount, or related an exemplum, or merely repeated, under the walls of Canterbury, the Lord's prayer.

¹ A., 2895. Skeat's edition.

² *The Romaunt of the Rose*, Fragment A, 923-930.

³ "Archery," *Ency. Brit.*, 14th ed., II, 265-267.

REVIEWS

Death and Liffe: A Medieval Alliterative Debate Poem in a Seventeenth Century Version. Edited by Sir ISRAEL GOLLANCZ. London: Oxford University Press, 1930. Pp. xvi + 38.

Sir Israel Gollancz was working on this poem up to the time of his death. The text, the explanatory notes, and the glossary are his. Miss Mabel Day has contributed an eight-page preface—a competent summary of the existing opinions as to the date (end of the fourteenth but more probably the early fifteenth century), the dialect (Northwest Midland, but more northern than the poems of the Gawain group), and the sources (*Piers Plowman*, B or C version, Alanus de Insulis's *De Planctu Naturae*, *Winner and Waster*, and *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*).

In accordance with the plan of this series, *Select Early English Poems*, in which *Death and Liffe* is the fifth number, the critical apparatus is slight. The new contributions are seen chiefly in the notes and the glossary. The most radical departures from earlier editions of the poem, however, are to be found in the text.

One's attitude towards Professor Gollancz's text will depend upon one's conceptions of the function of an editor of a Middle English poem. The editor may offer a frank modernization, or a diplomatic reprint of the manuscript, or—as in the case of this edition—a radical rewriting of the manuscript. For better or worse, Professor Gollancz has chosen the last method, presumably to furnish his readers with a readable and intelligible text. But those who wish to study the poem more carefully will probably find the text unsatisfactory.

Since the Percy Folio Manuscript is approximately one hundred and fifty years later than the composition of the poem, the text is so corrupt that it is beyond the powers of an editor to restore it to its probable original form. Many cases of obvious scribal errors Professor Gollancz has emended in a convincing and brilliant manner. But many of the emendations are based on assumptions that are highly debatable. For example, the assumption "that the alliteration was originally of the standard form *aa/ax* used by careful metrists" (p. xi) is untenable, as is admitted in the notes to lines 95, 152, and 457, where the alliterative types *ab/ab* and *aa/bb* are recognized and the manuscript readings are retained in the text. These and many other "irregular" patterns of alliteration are found in *Death and Liffe* and many other poems of this school.

Many perfectly intelligible lines are emended to make them con-

form to the type *aa/ax*. For example, line 130 in the manuscript reads:

If thou wilt wonders witt feare not to ffraine.

This is emended to:

If thou wilt wonders witt [wond] not to ffraine. [*wond* means 'refrain.']

Double alliteration of this sort *aa/bb*, occurs in lines 159, 184, 207, 262, 276, and, I think, in line 30, where I read *flowers* instead of *slowers*, Professor Gollancz's reading of the manuscript. Such alliteration is found in many other alliterative poems, but Professor Gollancz emends all of these lines to make them conform to the "standard form."

For the sake of the alliteration, the meter, or both, words are added or omitted or transposed. Thus in line 427 *our way* is added; in line 78 *all* is omitted; and in line 103 *curteous* is changed to *coint*. Words in lines 311 and 321 are transposed. Out of the 459 lines (458 in G's edition, since he omits a line between lines 416 and 417) in the poem over 250 are emended, some containing several emendations. Most of these changes are made for the sake of the alliteration or the meter.

Another group of emendations consists of restorations of the normal Middle English spelling or grammatical form. Thus *ball* in line 21 is emended to *bale*, the more common spelling. But the spelling *ball* is well established, appearing in *William of Palerne*, 1819, and *Cursor Mundi*, 4775. *Bradd*, 175 and 216, is emended to *brade*. In lines 26 and 211 *runn* and *dunge* are emended to *ronn* and *donge*, the more regular preterit forms. The *u* is easily intelligible, however, as the result of the leveling of the vowel of the preterit plural into the singular. *Ronge*, however, is the spelling in line 138.

Since in lines 27, 51, and 62 the same word appears twice in each line, all these lines are emended "because it is not likely that the poet used [the same word twice] in the same line." Lines 262, 420, and 425 have been almost completely rewritten.

In spite of these objections to the extensive rewriting of the poem, I think this edition is a valuable contribution to the study of *Death and Liffe*. The reflections of the editor's wide and discriminating reading in medieval literature, the very plausible transposition of part of line 159 to the following line, the explanation of the names Hector and Leonades (notes to lines 326-43), not satisfactorily explained by previous editors, the new light thrown on the vocabulary of the poem, and the new readings of the manuscript make this new edition of the poem a noteworthy addition to the study of the Middle English alliterative revival. Students of English literature have suffered a distinct loss in the passing of such a distinguished scholar as Sir Israel Gollancz.

The Proverbs of Alfred Studied in the Light of the Recently Discovered Maidstone Manuscript. By HELEN PENNOCK SOUTH. New York: New York University Press, 1931. Pp. vii + 168.

The nucleus of this book is to be found in an article by Carleton Brown (*MLR.*, xxi (1926), 249-260) in which he described and printed the fragmentary Maidstone text of the *Proverbs of Alfred*. Dr. South has reprinted this and added bits from the other manuscripts to make a complete text. To this is affixed an introduction and a glossary. When we consider the length of the book, it seems unfortunate that she did not give the Trinity and Jesus texts in full and thus obviate the necessity of reference to earlier editions. The introduction consists of several special studies. The description of the manuscripts (pp. 3-24) is full and suspicion is successfully thrown on the integrity of the Jesus text. In discussing the identity of "Sifforde" (pp. 25-42), Dr. South dismisses localities suggested earlier, and argues plausibly for Siford in Berkshire,¹ in the vicinity of which Alfred often was,² but the use of this identification for dating the poem (pp. 40-41) is open to some question. The section entitled "Early Literary References" (pp. 43-63) is of considerable interest, but one hesitates to accept the implication that when a saying was incorporated in the *Proverbs of Alfred* it was removed from circulation and that, therefore, any later occurrence necessarily shows a literary borrowing. We may note in passing that it is not quite exact to refer to the Anglo-Saxon translation of Cato as "the Anglo-Saxon apothegms of Cotton Julius A. II" (p. 48). The relation between the *Proverbs* and the *Owl and the Nightingale* (pp. 48-51) resolves itself into one of two equally likely things, either the author of the *Owl* had a manuscript of the *Proverbs* which contained material foreign to any extant version, or he added Alfred's name to give authority to the sayings which he used. The parallels between the *Proverbs* and Layamon's *Brut* are striking but neither the direction of the borrowing, nor even the fact of borrowing, is clear despite Dr. South's argument that the *Proverbs* are the source. For example, the ending of the *Brut* "iwurðe þet iwurðe / iwurðe Godes wille" need not have come from the *Proverbs* nor the passage in the *Proverbs* from it. It fits into the context neatly in both, and its naturalness at the end of the *Brut* may perhaps be illustrated by

¹ In note 12 (p. 28) Dr. South refers to a quotation from the Flemish monk Drogo, given by W. H. Blaauw (*Sussex Arch. Coll.*, I, 47-48), and says that Blaauw gives no direct reference. As a matter of fact, he does give his reference in the oblique fashion common with antiquarians, and the passage is from the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* (Venice, 1748), July, v. 615 A-B. The story of St. Lewinna's translation, for with that Drogo's "history" deals, is singularly edifying.

² A just objection may be made to quoting the *Chronicle* from Ingram's not too exact translation.

the last words of the account of the battle of Hastings (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Earle & Plummer, I, 200), "Wurðe gôð se ende. þonne God wylle!"³ The parallel quoted on p. 59 is not very good as Layamon says "Don't take advice from everyone if you want to do a job well" and the *Proverbs* "you can't believe everything you hear." The fact that Alfred is called "England's darling" in both poems, and Layamon's frequent use of the same term elsewhere, does not seem a strong parallel.⁴

The study of the language (pp. 64-98) is full and competent and indicates clearly enough that the archetype was East Midland in dialect rather than pure Southern. The glossary (pp. 133-160) goes into almost too much detail with five separate entries for the copula on p. 134. The Anglo-Saxon source-word is given in most cases, and often very common inflectional forms. There are a number of regrettable slips in the Anglo-Saxon forms, some representing only the omission of a quantity mark, but others more serious, several of which are apparently due to a failure to consult Toller's *Supplement*. In the first four pages there are slips under the following entries: aloped, among, armes (certainly not directly from Lat. *arma*), at-go, attenende, awei, bisiden, bismare word, bote, boþen, bute.

B. J. WHITING

Harvard University

A Comparative Study of the Beowulf and the Aeneid. By TOM BURNS HABER. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1931. Pp. x + 145. \$4.00.

In this study, as the title indicates, Mr. Haber compares *Beowulf* with the *Aeneid*. His purpose is to "establish the strong probability that there is in the *Beowulf* evidence that the author did possess an acquaintance with the *Aeneid* and took from it various plot-motifs, stylistic devices, and turns of expression which appear in the Anglo-Saxon epic" (p. 4). The demonstration proceeds through six chapters, named as follows: I, Introduction: Survey of Opinion; II, The Popularity of Vergil in Britain about the End of the Seventh Century; III, Indications of Non-Germanic Influence in the *Beowulf*; IV, Broad Similarities in the *Aeneid* and the *Beowulf*; V, Parallels in Phraseology; VI, Parallels in Motif and Sentiment. The volume closes with a working bibliography and an index.

The numerous similarities between *Beowulf* and the *Aeneid* have

³ This is somewhat closer to the passage from Robert of Gloucester, quoted on p. 58, note 49.

⁴ The list of instances of the term in Layamon (p. 60) shows certain liberties taken with the original, as where *deorlig* in Madden is given as "deorlig."

long interested students of *Beowulf*. Zappert, Ker, Chambers, Lawrence, and Klaeber, among others, have pointed out such correspondences, Klaeber's article in *Archiv* (cxxxvi, 1911, 40-48, 339-359) representing the most thorough study of the problem before the appearance of the present volume. Neither Mr. Haber's materials nor his conclusions, therefore, are altogether new, as he himself readily admits; yet his book has the definite value of assembling, organizing, and interpreting the results of previous investigation, besides making independent contributions of its own.

The author begins by establishing the fact of Virgil's popularity in seventh-century England. He reminds us of Virgil's fame throughout Western Europe during the Middle Ages, and goes on to show the frequency with which Virgilian phrases were used by English writers, particularly Aldhelm and Bede. Mr. Haber makes his point, though not so conclusively or so neatly as would have been possible by the use of better authorities. In discussing the mediaeval Virgil, for example, he should have leaned more heavily on Comparetti, perhaps less on Zappert. And for a complete statement of the Virgilian echoes in Aldhelm and Bede, two works not mentioned by the author are indispensable: Ewald's fine edition of Aldhelm (*Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Antiquiss.*, xv), with its exhaustive index of borrowings, and Manitius' fundamental "Zu Aldhelm und Baeda," *Sitzungsb. d. Wien. Akad.*, cxii (1886), 535-634. One also would expect some reference to Plummer's edition of Bede's historical works (especially i, liii). Other shortcomings are found in details. At one point, in order to account for the clerical authorship of much Old English poetry, Mr. Haber makes use of Zappert's notion that the clergy became familiar with vernacular poetry in taverns, to which they frequently resorted to officiate at weddings, christenings, and the like (p. 9). Surely we require no such hypothesis to explain whatever knowledge of vernacular literature was possessed by Acca, Aldhelm, Boniface, Bede, and many another English ecclesiastic; they probably learned their native songs as children. In another place, Mr. Haber states that Bede carried into England books from the Continent (p. 13, note); he must have misunderstood G. F. Browne, whom he cites (*The Venerable Bede*, 1919, p. 7), since Browne is well aware that evidence and probability are strongly against Bede's ever having left England.

In a brief review, it is impossible to take up singly the multitude of parallels that fill the largest part of Mr. Haber's book. They range in extent from such verbal likenesses as that between *swigedon ealle* (*Beow.* 1699) and *conticuere omnes* (*Aen.* ii, 1) to detailed comparisons of entire episodes (as, for example, Beowulf's arrival at the court of Hrothgar and Aeneas' reception in Libya). In the main, these parallels are close, and their large number must establish the probability—certainty is out of the question—that the *Beowulf*-poet knew the *Aeneid* and was influenced by it.

To the bibliography should be added, besides Ewald, Manitius, and Plummer, Rudolf Imelmann's *Forschungen zur altenglischen Poesie* (Berlin, 1920), various chapters of which discuss Virgilian echoes in Old English poetry (see also Heusler's strict review, *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum*, xli, 1921, 27-35).

PUTNAM FENNELL JONES

University of Pittsburgh

English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole. Edited by HOPE EMILY ALLEN. Oxford: the Clarendon Press, 1931. Pp. lxiv + 180. \$2.50.

Here is a book sure of a generous welcome, not only among scholars, but among all who share an interest in mysticism. The selections include nearly everything of importance,—the lyrics, several of which have already been printed by Carleton Brown, extracts from the *Psalter*, the *Meditations on the Passion*, the three *Epistles*, and other items. Needless to say the texts are the product of careful study, and, we may hope, more satisfying in their Middle English than in the transcriptions recently published by Heseltine. In Miss Allen's opinion, "Rolle should be judged by the wise, modest, and often felicitous English works of later life printed in the present volume," (p. xxxv). Her introduction,¹ composed without the restrictions of her larger study, reveals fully the value of her long research and the quality of her ripened judgment. For example, we enjoy her remarks on the *Melum*: "It is a kind of scandal, in its barbarous Latinity and style . . ." (p. xxxiv). Considering popular ideas of mysticism now, it is significant that she says of Rolle, "This miraculous experience has changed his whole character . . ." (p. xxxv), and again: "But, for all his exuberance, he shows on the subject of visions the scepticism of an intellectual," (p. lv), and finally: "His intellectual poise is especially evident in his last Latin work, *Emendatio Vitae*, which marks in a sense the climax of his literary career," (p. lvi).

One might challenge Miss Allen's understanding of the doctrine of grace when she says that "for consistent grace he was to wait till in his last years he wrote the English works . . ." (p. xli), but the fact is that she is using the term in its general sense, and the point is not fully developed. One may be surprised at her reference to his "eager 'modernism,'" (p. lvii, a comment that would have dismayed Rolle most of all), and contrast the observation of Heseltine:

¹ Note the material added in her letter in the *Times Lit. Suppl.*, Sept. 10, 1931, p. 683.

"No less certainly will any attempt to fit Richard Rolle's writings into the scheme of 'modern' thought and 'modern' literature result in failure," (*Selected Works* etc., G. C. Haseltine, London, 1930, p. xxix). We are interested to find some evidence of Rolle's continued devotion to the Virgin Mary (pp. 22-24, p. 131, n. 131 ff. Cf. *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle*, etc., p. 90). The present book is described (*Pref.*, p. v) as a "pendent" to Miss Allen's longer study, and yet it is a matter for regret that here the reader is referred so often to the other volume for quotations from the separate writings. Still more unfortunate is the frequent lack of documentation; but perhaps we should assume that most readers will possess both books.

HOWARD R. PATCH

Smith College

Otway and Lee: Biography from a Baroque Age. By ROSWELL GRAY HAM. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931. Pp. xiv + 250. \$3.00.

It is a question, suggests Professor Ham, "whether we have not lost something of value by our rejection of heroic and sentimental tragedy." The answer, he thinks, lies "in the men themselves and in the conditions that gave rise to their style." So he selects Otway and Lee as typical: "between them they tell almost the whole story" and "explain the salient characteristics of Restoration tragedy." Rightly or wrongly, though Mr. Ham's argument does not take this direction, it seems possible that a romantic revolution may mark the next epoch of Western letters. If it succeeds there is no predicting the fate of drama. The very nature of drama is anti-romantic. Since its essential medium is the actor, romantic departures from reality outrage the dignity of humanity before our very eyes. If great drama is to survive in a romantic age it must compensate, as Shakespeare's did, for its violation of the realism of events, by finding a deeper realism in human nature and by expressing faithfully the facts of the inner life. It is incredible that the empty romanticism of nineteenth-century drama can ever interest thoughtful men again except in opera. But the equivalent distortion of nature by the expressionists, though it be with the purpose of discovering the deeper reality and however it may succeed in the other arts, fails in drama because the drama's medium is directly nature, the living voice and flesh of the actor. If the drama's salvation lies along the way of expressionism we shall have a new art in which décor will be supreme and the actor a puppet if not a nonentity. As for the romantic drama of the past, it is not to be weighed in the scales of modern realism or naturalism; but it can not, in a post-realistic era, avoid the test of *fidelity*, at most to

unchanging aspects of human character, at least to the transient ideals of its own age.

To apply this test to Restoration tragedy is, I take it, the purpose of Mr. Ham's valuable book. The method, highly original, is to set forth the relation of Otway and Lee to their age, partly through parallel biographies, partly by quoting a great deal of Restoration opinion about them, and partly by the author's remarkable talent for selection and association both within and among the various fields of Restoration activity, political, philosophical, and artistic. Much is made of their relations with noble patrons, and much of the influence of the cult of Hobbes on both patrons and dramatists. The mass of quotation is admirably marshalled; much of it comes from prologues, epilogues, and dedicatory epistles, as well as from sources less directly connected with plays. That Otway and Lee were in their way as faithful to the temper of their times as Etherege and Congreve were in theirs, Mr. Ham makes perfectly clear. "The huge dome of St. Paul's, as well as the grandiloquence which reverberated beneath it, the vast embellished canvases of Rubens, the rhetoric and creaking machinery of Lee were all part and parcel of the same tendency."

The interesting question of foreign vs. native influence is discriminatingly handled. Mr. Ham attaches great importance to the baroque French novels of the mid-century, but he does not deny the continuity of the English drama. The temper of the age seems to him the most important factor: "one has the feeling of watching an experiment in biology, to such an extent did the age of Charles II predetermine the growth of poets." Otway and Lee were both stimulated to their highest achievements by politics as well as poverty. Lee, Mr. Ham thinks, was over-stimulated: "to combine thought and Restoration tragedy was questionable for anyone; for Lee it was madness;" and it actually drove him to Bedlam. *Venice Preserved* was the product, not only of Otway, "but of a generation whose nerves were either overslack or overtense, rarely in repose."

It is not too much to say that Mr. Ham has given us an unusually illuminating study. Here and there of course one takes exception to a detail, such as the conclusion that because "formal elocution ruled the stage" the decline of tragedy inevitably ensued. Betterton was a very versatile artist, eminent in comedy as well as in tragedy. Much of Mr. Ham's evidence is probably more applicable to the interval between his death and Garrick's début. The Restoration stage, while doubtless rhetorical compared with ours, could not have suffered very seriously from the dead hand of formalism or tradition. Betterton and his associates knew nothing save by hearsay of the theatre before the Wars. At any rate it seems doubtful that we partly owe "the Congreves and Farquhars" to a freer development of the actor's comic art, although

Mr. Ham's analysis of the methods of the tragedians and his contrast of our stage with theirs are cogent. It is regrettable that he is touched, even slightly, with the current plague of popular biography, for he sometimes strains for an effect, gives too much credence to gossip, or points up a scene with a striking but unauthenticated detail. A performance, for example, at Oxford by the Duke's Company while Otway was in residence, is over-emphasized and conjecturally set forth as a turning-point in the poet's life.

But such blemishes will not obscure for scholars the merit of Mr. Ham's penetrating studies; and for the most part the text is fully documented. The reader who does not consult the footnotes, which are grouped in an appendix, may fail to appreciate from Mr. Ham's modest citations the extent of his original contribution of fact as well as theory, though in his preface he draws general attention to this with a sharp note on Mr. Summers's edition of Otway.

HAZELTON SPENCER

The Johns Hopkins University

The Grumbler. An Adaptation by OLIVER GOLDSMITH. With introduction and notes by ALICE I. PERRY WOOD. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931. Pp. xx + 33. \$1.50.

On May 8, 1773, Oliver Goldsmith's one-act farce, *The Grumbler*, had its first, and apparently sole, public performance. It was one of several brief after-pieces following *King Lear* at a Covent-Garden benefit for the comedian, Quick, to whom Goldsmith felt indebted for his success in establishing Tony Lumpkin as a stage favorite. Two years later, Sheridan similarly wrote his farce, *St. Patrick's Day*, for the benefit performance of Clinch, whose substitution for Lee as Sir Lucius O'Trigger contributed much to the delayed triumph of *The Rivals*. Sheridan's farce had occasional stage-revival for some decades and has been frequently reprinted, but Goldsmith's earlier farce, of which Sir James Prior printed a scene in 1837, is only now made fully available. Professor Wood's attractive edition reproduces the Huntington Library manuscript of *The Grumbler*, together with clear and sufficient critical commentary, appropriate portraits of Goldsmith and Quick, and the first-night playbill. Thus, for the first time, Goldsmith's and Sheridan's respective thank-offerings to their friendly comedians invite full comparison, to the evident disadvantage of Goldsmith. Goldsmith's editor, indeed, does not bring Sheridan into her picture, but characterizes *The Grumbler* independently as "a slight farce, hack work, a carelessly written adaptation of others' material,"

though she adds that "it bears here and there the marks of Goldsmith's irrepressible dramatic genius." Few and furtive, however, are the marks of more than theatrical mediocrity in this abbreviated adaptation of Sedley's *Grumbler*, itself an attempted English adaptation from the French stage which waited more than half a century after Sedley's death for production with still further alterations at Drury Lane, in 1754. That Goldsmith's piece is borrowed—a poor thing, but not his own—would be dubious defense against the crudity of the opening exposition, the fortuitous entrance of various characters, the lack of vital characterization, and the final curtain-tag which points the moral according to the conventions of the very sentimental comedy against which the real Goldsmith was in revolt. Despite some gains in dramatic compression and in minor matters properly noted by the editor, *The Grumbler* may be said to fulfil forebodings rather than to satisfy curiosity. The words of Prior, who himself published a part because it "has never been printed nor is likely to be," have long sounded ominous, though they have not proved literally prophetic. Professor Wood's edition adds definitely to scholarly knowledge of Goldsmith as a theatrical hack-writer and confirms the general verdict that Goldsmith, as dramatist, lives by virtue of one play and some scenes of another—not *The Grumbler*.

GEORGE H. NETTLETON

Yale University

A Poetical Rhapsody. Edited by HYDER E. ROLLINS. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931. Vol. I. Pp. 364. \$4.00.

The Poems of Sidney Godolphin. Edited by WILLIAM DIGHTON, with a Preface by JOHN DRINKWATER. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1931. Pp. xliii + 78. \$3.50.

Johannes Secundus: His Life, Work, and Influence on English Literature. By DOUGALL CRANE. Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie, Heft xvi. Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1931. Pp. 96. M. 6.

Professor Rollins is assuredly the editor-general of his age. To his long list of publications he has now added the last of the Elizabethan miscellanies, in a page-for-page and line-for-line reprint of the first edition of 1602; poems added in the several later editions are included. An introduction and notes are reserved for a second volume. It is superfluous to praise either the work of the Harvard Press or the accuracy and thoroughness of Mr. Rollins's editing. Reading his texts one has the consciousness of being in Abraham's bosom.

There is no room here of course for critical comment on the miscellany itself. Like its predecessors it is very uneven. Glancing back at *Tottel* and its offspring one finds in Davison's collection the old motives of the courtly makers gone to seed; lovers are still sighing and burning and clinging and yearning, and, though death is often desired, the prayers are unhappily not heard. But there are obvious signs of changes in taste. There is relatively little of the moralizing which ballasted most of the earlier miscellanies, and instead we have numerous madrigals and epigrams.

This miscellany, we may remember, differs from others in that much of it was gathered from unpublished writings which would be otherwise unknown. It contains some genuine poetry and a good deal of charming verse. Older and younger generations are represented by such names as Sidney, Watson, Spenser, Constable, Campion, Sir John Davies, and, above the low lutes of love complaining, there is the surge and thunder of *The Lie*. Altogether the book is of great interest to the Elizabethan student, and we may look forward to Mr. Rollins's second volume for discussion of some difficult questions of authorship.

Sidney Godolphin, one of the most attractive personalities of his age, is just good enough as a poet to deserve a more independent status than that afforded by inclusion in Mr. Saintsbury's *Minor Caroline Poets*. This little volume, very competently edited, is a worthy addition to the handsome Tudor and Stuart Library. It gives, one may suppose, a definitive text; one lyric is printed for the first time, from the MS. owned by Mr. Drinkwater.

Although Godolphin's poetic reputation rests mainly on a few lyrics of "high and exquisite grace," his Virgilian translation bulks large in his small output, and presents a problem which doubtless cannot be settled. Mr. Dighton defines the problem clearly. *The Passion of Dido for Æneas* was published in 1658, as "translated by Edmund Waller and Sidney Godolphin." In the 1664 edition of Waller's poems ll. 455-585 are ascribed to him; the remaining 114 lines have not been claimed for either. Mr. Dighton apparently inclines to the view that Godolphin "translated the whole, and that Waller in preparing the poem for publication reworked the middle section to such an extent that he considered it his own." Waller's work is said to have been done in 1657. In any case, as Mr. Dighton says, either Godolphin's handling of the couplet was very nearly equal to Waller's, or Waller's reworking of the whole poem was considerable. It is, one may observe, a most interesting study in the transition from post-Elizabethan to Augustan style to compare Fanshawe's version of the fourth book (done ca. 1639-40, published 1648) with the Godolphin-Waller version. Fanshawe at his best is very fine, as Mr. Mackail has shown. He writes in the Spenserian stanza, Godolphin (or Waller) in a fairly regular couplet. Everywhere we have the contrast between uncer-

tain force, a constantly metaphorical and sometimes conceited style, and the smooth rotundity of Augustan rhetoric. There is room for only one example, which shows Fanshawe in his mood of sober literalness rather than Chapmanesque vigor. *Coniugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam* Fanshawe renders "She calls it wedlock, gives her fault an honest name." The Godolphin-Waller version prefers the grandeur of generality:

But doeth excuse it with Chast Hymens name
and lives exposd a theame to various fame.

The writings of many modern Latinists and their influence on English literature are relatively unfamiliar ground, though Johannes Secundus has received some attention of late years through a reprint of Stanley's translation of the *Basia* and Mr. F. A. Wright's edition and translation of the love poems. Mr. Crane, after a survey of the poet's life and work, gives thirty pages to a study of imitations and echoes in English poetry up to about 1648. It is difficult, often impossible, to isolate the influence of Secundus, for his themes and motives were mostly familiar in ancient poets and in modern French and Italian. Mr. Crane recognizes the difficulty and does not make excessive claims.

DOUGLAS BUSH

University of Minnesota

Aufrisz der deutschen Literaturgeschichte nach neueren Gesichtspunkten, in Verbindung mit E. Ermatinger, P. Merker, G. Müller, H. Naumann, Fr. Neumann, H. Pongs, Fr. Strich und K. Vietor herausgegeben von H. A. KORFF und W. LINDEN. Leipzig und Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1931. Cloth, RM. 6.80.

The material presented in this *Aufrisz* has been known for some time, since it was first published in article form in the *Zeitschrift für Deutscheunde*. The idea of combining these articles in a book is very fortunate, the more so since, in spite of the great number of contributors, a rather surprising uniformity of view-point has been reached. This result is to be explained by the principles applied in this survey which are thoroughly modern and based on most recent research in which a number of the contributors took a leading part. The use of modern terminology is responsible for the fact that such a wealth of material could be concentrated on a little more than 200 pages. Here lies the great value of the book as well as its limitation. The scholar and the advanced student of German literature are helped by this condensation to visualize a wide area perhaps in one expressive concept, which in its turn is almost indispensable for any real advance in the attempt of coördinating

the various expressions of the German mind in a history of German culture. To make this condensation possible the authors dispensed as far as practicable with all the detail not directly contributing to the elucidation of literary ideas and forms. Thus the acquaintance with, or at least, the supplementation of biographies, synopses, facts and tendencies of political and cultural history are in general taken for granted. For the main value of the book lies in that it consistently, although with varying emphasis, relates the products of literature to their philosophical, social, political, and economic background. The limitation of the book is, therefore, that it presupposes a thorough knowledge of facts as well as of recent studies in literary history. On the other hand, it is liable to serve as a reformer wherever literature is still treated from a merely philological point of view.

It is only natural that in such a survey the reader finds himself at variance with the authors; e. g., *Minna von Barnhelm* deserves in my opinion a more philosophical interpretation and classification; the unfortunate isolation of Grillparzer has already been criticized elsewhere; impressionism cannot be satisfactorily interpreted as *schwelgerisches Sich-zu-Tode-Blühen der bürgerlichen Kunst*; its diffusion also has a positive function in the preparation of a more organic conception of the universe. I should have appreciated a short summary of the entire development, on which the authors might have been able to agree.

This little criticism is, however, in no way meant to detract from the high scholastic and pedagogical value of this book. I hope a third edition will follow the second as closely as the second one followed the first.

F. W. KAUFMANN

Smith College

Deutsche Literatur. Sammlung literarischer Kunst- und Kulturdenkmäler in Entwicklungsreihen. Romantik. Band 3 and 16. Bearbeitet von ANDREAS MÜLLER. Band 4. Herausgegeben von PAUL KLUCKHOHN. Leipzig: Philipp Reclam jun. 1930. Band 3, 227 S., Band 4, 335 S., Band 16, 263 S. M. 7.

These three volumes follow the admirable plan adopted in the preceding volumes (See *MLN.*, Feb. 1931), which means that so far as form, make-up, and contents are concerned, the high standard initially set has been respected. When the task of bringing out 250 volumes of this nature was announced, the alien could hardly refrain from asking: is it possible? Now that he sees that the so-and-so-many year plan is bound to be an unqualified success, he can hardly refrain from asking: how was it possible?

Volume 3, *Die Kunstanschauung der Frühromantik*, contains

selections, made on the basis of discriminating strategy, from the works of Novalis, Schelling, Wackenroder, Tieck, Bernhardt, and the Schlegels. If we wonder why August Ferdinand Bernhardt was honored with space when only six lines by him are included, we may turn to the Notes, find the reason, and still wonder a little, since the two Bernhardt sentences touch on so familiar a theme as the relation of the finite to the infinite in art. But there is no use to waste space on such little issues: the material added by the Editor, Andreas Müller, is at once sensible and sharp. Any reader can be quite grateful for the proof given here that Friedrich Schlegel was thoroughly familiar with Goethe's *Ur-Meister* and quite capable of passing judgment on it. The editors throughout have wisely confined themselves to recent years, with negligible exceptions, in their bibliographical compilations. A general "Outline of German Romanticism" that would bring the bibliography up to date would be a valuable manual.

Volume 4, *Lebenskunst*, represents on the textual side Schleiermacher, Gentz, Solger, Dorothea Schlegel, F. H. Jacobi, Steffens, and the seven writers included in Volume 3. Although Kluckhohn in his Introduction overlaps Andreas Müller on several points, his is a model of critical appreciation. It is unlikely that we can find anywhere else more light within the confines of ten pages. The term "Lebenskunst" is taken from Fr. Schlegel's discussion of *Wilhelm Meister*. When one reads this "Einführung," which is heavily loaded down with quotations from the originals, one can only wonder why there is so much talk now about "The Good Life" and "The New Humanism," when the German Romanticists fully, ably, and charitably covered the whole ground and both fields a hundred and twenty-five years ago. Kluckhohn, of course, made himself thoroughly capable of handling this material when he published (1922) his *Die Auffassung der Liebe in der Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts and in der deutschen Romantik*. He proves in this volume, to the satisfaction of anyone who can read with reasonable intelligence, that the old Romanticists, despite *Lucinde*, apologies for *Lucinde*, and all the rest, had a moral idea in mind when they were seemingly indulging in subjective levity.

Volume 16, *Neue Wege der Erzählung*, contains four of Kleist's short stories, Brentano's *Chronika eines fahrenden Schülers*, and the *Nachtwachen* of Bonaventura. Brentano's story is a reprint of the original version, with plain errors corrected (why not, especially when we have the wrong writing in the Notes?), and everything that can be done for Kleist is done here. The real interest of this volume, however, centres on and around the *Nachtwachen*, which the present writer has regarded, for a quarter of a century, as one of the really great creative works of the period and the school. As to the authorship of the *Nachtwachen*, Müller gives all the evidence in favor of Schelling, Hoffmann, Jean Paul, Wetzels (for whom he

votes), and Clemens Brentano. One thing, to this writer, is certain: Despite E. Frank's heroic efforts, Brentano did not write the *Nachtwachen*. However it may be, we have this rare specimen of creative writing before us now in good, clear type; and we have all the argument about the parentage of the orphan. Müller's notes are in truth unusually full. Was it really necessary to inform the happy owner of these volumes that Goethe published *Faust, ein Fragment* in 1790? But when scholars such as those who are back of this magnificent enterprise swear to leave nothing undone they also commit themselves to the ideal of taking nothing for granted.

ALLEN W. PORTERFIELD

West Virginia University

The Dramas of Heinrich von Kleist: A Biographical and Critical Study. By JOHN C. BLANKENAGEL. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1931. Pp. 261. \$3.00

German literary criticism in the nineteenth century goes on apace; that is, it goes on "apace" as Shakespeare used the word, meaning fast, not as Chaucer used it meaning slow. Two years ago Professor Walter Silz published his *Early German Romanticism: Its Founders and Heinrich von Kleist*. In this good and neat study of Romanticism, with its copious quotations from the German, Dr. Silz concluded that when German Romanticism shall have been fulfilled and its visions rounded out into achievement, the name of Kleist will be seen emblazoned along with that of Friedrich Schlegel as a founder of the movement. Professor Blankenagel concludes: "Kleist is too complex to permit of classification as a . . . romanticist, or even as a romanticist with certain reservations . . . Kleist may be regarded as a bridge leading from classicism and romanticism to modern psychological realism."

Is the battle on then between Cambridge and Delaware? No, rather between the perceptual and conceptual sense of Silz and Blankenagel. Each is right for each is sincere. Each admits that Kleist saw life from an angle of his own. How then, on the basis of the very theory of probability, could we expect these two scholars to see the same Kleist, the same Kleist who was much more depressed than was necessary when he read in Kant that simple stuff about the inability of any two people to see the same thing since each sees it with his own eyes? It is not a question regarding the rightness of Blankenagel but of his uprightness; and of this there seems no shadow of doubt. He has worked hard on his book, reasoned cleanly, written clearly, and written well within the book's limitations. These it has and Dr. Blankenagel confines himself within them, which is all that even Kleist himself could have asked.

The book is written exclusively in English and with successful attention to style; apart from the German titles of Kleist's works there is no German. The style is good; it is only a pity that the word "outstanding" is used so frequently; this is a concession to the salesman; the word was used, two decades ago, solely in connection with a lease or a debt; it is an overworked cliché. The word "eruptive" occurs also with singular frequency, but the word suits Kleist. The study is bound to be a wholesome boon to our admired colleagues in all English departments who are becoming more and more monolingual. Whether they are taking their cue from the French, or whether they feel that English is marked out by Fate and Fortune to become the world language is not clear, but the number of English Professors who can read without exasperation more than one language is becoming smaller and smaller.

Professor Blankenagel tells us in his foreword that he wrote the book because we have "large volumes in English on other German dramatists such as Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, Grillparzer, Hebbel, Hauptmann, and Sudermann," and that therefore we should have one on Kleist in English. If he will inform the present writer where the large volumes on Lessing, Hauptmann, and Sudermann are to be found he will greatly accommodate and oblige. Books must be more plentiful in Delaware than they are in Morgantown.

One of the drawbacks in being a Professor of German in this country is the relatively limited number of themes on which it would pay to write a book. In the case of Kleist, the man with deepseated interest has the choice: He may do what Blankenagel has done, or he may translate one of the magnificent volumes on Kleist that have already appeared in Germany. The latter—truth to tell—may be the more useful occupation even though one's colleagues set one down then as a mere transmitter as opposed to a dynamo. Had Blankenagel done Friedrich Braig's *Kleist* (1927) into English and brought it out—in honor of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Kleist's birth, it would have been much more than a gesture with a publisher's check attached. Braig's treatise, incidentally, is nearly five times as large as Blankenagel's. But each man for his own taste and his own opinion. 1929: Kleist was a founder of the Romantic School; 1931: Kleist is no Romanticist at all.

The biographical sketch of thirty-two pages is just about a model of condensation. What a life! There are German "authorities," Eduard Engel in his *Goethe* is one of the most recent, who contend that had Goethe only been kindlier to Kleist in Weimar, Kleist might have come to take the place of Schiller in Goethe's life. No man knows or can know about this. Kleist a genius? A high-grade one, but there was more than one thing wrong with him, and Goethe had a habit of condoning only one weakness at a time.

It is a good wind that blows nobody ill. This book is going to make it harder than ever to give the established course on Nineteenth Century German Drama, for Blankenagel has given Kleist's dramatic plots with such detail, precision, and suggestiveness that the sole way in which it will henceforth be possible to keep the student from reading them rather than the original will be to demand that the report be written in German, or the oral account be made in German. But these plot analyses will be of immense help in departments of comparative literature.

The paragraphing of the book is German and therefore bad. Why have these interminable paragraphs running through pages simply because the Germans do it that way when the clarity, appearance, and even sprightliness of the study would have been greatly increased by breaking them up? The book has a 36-line page. There is not a case or place in it where even one full-page paragraph was justified. There is a bibliography of sixteen pages of titles. There is no index and none was needed; for all the proper names in it could be corralled on to one page. The book is solidly about Kleist. It is misleading to speak at length about the way Kleist "translated" Molière in the *Amphitryon*, though the initiated will understand the use. Adolf Menzel should never have been referred to as "an artist" (p. 126): He was certainly big enough as an artist to demand a more definite article. It is pleasing to read a scholar who admits, even shows, that Kleist was a profound student neither of source documents nor of source philosophy. How could he have been when he wasted seven years in the army and about six years floundering around in despair preparing to assassinate some emperor or commit suicide?

Blankenagel has given some interesting data regarding the number of times *Die Hermannsschlacht* was performed in 1914 as opposed to the number of performances in 1916 and 1917, and he is quite right in saying that it "can come into its own on the stage only in times of national crisis." One of the writer's students once queried, with more agony than elegance, "Was this thing ever played on the stage in Germany?" The most stimulating section of the book deals with the rôle emotions played on the stage of Kleist's heart.

ALLEN W. PORTERFIELD

West Virginia University

Bayle The Sceptic. By HOWARD ROBINSON. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. Pp. x + 334.

The present detailed survey of Pierre Bayle's life, opinions, and influence was undertaken by a Bayle enthusiast whose object was to popularize Bayle's ideas in English-speaking countries. There

is as yet no biography available for English readers of the founder of modern rationalism, and *Bayle The Sceptic* by Professor Robinson opportunely fills a certain need. In the preface the reader is warned to think of this study "not as a learned dissertation but a vital portrait." In his endeavor to save Bayle from human ingratitude and to reinstate him in the position to which he is entitled, R. gratuitously assumes that Bayle's "supreme disregard for fame hardly warrants a continued ignorance of his place as the precursor of the eighteenth century" and that Bayle "deserves remeasurement." French and English critics have uniformly considered Bayle as a forerunner of the eighteenth century, and in this respect R.'s reappraisal of the philosopher of Rotterdam does not materially modify their previous rating and interpretation.

In telling appreciatively of Bayle's militant career the new biographer did well to avail himself of Desmaizeaux' first and still authoritative life of Bayle; yet in an attempt at presenting a vital portrait of Bayle it is unfortunate that he scarcely made use first hand, at least, of Bayle's *Correspondance*, *Lettres à sa famille*, and Marais' precious *Mémoires*. Throughout the book R. has summarized some of Bayle's writings, often quoting generously from them in English. Sometimes the quotations are not given in full: for instance, the author omits (p. 21) two lines and gives as Bayle's own words two lines which are a translation from Pliny and which properly appear in italics in the French text; again quotations from Voltaire should read, (p. 290) *Je vais le consulter* and *Bayle enseigne à douter*, (p. 293) *opinions infectées*.

Bayle's rationalistic views are justly given due prominence and receive, in fact, an elaborate treatment, but, notwithstanding R.'s efforts at historical thoroughness, the student of Bayle will have to turn to Delvolvé's admirable study for a more critical and original discussion of Bayle's ideas. R. argues on the mysterious authorship of the *Avis aux réfugiés*, but he adds no new light on this much-debated question, which remains as ever *en suspens*. The Annet-Bayle influence on Voltaire's *Saül*, also touched upon, has been explained recently by Professor Torrey. With insufficient data perhaps for its validity, R. advances the opinion that Bayle "showed the way in the abundant use Voltaire, Montesquieu, and their contemporaries made of China, Persia and Japan for purposes of invidious comparison with so-called Christian Europe."

More at length than is usually found in other books R. has reviewed Bayle's influence in Germany, England, and France. Undoubtedly Bayle's share in the propagation of rationalistic ideas in Europe in the eighteenth century is far-reaching and still remains to be studied definitely. Bayle's influence on the mind of Frederick the Great R. considers "powerful"; he questions the connection between Bayle and the English deists, Toland, Collins, and Tindal; he sees a close relationship between Bayle and Shaftes-

bury and an influence of Bayle on Mandeville, while Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* has "indubitable Baylian ear-marks." In France the Baylian atmosphere is incontestable, but it is obvious after reading R.'s comments that Bayle's influence on Voltaire and the Encyclopedists needs further investigation in order to be determined with accuracy. The bibliography of Bayle's works is appreciably more complete "than any that has been attempted hitherto." However, to the list of works on Bayle the following should be added: Lacoste, *Bayle, Nouvelliste et critique littéraire* (this volume includes a new edition of Bayle's *Harangue de Mr. le Duc de Luxembourg à ses juges*); Tilley, *The Decline of the Age of Louis XIV.*, and studies by Lanson and Ascoli.

University of North Dakota

HENRY E. HAXO

An Investigation into the Character of Jonathan Swift. By C. VAN DOORN. Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger, 1931. Pp. 152.

The title of this volume is misleading. Instead of an investigation into Swift's character, we find an attempt to fit Swift into the various character-types set up by Professors Heymans and Wiersma as a result of their study of 2523 case histories furnished by a questionnaire to three thousand Dutch physicians. The types deduced from this "sehr gemischte Gesellschaft," and based upon ninety questions, prove to be the nervous, the sentimental, the sanguine, the phlegmatic, the choleric, the passionate, and the amorphous. With the aid of formulae, tables, and lines traversing a cube of reference, Dr. Van Doorn proceeds to grade Swift's standing in each group. The effect is to make Swift a footnote to an article by Dr. Heymans in a journal of psychology.

Even when the conclusion is sound (although always trite), the writer owes nothing to his circuitous comparisons with Heymans' types. The reader is frequently reminded of the Academy of Lagado. Question No. 71, "Does the subject prefer outdoor or indoor recreations?", is answered by a profusion of references to prove that Swift frequented coffee-houses, offset by references to his "seclusive habits." No. 76, "Is the subject an enthusiastic collector?", reveals that Swift wrote to Stella, "I am resolved to bring over a great deal of china. I loved it mightily today. . . . We sauntered at china-shops and booksellers." No. 77 suggests new approaches to Swift: "Is the subject an anarchist, socialist, theosophist, vegetarian, teetotaler, or a partisan of 'Kollewijn'schen Rechtschreibung'?"

The recklessness with which Dr. Van Doorn uses his material appears on every page. Mrs. Pilkington's "Memoirs (1748) which bear the stamp of truthfulness," and the amazing statement, "In

1727 appeared 'Gulliver's Travels,' are characteristic samples of error.

Dr. Van Doorn would seem to have been led into this investigation by a private interest in Heymans' classification of character rather than by a knowledge of Swift. It is to be regretted that the results were not kept private. The volume, unfortunately, will find its ways into bibliographies, and students of Swift who use it will waste their time.

Dartmouth College

WILLIAM ALFRED EDDY

An Old Icelandic Medical Miscellany. Edited by HENNING LARSEN. MS Royal Irish Academy 23 D 43 with Supplement from MS Trinity College (Dublin) L -2- 27. Utgitt for Nansens Fond, Oslo: Jacob Dybvad (Det norske videnskapsakademi i Oslo), 1931.

In the words of the editor, "the manuscript Royal Irish Academy 23 D 43 is the most important Icelandic medical document preserved from the middle ages." Not only does it contain almost all that is found elsewhere in old Scandinavian manuscripts of medical lore, but a good deal more. The work is thus of no small interest to students of medical history and culture in general. But it is not only a storehouse of information to medical men, pharmacologists, and botanists, for the Icelandic lexicographer will find it well worth while to run through its pages.

The edition has all the appearances of being carried out with great care and circumspection. A faithful letter by letter reproduction has been aimed at. The introduction gives first a general description of the manuscript with a discussion of the peculiarities of the various scribes. This material enables the editor to fix the time of the MS. as the late 15th cent. and the place as Iceland. But, being translated or written after Norwegian and Danish originals, the MS. abounds in more or less assimilated loanwords from Norwegian and Danish.

The rest of the introduction is devoted to a minute comparison of our MS. with its sources or other available parallels. The text is followed by an English translation and a very full glossary where new or non-Icelandic words are marked with a dagger.

The editor's task has not been easy, for the text makes tough reading due to its highly technical subject matter. It is no wonder, then, that there are still to be found a few words in the Glossary with which the editor has not been able to do anything, or that some of his identifications may be open to doubt. I hope to be able to point out some examples of this elsewhere.

As it is, one has far greater reason to admire and be thankful for the excellent work done.

The Johns Hopkins University

STEFAN EINARSSON

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[The *English* list includes only books received.]

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Modern Language Notes

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DOPPELDRUCKE VON GOETHE'S *NEUEN SCHRIFTEN*, 1792-1800

Erster Band, 1792 (1800)

Von diesem Bande liegen mir vier Drucke vor, je zwei mit dem Datum 1792 (N^{1.2}) und 1800 (N^{3.4}). Da mein Exemplar des Originaldrucks N¹ vollständiger ist als die von Hirzel und Meyer benutzten, so möge hier die Kollation folgen: 1 Bl. Titel: *Goethe's neue Schriften. Erster Band. Mit einem Kupfer. Mit Kurfürstl. Sächs. Privilegium. Berlin. Bei Johann Friedrich Unger. 1792.* Zweiter Titel: *Der Groß-Cophta. Ein Lustspiel in fünf Aufzügen von Goethe. Berlin. Bey Johann Friedrich Unger. 1792.* S. 1-224, 223, 224, 225-241, darnach drei leere Seiten. Schluß des Groß-Cophta auf S. 241; S. 245: *Des Joseph Balsamo, genannt Cagliostro, Stammbaum.* Von S. 248 springt die Seitenzählung auf 349, läuft so bis 464 (Schluß des römischen Carnevals); darauf 1 Bl. Inhalt und 1 Kupfer (Cagliostros Stammbaum). Bogen A bis Aa, 8°. Der Halbbogen Q enthält 5 bedruckte und 3 leere Seiten; hierdurch wurde die in der Weimarer Ausgabe (Bd. 17, S. 363) nicht erwähnte Einzel-Ausgabe des Groß-Cophta ermöglicht: man brauchte nur den Band-Titel zu entfernen, um die Einzel-Ausgabe herzustellen. Hierin stimmt auch der Druck N² überein, für den überhaupt auch die sonstige Kollation von N¹ gilt. Anzunehmen ist also, daß unter den existierenden Exemplaren des Einzeldrucks 1792 auch solche vorkommen werden, die nicht den Text des Originaldrucks N¹, sondern den des Doppeldrucks N² aufweisen. Überhaupt muß der Doppeldruck N² sehr früh veranstaltet worden sein, da ich zwei Misch-Exemplare in altem Einbände besitze, deren Bogen A-Q vom Satze N², Bogen R-Aa dagegen vom Originalsatz N¹ abgezogen sind. Von einem solchen Misch-Exemplare stammt auch der folgende Druck N³ ab:

N³: *Goethe's neue Schriften. Erster Band. Mit einem Kupfer. Berlin. Bei Johann Friedrich Unger. 1800.* Seitenzählung: 1-66, 76, 68-224, 223, 224, 225-240 (Schluß des Groß-Cophta); dann drei unbezeichnete Seiten, darauf 248-258, 359-361, 365, 363-366, 267, 368, 369, 270, 371, 272, 373, 374, 275-290, 391-395, 963, 397-423, 454, 425-464. 1 Bl. Inhalt, 1 Kupfer. Das erste, unbezeichnete und nur einseitig bedruckte Blatt des Bogens P fehlt den meisten Exemplaren: *Der Groß-Cophta. Ein Lustspiel in fünf Aufzügen* (ohne Punkt). Dieses Blatt kann kaum als Ersatz des ersten Blattes des Bogens A gedacht sein, dessen Rückseite das Verzeichniß der Personen enthält.

N⁴: der Titel dieses Druckes stimmt mit N³ überein, nur hat N⁴ vor dem Worte *Berlin* einen spitz auslaufenden Strich, während dieser in N³ gerade ist. N⁴ wurde seitengleich von N³ abgesetzt, zählt aber richtig 362 Seiten.

Bei folgender Auswahl aus den mir vollständig vorliegenden Lesarten der vier Drucke wurden erstens solche Stellen berücksichtigt, die für die Textgeschichte in Betracht kommen, und zweitens solche, die durch Druck- oder Satzfehler die Unterscheidung etwa ähnlicher Drucke ermöglichen; nach der Stellenangabe folgt, in Klammern, Seite und Zeile der Weimarer Ausgabe; die dort gegebenen Siglen werden auch hier benutzt: S. 13, 12 (*Groß-Cophta*, W. Bd. 17, S. 125, 11) Getümmel! N¹ Getümmel? N²⁻⁴A-CW 14, 10 (125, 24) herein gekommen N¹⁻²A herein gekommen N³⁻⁴ 18, 13 (127, 24) nicht Ein N¹ nicht ein N²⁻⁴ A-CW Z. 19 (128, 1) Thörichter N¹⁻³⁻⁴ Thörigter N² 30, 4 (134, 3) Ist er er schon N² Drf. 40, 9 (140, 12) verlohren N¹ verloren N²⁻⁴ entsprechend 44, 4 (142, 11) 56, 13 (148, 25) frägt N¹ fragt N²⁻⁴ 62, 17 (152, 5) könnte? N¹ könnte. N²⁻⁴ 66, 2 (153, 24) wie N¹ wie N²⁻⁴ 82, 20 (162, 24) fürchten? N¹ fürchten! N²⁻⁴ 90, 16 (167, 2) kvnnte N¹ Drf. 91, 12 (167, 16) übrige N¹ Uebrige N²⁻⁴ 102, 2 (174, 21) viele N¹ viel N²⁻⁴ 103, 19 (175, 16) Hier! N¹ Hier, N²⁻⁴ 109, 10 (178, 13) nicht anders N¹ nichts anders N²⁻⁴ A 112, 13 (180, 5) Ihnen N¹⁻⁴ ihnen N²⁻³ 118, 3 (182, 25) unversöhnliche N¹⁻²⁻⁴ unversönliche N³ 134, 17 (191, 18) kreutzweise N¹ kreuzweise N²⁻⁴ 138, 11 (194, 2) Ungedult N¹ Ungeduld N²⁻⁴ 140, 7.8 (195, 2) entscheidendsten N¹ entscheidensten N²⁻⁴ 155, 3 (202, 10) mögt' N¹ möcht' N²⁻⁴ 169, 1 (209, 24) einen N¹⁻⁴ einem N²⁻³ Drf. Z. 3 (Z. 26) von ihm N¹⁻⁴ von ihn N²⁻³ Drf. 170, 18

(210, 21) Scheri N¹ Drf. Scherz N²⁻⁴ 181, 11 (216, 3) Rltter N¹ Drf. Ritter N²⁻⁴ Rittter N³ Drf. 191, 9 (221, 7) heute Nacht N^{1.2} diese Nacht N^{3.4} 193, 3 (222, 8) zustchern N¹ Drf. 194, 17 (223, 11) ihn recht dünkt N^{1.2}AB¹ ihm recht dünkt N^{3.4}BC¹CW 199, 2 (226, 16) großeu N¹ Drf. Z. 16 (227, 1) Oberst N¹B¹ Obrist N²⁻⁴ABC¹CW 203, 10 (228, 23) zu gefallen N¹ zu Gefallen N²⁻⁴ 214, 1 (234, 25) Oberst N¹ Oberster N²⁻⁴AW *entsprechend* Z. 9 (235, 1). 216, 1 (235, 21). 217, 1 (236, 8). 218, 11 (237, 3). 224, 10 (240, 12). 229, 14 (244, 5) 216, 9 (235, 26) jeden N^{1.3.4} jedem N² Drf. 220, 14 (238, 11) er N¹ Er N²⁻⁴ 221, 3 (238, 18) Er N^{1.2} er N^{3.4} Z. 17 (239, 1) Abendteuer N¹ Abenteuer N²⁻⁴ 223, 19 (240, 6) Oberst N¹ Obrister N²⁻⁴ Oberster AW 224, 12 (240, 13) nun schon N¹ nur schon N²⁻⁴AW 228, 3 (243, 7) Hofjuwiliieren N¹ Hofjuwelieren N²⁻⁴ 230, 5 (244, 14) übergebe N^{1.3.4} über gebe N² 237, 17 (248, 11) Triumpfe N^{1.3.4} Triumphe N² 238, 3 (248, 15) sie . . . Ihnen N¹ Sie . . . ihnen N²⁻⁴ 240, 16. 17 (250, 1. 2) ihren . . . ihre N¹ Ihren . . . Ihre N²⁻⁴

S. 350, 2 (*Cagliostro's Stammbaum*, W. 31. Bd. S. 128, 6) andre N^{1.3.4} andere N² 351, 14 (129, 4) ohngefehr N^{1.3} ohngefähr N^{2.4} 353, 3 (130, 1) sizilianischen N^{1.3.4} sicilianischen N²A 354, 7 (130, 22) mehreren N^{1.3.4} mehrerern N² 356, 7 (132, 3) Betrogne, Halbbetrogne N^{1.3.4} Betrogene, Halbbetrogene N²A 358, 8 (133, 10) qualifizire N^{1.3.4} qualificire N²A Z. 12 (Z. 14) Negotiazion N^{1.3.4} Negoziation N²A 361, 4 (135, 4) schien N^{1.2} scheint N^{3.4} 362, 17 (136, 5) zum sitzen N^{1.3.4} zum Sitzen N²A 364, 1 (136, 27) herein gekommen N¹ hereingekommen N²A hinein gekommen N^{3.4} Z. 12 (137, 9) Angen N¹ Drf. 366, 1 (138, 7) wolle N^{1.2}A wollte N^{3.4} Z. 10 (Z. 14) Brief abzuholen N^{1.3.4} Brief selbst abzuholen N²AW Z. 14 (Z. 17) werde, N¹ werde; N²⁻⁴ *zwei Exx. von* N¹ *teilen diese Lesart* 378, 5 (301, 3) Schester N¹ Drf. Z. 17 (Z. 12) Snnme N¹ Drf.

S. 401, 5 (*Römisches Carneval*, W. 32. Bd. S. 231, 22) für N^{1.3.4} vor N²A 403, 10 (233, 7) Classe N^{1.3.4} Klasse N²A 413, 15 (239, 12) colossalischen N^{1.3.4} colassalischen N² 427, 13 (248, 3) hie N^{1.3.4} hier N²A 431, 8 (250, 13) Unzählich N^{1.3.4} Unzählig N² 432, 14 (251, 9) unversehens N^{1.2.4} unversehns N³ 442, 6 (257, 10) ungeduldig N^{1.2} unbändig N^{3.4}

446, 15 (260, 6) letzte mal N^{1.3.4} letztmal N² 459, 5 (267, 27) Komplimente N^{1.3.4} Kompliment N²AW Z. 16 (268, 9) aus benachbarte N^{1.3.4} Drf. ans benachbarte N²A 461, 1 (269, 3) schwindeln N^{1.3.4} schwindlen N²A Z. 2 (Z. 4) unmöglich. N¹ Drf. unmöglich, N² unmöglich N^{3.4}

Der Doppeldruck N² wurde Vorlage, und somit Fehlerquelle für A, wie z. B. aus den Stellen 199, 16. 214, 1. 223, 19. 366, 10. 459, 5 leicht zu erkennen ist. Von den Herausgebern der Weimarer Ausgabe (Bd. 17, 31, 32) sind die Doppeldrucke nicht beachtet worden, trotzdem schon schon Wilhelm Vollmer im Jahre 1868¹ das Vorhandensein und den schädlichen Einfluß der Doppeldrucke der folgenden Bände der Neuen Schriften nachgewiesen hatte. Die meisten der von N² im ersten Bande eingeführten Druckfehler gehen von A auf die späteren Ausgaben über: daß sie aus dem heutigen Texte entfernt werden müssen, braucht kaum betont zu werden. Man vergleiche zum Beispiel das Wort *Oberst*, welches im *Groß-Cophtha* meistens in dieser Schreibweise, stellenweise auch als *Oberster*, und ganz vereinzelt als *Obrist* vorkommt. Anstatt zu normieren, mengt N² diese Formen noch mehr durch einander: an einer Stelle (vgl. die oben gegebenen Lesarten) führt N² anstatt *Oberst* die Form *Obrist* ein, welche sich bis in die Weimarer Ausgabe erhalten hat; ein andermal setzt N² die Form *Obrister*, die dann in A-CW als *Oberster* erscheint. An sieben weiteren Stellen setzt N² für *Oberst* die Form *Oberster*, die sich dann jedesmal in ABCW wiederfindet. Die Schreibweise der späteren Ausgaben wurde also hauptsächlich durch N² festgelegt. Dabei handelt es sich keineswegs um eine Normierung, denn die Form *Oberst* findet sich immer noch am zahlreichsten. Reine Druckfehler, die unbedingt auszumerzen sind, sind ferner die Stellen 224, 12 nur schon; 366, 10 Brief selbst abzuholen; 458, 5 Kompliment.

Zweiter Band, 1794

N¹: *Goethe's neue Schriften. Zweyter Band. Mit Kurfürstl. Sächs. Privilegium. Berlin. Bei Johann Friedrich Unger. 1794.* Titel, 491 Seiten, 1 Bl. Druckfehler. Bogen A-Hh, 8°. S. [1]: *Reinecke Fuchs in zwölf Gesängen.* S. [3]: *Erster Gesang.* Es gibt Exemplare auf besserem und schlechterem Papier: erstere

¹ "Zur Geschichte und Kritik des Goethe'schen Textes," Beilage zur *Allgemeinen Zeitung*, Augsburg, No. 103, 1868.

messen unbeschnitten 175 x 120 mm., bei einer Stärke von 27–35 mm.; von Bogen Q an liegt ein anderes Papier vor, welches nur 110 mm. Breite aufweist. Ein Exemplar auf schlechtem Papier hat eine Stärke von nur 19 mm., auch fehlt diesem das Druckfehlerverzeichnis. Anstatt 72, 248, 255, 313, 463 stehen in allen meinen Exemplaren die Seitenzahlen 62, 148, 257, 413, 492, während die erste Ziffer der Zahl 84 schief steht. In der Weimarer Ausgabe Bd. 50, S. 353 erwähnt H. G. Gräf zwei Gattungen von abweichenden Exemplaren, die sich in den Bogen Y, Cc und Dd (N^{1a}) und Aa (N^{1b}) von den übrigen unterscheiden; die Lesarten von N^{1a} sind mit im Apparate verzeichnet, von dem damals schon verschollenen Exemplare N^{1b} werden nur zwei Lesarten angegeben. Ein Exemplar in meinem Besitz, und zwar das oben erwähnte auf schlechtem Papier, weist nun in acht Bogen (C, Y, Z, Aa, Bb, Cc, Dd, Ee) abweichende Lesarten auf, mit welchen die von Gräf für N^{1a} verzeichneten übereinstimmen. Stellenweise scheint neuer Satz vorzuliegen, der sich jedoch nie auf einen ganzen Bogen erstreckt: demnach liegt Presskorrektur vor. Folglich sollten die neuen Lesarten die korrekteren sein, was sich jedoch nicht immer behaupten läßt. Dabei ist zu bemerken, daß die mir vorliegenden Exemplare einheitlich zusammengestellt sind, zwei Exemplare auf besserem Papier haben übereinstimmend die mit N¹ bezeichneten Lesarten, das Exemplar mit den Lesarten N^{1a} besteht durchweg aus Bogen, die auf schlechterem Papier gedruckt sind. Möglicherweise werden noch andere Exemplare auftauchen, welche die korrigierten Bogen in anderer Zusammenstellung aufweisen. Lesarten: S. 38, 19 (Weim. Ausg. Bd. 50, Reineke Fuchs II, 15) holen N¹ hohlen N^{1a} N^{2.3} 344, 15 (IX, 358) entschuld'gen N^{1.2.3} entschuldigen N^{1a} 355, 3.4 (X, 38) wird | er im N^{1.2} wird er | im N^{1a} 361, 9 (X, 97) Hecktor N¹ Hektor N^{1a} N² 365, 11 (X, 136) er eilte N^{1.2} Drf. es eilte N^{1a} 369, 11 (X, 175) Aengstlich N^{1.2} Aenstlich N^{1a} Drf. 389, 10 (X, 364) Hälfte N¹ Hälfte, N^{1a} N² 390, 17 (X, 378) gebiethet N^{1.2} gebietet N^{1a} 391, 13 (X, 386) Hälte N¹ Drf. Hälfte N^{1a} N² 392, 4 (X, 391) sagte N¹ Drf. sage N^{1a} N² 396, 1 (X, 426) Theil N¹ Drf. Theil N^{1a} N² 398, 9 (X, 449) Dankbar, N^{1.2} Dankbar N^{1a} 400, 8 (X, 466) wundern! N^{1.2} wundern? N^{1a} 407, 7 (XI, 21) Einen N¹ Einem N^{1a} N² 408, 5 (XI, 30) im kalten N¹ im kaltem N^{1a} Drf. 411, 14 (XI, 63) freylich N¹ freilich N^{1a} 412, 5 (XI, 69) ihm N¹ Drf. ihn N^{1a} N² 412, 9 (XI, 71) hab' N¹ hab N^{1a}

413, 18 (XI, 85) läugnen N¹ leugnen N^{1a} 415, 7 (XI, 100) beschädigt N^{1.2} AB¹ beschädigt N^{1a} N³ W 416, 1 (XI, 107) Gevatterin N^{1.2} Gavatterinn N^{1a} 416, 3 (XI, 108) in dem N^{1.2} Drf. in den N^{1a} 416, 13 (XI, 113) ihr kam N¹ Drf. ihr kamt N^{1a} N² 421, 8 (XI, 158) ehr' N^{1.2} ehr N^{1a} 424, 9 (XI, 188) abscheuliches N^{1.2} Abscheuliches N^{1a} W 426, 17 (XI, 212) bezeugte N^{1.2} bezeugte N^{1a} 427, 2 (XI, 213) Närrin N^{1.2} Närrinn N^{1a} 429, 7 (XI, 236) beynahe N^{1.2} beinahe N^{1a} 429, 19 (XI, 242) erzeugt N^{1.2} erzeugt N^{1a} 430, 17 (XI, 251) Wiederholt N^{1.2} Wiederholt N^{1a} 432, 5 (XI, 265) versetzt N^{1.2} versetzt' N^{1a} 447, 5 (XI, 407) den Dachs N¹ Drf. der Dachs N^{1a} N². Anstatt 421 hat N¹ die Seitenzahl 321, in N^{1a} ist sie richtiggestellt. Anzunehmen ist, daß andere Exemplare eine neue Zusammenstellung von korrigierten und unkorrigierten Bogen aufweisen werden, gerade wie dies bei dem 11. Bande der A-Ausgabe der Fall ist (vgl. *MLN.*, 1911, S. 137).

Die Doppeldrucke N², N³, denen das Druckfehlerverzeichnis fehlt, unterscheiden sich sonst nicht von dem Originaldruck N¹. Die unverkauften Exemplare von N³ wurden im Jahre 1822 als Einzelausgabe in den Handel gebracht: *Goethe's Reinecke Fuchs. In zwölf Gesängen. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1822*. Dieser Titel wurde zweimal gedruckt: die eine Gattung hat vor dem Worte *Leipzig* einen spitz auslaufenden Strich, in der anderen findet sich ein dicker, gerader Strich. Lesarten: S. 8, 8 (I, 28) ätzenden N¹ ätzendem N^{2.3} 9, 4 (I, 36) erzählen N^{1.2} erzählen N³ 17, 2 (I, 111) voraus N^{1.3} yoraus N² Drf. 20, 17 (I, 149) Willen N^{1.3} Wtllen N² Drf. 25, 13 (I, 197) Herr und König N^{1.2} König und Herr N³ 43, 10 (II, 59) fern N^{1.3} ferne N² 54, 11 (II, 166) mögt N^{1.2} möchte N³ 58, 18 (II, 209) hinunter N^{1.2} herunter N³ 62, 1 (II, 240) Handschnh N¹ Drf. 91, 1 (III, 191) Sey es wie N¹ Sey wie N^{2.3} 102, 7 (III, 301) Daß ich N¹ Und ich N^{2.3} 102, 9 (III, 302) Und ich N¹ Daß ich N^{2.3} 127, 1 (IV, 54) fürwahr N¹ führwahr N^{2.3} 152, 11 (IV, 292) wißt N^{1.2} wüßt N³ 173, 3 (V, 147) Mann, N¹ Man, N² Mann N³ 181, 13 (V, 224) daran N¹ dran N^{2.3} 201, 13 (VI, 96) mir N¹ nur N^{2.3} 205, 18 (VI, 136) von Hofe N¹ vom Hofe N^{2.3} 212, 5 (VI, 198) Geschmackes N^{1.2} Geschmacks N³ 222, 17 (VI, 298) Hörtet N^{1.2} Höret N³ 240, 15 (VII, 15) am besten N¹ am bestem N^{2.3} 244, 1 (VII, 45) Seht vier Löcher N¹ Sehr viel Löcher N^{2.3} 252, 11 (VII, 126) Lupardus

N^{1.2} Lapardus N³ 255, 13 (VII, 155) alle alle N^{1.2} Drf. alle N³ 304, 3 (VIII, 334) führ ich N^{1.3} für ich N² Drf. 320, 19 (IX, 133) kennen N^{1.2} nennen N³ 357, 9 (X, 59) erwieß N¹ erwies N^{2.3} 373, 17 (X, 216) bewieß, N¹ bewies, N² bewies; N³ 386, 2 (X, 332) erzeugen N^{1.2} erzeugen N³ 412, 19 (XI, 76) fürwahr N^{1.2} führwahr N³ 460, 3 (XII, 85) brummte N^{1.2} brumte N³ 469, 1 (XII, 171) Bey N^{1.3} Bry N² Drf. 473, 7 (XII, 211) Verwandte N^{1.2} Verwandten N³. Der Druck N² hat als Vorlage für N³ gedient: auf die späteren Ausgaben haben die beiden Drucke keinen Einfluß gehabt.

Dritter Band.

N¹: *Goethe's neue Schriften. Dritter Band. Mit Kurfürstl. Sächs. Privilegium. Berlin. Bei Johann Friedrich Unger. 1795.* Einzeltitel: *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre. Ein Roman. Herausgegeben von Goethe. Erster Band. Berlin. Bey Johann Friedrich Unger. 1795.* 364 Seiten, 8°. Bogen A–Y zu je 16 Seiten, Bogen Z zu 8 Seiten, Bogen Aa zu 4 Seiten. Bogenorm: W. Meisters *Lehrj.* 3 Musikbeilagen. Es gibt Exemplare auf feinem, weißem, sowie auf grobem, grauem Papier. Ferner kommen Titelblätter vor, ohne Ungers Namen, nur mit der Angabe: *Frankfurt und Leipzig. 1795.* Auch hier ist der eigentliche Text von dem Originalsatz N¹ abgezogen. Der Zweck dieses Kunstgriffes war natürlich, den Nachdruckern das Handwerk zu legen.² Schließlich ist zu bemerken, daß die Bände 3–7 der Neuen Schriften nicht mit denselben Lettern gedruckt sind wie die vorhergehenden. Dies läßt sich schon daran erkennen, daß im 1. und 2. Bande durchweg â, ô, û, vorkommen, während die späteren Bände durchweg ä, ö, ü aufweisen. Auch sonst, besonders bei den großen Buchstaben, lassen sich Unterschiede zwischen den Lettern nachweisen. Entweder hat also der Drucker zwischen 1792 und 1795 neues Material angeschafft, oder die späteren Bände sind in einer andern Offizin hergestellt.

N², N³: hier gilt dieselbe Kollation, abgesehen davon, daß mir bei den Doppeldrucken keine Exemplare mit der Angabe *Frank-*

² Bei der ersten Ausgabe der *Jungfrau von Orleans* (1802) hat Unger genau dasselbe Verfahren beobachtet: der anscheinliche Nachdruck (*Frankfurt und Leipzig*) ohne Verlagsfirma, ist vom Originalsatze abgezogen, während die Exemplare mit Ungers Firma meistens späteren Satz aufweisen.

furt und Leipzig bekannt sind. Lesarten: S. 3, 1 (Weimarer Ausg. Bd. 21, S. 3, 1 Crstes Eapitel N² Drf. 4, 10 (3, 20) neusten N^{1.3} neuesten N² 8, 1 (6, 2) spotttend N³ Drf. 9, 6 (6, 21) herein N^{1.3} hinein N² A 13, 12 (9, 7) Gedult N^{1.3} B¹ Gedult N² AA¹ B 15, 9 (10, 9) vom großen N^{1.3} des großen N² A-C 15, 20 (10, 17) Büchelchen N^{1.3} Büchlein N² A-CW 27, 4 (17, 20) schien! N^{1.3} schien. N² AW 38, 3 (24, 5) Knabens N^{1.3} Knaben N² AW 56, 9 (35, 12) Zweifeln N^{1.2} Zweifel N³ 108, 19 (68, 25.26) weiten und langen N^{1.3} langen und weiten N² A-C 111, 21 (70, 20) bemächtigte! N^{1.3} B bemächtigte. N² A 133, 3 (83, 21) konnte mit N^{1.2} A konnte er mit N³ 190, 13 (120, 12) schmerzlosen N^{1.3} schmerzenlosen N² A-CW 297, 15 (187, 12) schon immer N^{1.2} noch immer N³ 327, 18 (205, 26) ihr hohe N^{1.3} ihr hohen N² A-W 355, 10 (224, 5) der Stärkere N^{1.2} der Stärkerer N³.

Der Doppeldruck N³ geht ohne Vermittelung von N² direkt auf N¹ zurück; dagegen hat N² als Vorlage, und somit Fehlerquelle, für A gedient. Diese Tatsache hatte schon Vollmer im Jahre 1868 (S. oben, Anm. 1) richtig erkannt und für die Textkritik verwertet: in der Weimarer Ausgabe sind Vollmers Resultate anerkannt, aber nicht immer befolgt worden. Man vergleiche zum Beispiel unter den oben angeführten Stellen die Lesarten zu 10, 17; 17, 20; 120, 12; 205, 26 (nach der Weimarer Ausgabe): an sämtlichen Stellen sollte die ursprüngliche Lesart von N¹ wieder hergestellt werden.

Vierter Band.

N¹: Titelblätter denen des dritten Bandes entsprechend. 374 Seiten, 1 Bl.: *Nachricht an den Buchbinder*, 2 Musikbeilagen. 8°. Bogen A-Aa, letzterer zu 4 Bll.; Bogenorm: *W. Meisters Lehrj. 2*. Dieselbe Kollation gilt für N^{2.3}, abgesehen davon, daß mir keine Exemplare mit der Angabe *Frankfurt und Leipzig* bekannt sind. Lesarten: S. 9, 4 (234, 13) Molodie N³ Drf. 11, 7 (235, 19) das N^{1.3} was N²-C 20, 11 (241, 4) empfand N^{1.2} entpfand N³ 21, 15 (241, 24) hinunter N^{1.3} herunter N² A-W 40, 3 (253, 1) sogleich N^{1.2} folglich N³ 54, 1 (261, 25) mache N^{1.3} machte N² A 115, 18 (299, 6) um N^{1.3} und N² AA¹ 124, 6 (304, 18) übermächtige N^{1.3} übermüthige N² A-C 125, 2 (305, 4) schlupfen N^{1.2} schlüpfen N³ A 133, 17 (310, 24) zeigen N^{1.3} zeigten N² A-W 153, 10 (322, 23) der Vorlesung N¹ A die Vor-

lesung N^{2.3} Drf. 167, 18 (W 22. Bd. S. 5, 27) meinen Zweifeln N^{1.3} meinen Zweifel N² A meinem Zweifel A¹ BC 181, 16 (14, 13) zuschickte, N¹ A zuschickte N² zuschickte; N³ 196, 1 (22, 26) Fähigkeit N^{1.3} A Fähigkeiten N² 210, 1 (31, 13) fteuete N¹ Drf. freuete N² freute N³ 230, 5 (44, 21) des Verwundeten N^{1.3} A der Verwundeten N² 265, 15 (67, 1) *Vers eingerückt* N^{1.2} A-C *nicht eingerückt* N³ W 268, 14 (69, 5) allem diesem N¹ C allem diesen N^{2.3} A-C¹ W 275, 11 (73, 23) fühlt N^{1.3} A fühlte N² BC Drf. 317, 3 (98, 12) langer Weile N^{1.3} lange Weile N² 332, 10 (107, 15) ist es N¹ W es ist N^{2.3} A-C 349, 8 (117, 17) anscheinendem N^{1.3} B¹ anscheinenden N² ABC¹ CW 363, 3 (125, 25) vor ihnen N^{1.2} A von ihnen N³ 364, 12 (126, 22) lebhafteste N^{1.2} lebhaftigste N³ 373, 5 (132, 4) der Blitz N¹ den Blitz N² der Biltz N³.

Auch hier haben sich einige der von dem Doppeldruck N² eingeführten Lesarten bis in die Weimarer Ausgabe fortgepflanzt (vgl. oben zu Bd. 21, S. 241, 24; 310, 24; Bd. 22, S. 69, 5; 117, 17); an der zweiten von diesen Stellen handelt es sich um einen augenfälligen Druckfehler (*zeigten*): die richtige Lesart *zeigen* wird im Apparat nicht einmal erwähnt.

Fünfter Band.

N¹: Titelblätter denen des dritten Bandes entsprechend: 371 Seiten, 2 Musikbeilagen. 8°. Bogen A-Aa, letzterer zu 4 Seiten; Bogenorm: *W. Meisters Lehrj. 3*. Anstatt 263-268 stehen die Seitenzahlen 265-270. Von den sechs mir vorliegenden Exemplaren dieses Druckes sind zwei auf besserem, und vier auf schlechterem Papier gedruckt. Dieselbe Kollation gilt für N^{2.3}, abgesehen davon, daß mir keine Exemplare mit der Angabe *Frankfurt und Leipzig* bekannt sind. Auch der oben vermerkte Fehler in der Seitenzählung kommt hier nicht vor. In meinem Exemplar von N² gehört der letzte Bogen (Aa) zum Originaldruck N¹: falls die übrigen Exemplare hierin übereinstimmten, so wäre anzunehmen daß N² sofort nach Fertigstellung von N¹ angefangen worden sei. Wilhelm Vollmer (s. Anm. 1) kannte von diesem Bande nur den Doppeldruck N³, und da er feststellen konnte, daß die neuen Lesarten desselben sich nicht auf die Ausgabe A fortgeerbt hatten, so nahm er an, daß hier der Originaldruck N¹ als Vorlage für A gedient habe: "Wie schon erwähnt, wurde vom Dichter im Verlauf seiner Textrevision nicht der

Doppeldruck, sondern der echte Druck des dritten Bandes [d. h. der Lehrjahre] benützt, und somit blieb der betreffende Theil der "Lehrjahre" gegen eine Corruption von dieser Seite aus geschützt." In der Weimarer Ausgabe Bd. 21, S. 334, werden Vollmers Resultate blindlings gutgeheißen: "Einer dieser Doppeldrucke, hier N² genannt, ist für die Textgeschichte der Lehrjahre dadurch wichtig geworden, daß er und nicht der echte Druck bei der Textrevision für die Ausgabe A in den Bänden I, II und IV von N zu Grunde gelegt wurde, wodurch eine ganze Reihe von Fehlern in den Text gerieth." Im 22. Bande, S. 359, wird dann erkannt, daß auch für Bd. III der Lehrjahre N² als Fehlerquelle in Betracht kommt.

Lesarten: S. 12, 4 (138, 3) Ungewohntheit N^{1.3} Ungewohnheit N² A-C 15, 17 (140, 9) Leitsternen N^{1.3} A Lichtsternen N² 20, 14 (143, 20) konnte: N^{1.3} konnte; N² A 32, 16 (151, 18) sich N^{1.3} sie N² A 44, 3 (158, 23) Folge, N^{1.3} Folge N² A 44, 4 (158, 23) sind, N^{1.3} sind N² A 48, 10 (161, 9) leidiger N^{1.3} A lediger N² 52, 17 (164, 8) Ungeschicklichkeiten N¹ Unschicklichkeiten N^{2.3} A 67, 12 (172, 26) fand: N^{1.3} fand! N² AW 88, 17 (186, 7) Cndzweck N² Drf. 99, 4 (192, 20) Sie N^{1.3} A¹ B¹ sie N² AB 100, 4 (193, 12) was andern N^{1.2} was andern N³ 104, 9 (196, 3) beleidigt; N^{1.3} beleidigt: N² AW 112, 8 (200, 22) so einer N^{1.2} einer so N³ 122, 18 (207, 5) Hand N^{1.3} Hand, N² AW 122, 19 (207, 6) drauf N^{1.3} darauf N² AW 133, 10 (214, 12) mnßute N³ Drf. 142, 12 (219, 25) Rockermel N^{1.2} Rockärmel N³ 145, 1 (221, 12) gesehrn N² Drf. 146, 19 (222, 17) ihm freundlich N^{1.2} Drf. ihn freundlich N³ A 153, 1 (226, 5) Sie versichern N^{1.2} Ihnen versichern N³ 154, 6 (226, 26) draus N^{1.3} W daraus N² A-C: vgl. oben zu 122, 19 162, 8 (232, 1) neu angenommene N^{1.3} B¹ W neuangenommene N² ABC¹ C 171, 5 (237, 7) gleichsam N^{1.3} C¹ C gleichfalls N² AA¹ 175, 16 (239, 27) Officer N² Drf. 183, 21 (244, 23. 24) nie . . . befunden fehlt in einem Exemplare von N³, weil N¹, dem N³ zeilengleich folgte, hier ausnahmsweise 21 anstatt 20 Zeilen auf der Seite hat 186, 13 (246, 13) Wilhem N¹ Drf. 187, 16 (247, 4) der Sache N^{1.3} A die Sache N² 233, 15 (275, 2) erschrak N¹ erschrack N^{2.3} 237, 19 (277, 16) Mama N^{1.2} Mamma N³ 250, 14 (285, 6) allem dem N^{1.2} allen dem N³ 252, 10 (286, 10) vor kurzen N^{1.2} vor kurzem N³ 269, 13

(296, 18) weitläuftigen $N^{1.2}A$ weitläufigen N^3BW 270, 8
 (297, 3) Ihm $N^{1.2}AB$ ihm N^3CC^1W 279, 2 (302, 8) so reizend
 $N^{1.2}AB^1$ zu reizend N^3BC^1CW 285, 20 (306, 9) in reinen
 $N^{1.2}$ im reinen N^3 in reinem $A-CW$ 289, 7 (308, 9) graute mich
 $N^{1.2}$ graute mir N^3A 294, 2 (311, 4) Empfindung $N^{1.2}$ Empfin-
 dung N^3 319, 9 (326, 6) verstund $N^{1.3}$ verstand N^2A-CW
 349, 2 (343, 23) Kathar $N^{1.2}$ Katharr N^3 354, 12 (347, 1) mir
 nicht $N^{1.3}A$ nicht mir N^2 .

Hier gleichfalls haben sich Lesarten von N^2 bis in die Weimarer Ausgabe fortgepflanzt: man vergleiche zum Beispiel die oben angeführten Stellen (nach der Weimarer Ausgabe) 172, 26; 196, 3; 207, 5; 207, 6; 326, 6. Hauptsächlich handelt es sich hier um Interpunktion und Schreibweise.

Sechster Band.

N^1 : Titelblätter denen des dritten Bandes entsprechend, nur mit dem Datum 1796. 1 Blatt, 507 Seiten, 2 Bl. Verlagsanzeigen, 1 Bl. Musikbeilage. Die Seitenzahlen 263, 386, 422 sind verdruckt in 265, 286, 402. Bogen A–Ii, 8°. Die Bogen A–N sind ohne Norm, O–Ii haben die Norm *W. Meisters Lehrj. 4.*

N^2 : der einzige mir bekannte Doppeldruck hat dieselbe äußerliche Einrichtung, abgesehen davon, daß der Einzeltitel das Datum 1795 trägt. Auch sind die Seitenzahlen richtig, während sämtliche Bogen die Norm: *W. Meisters Lehrj. 4.* aufweisen. Der Druck N^2 hat als Vorlage und Fehlerquelle für A gedient. Lesarten: S. 19, 20 (Weim. Ausg. Bd. 23, S. 10, 21) Laertes N^1 Laettes N^2 38, 8 (22, 14) Brüdergemeinde N^1A^1 Brüdergemeine $HN^2ABB^1C^1C$ 50, 8 (30, 6) Wiilhelm N^1 Drf. 51, 20 (31, 4) wußte N^1 wußte, N^2-CW 66, 3 (39, 19.20) wir selbst N^1A nur selbst N^2 70, 21 (42, 17) wundern N^1W , fehlt N^2 verwundern $A-C$: *das Wort, welches in N^1 als einziges auf der 21. Zeile steht, fiel in N^2 aus, weil die Seite in der Regel nur 20 Zeilen enthält* 73, 14 (44, 12) Weste N^1W Welt N^2-C 84, 16 (51, 6) erfahren! N^1BB^1C erfahren? N^2AA^1 113, 16 (68, 3) Vermächtniß. N^1BB^1 Vermächtniß; N^2AA^1 131, 6 (78, 22) hierher N^1B^1 hieher $N^2AA^1BC^1C$ 139, 15 (83, 26) noch Einmal HN^1 noch einmal N^2-CW 142, 14 (86, 4) Ankommenden; N^1 Ankommenden: N^2-CW 143, 12 (86, 21) lassen Sie $N^1B^1C^1CW$ lassen sie N^2AA^1B 154, 14 (93, 9) Abend, als N^1BC^1CW Abend als $N^2AA^1B^1$ 161, 3 (97, 7)

ich N¹ und N² und ich A-C 236, 2 (144, 16) einzudrängen N¹ A einzudringen N² 249, 12 (152, 26) sahe N¹ sah N² A-CW 266, 7 (163, 21) edlen, N¹ edlen N² A-CW 272, 4 (167, 8) aber, wenn N¹ aber wenn N² A-CW 284, 20 (174, 21) glücklich N² Drf. 290, 15 (178, 5) auszusprechen, N¹ auszusprechen N² A-CW 293, 18 (180, 2) Frrundin N² Drf. 329, 12 (201, 20) lange N¹ lango N² 330, 19 (202, 15) laßt N¹ läßt N² A 367, 14 (225, 4) gerauft N¹ A getauft N² 378, 12 (231, 17) Gemahl, N¹ Gemahl N² A-CW 384, 14 (236, 4) Willhelm N¹ Drf. 391, 5 (240, 2) Mädchan N² Drf. 399, 4 (244, 25) sie in N¹ W sich in N² sie sich in A-C 433, 13 (265, 26) äustersten N¹ Drf. 436, 5 (267, 14) Schlachopfer N¹ Schlachtopfer N² A 439, 2 (269, 6) Da! N¹ Da N² A-CW 439, 8 (269, 11) bequemem N¹ bequemen N² A-CW 451, 7 (276, 13) Papst N¹ BC¹ CW Pabst N² AA¹ B¹ 478, 19 (293, 3) Mister N¹ W Meister N² A-C 480, 18 (294, 6) hafte N¹ A hoffte N² 487, 6 (297, 28) Schermesser N¹ B Scheermesser N² AA¹ 490, 14 (300, 1) Kind: N¹ Kind; N² Kind, A-CW.

Viele Lesarten von N², hauptsächlich die Interpunktion betreffend, haben sich bis in die Weimarer Ausgabe fortgepflanzt (vgl. Bd. 23, S. 31, 4; 83, 26; 86, 4; 163, 21; 167, 8; 178, 5; 231, 17; 269, 6; 300, 1).

Vom 7. Bande, 1800, sind keine Doppeldrucke bekannt: es ist also anzunehmen daß von diesem Bande sofort die größere Anzahl Exemplare abgezogen wurde, die nötig war, um die Doppeldrucke der früheren Bände zu komplettieren.

W. KURRELMAYER

NOTES ON BROWNING'S *PAULINE*

Browning published *Pauline* anonymously in March 1833. Not a single copy was sold. He suppressed the poem, not I think because he was ashamed of its diction but because it was too confessional. He was almost fanatical in his belief that poetry should be "dramatic"; and *Pauline* revealed too much of his adolescent mind. He destroyed the larger part of the edition, with the result that *Pauline* is now one of the most valuable of modern books; a copy was sold recently for \$16,000. There are only 21 copies known.

In 1931 an edition of *Pauline*, containing a collation of the

texts of 1833, 1867 [date 1868], 1888, with introduction and notes, was published by the University of London Press, prepared by N. Hardy Wallis. It is unfortunate that he was unaware of the copy of the first edition in the Dyce and Forster Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum, Kensington. The attention of the public was called to this by Griffin, *Life*, pp. 58-60, in 1910. Also by Miss M. A. Phillips, in the *Cornhill Magazine* for May 1912; she does not mention Griffin. Her article is referred to by F. G. Kenyon, in the Centenary Edition of the *Works*.

On the flyleaf is written "R Browning October 30th 1833" and on the title-page "To my true friend John Forster." The Rev. W. J. Fox had sent this copy to John Stuart Mill, who wrote many notes on the margins and a long note at the end, because he intended to review the book for *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*; but the editor declined Mill's article.¹ It was characteristic of Mill to return the volume. Browning answered on the margins in ink many of Mill's puzzled pencilled queries and gave the book to Forster.

This is therefore a first edition, with manuscript notes by Mill and by the author. Miss Phillips is mistaken in saying that some of the MS. notes are by Forster. I made a careful examination, copied them all, and it seemed clear that nothing was written by Forster. In order to be doubly sure, I wrote to Arthur K. Sabin, poet and printer, then Technical Assistant at the Victoria and Albert Museum. He kindly replied as follows on October third, 1912:

I have gone carefully through the "Pauline" once again. The notes are by one consistent hand throughout, and this is not Forster's hand, and the replies to the notes are in each case in Browning's hand. I have sometimes been disposed to doubt the evidence as to Mill having written them; but Forster certainly did not have *any* share in the matter. The writer in the *Cornhill Magazine* is therefore wrong.

Fortunately we can prove Mill's authorship. In the first volume of the first series of the privately printed Letters of Browning, edited by T. J. Wise (1895), page 67, is a letter (to Furnivall):

29 Aug. 1881.

The pencil notes of John Mill which he meant to construct an article

¹ Kenyon says, and Wise implies, that *Tait's* refused Mill's review; Griffin says *The Examiner* refused it.

upon—till he found he had been forestalled by a flippant line in the Review which he was accustomed at that time to write for—are at the end of the copy of *Pauline* in Forster's Library at Kensington. He had never seen me.

Furnivall naturally looked up this copy and it could not be found. The entry had been struck out of the catalogue, possibly because it had been returned to Browning at his request. Browning promised to look for it and on August 8, 1886, wrote to Furnivall:

There was a note of explanation in the copy I gave John Forster—which contained also a criticism by John Mill. It is not included in the Catalogue of his books, however—but may turn up some day.²

Wise adds a footnote: "The book *has* 'turned up' and is now safely deposited in the Dyce and Forster Library, at South Kensington." I learn from *Baylor's Browning Interests* (2 Series, ed. Armstrong, Waco, Texas, 1931), that Forster had loaned the copy to Justice Chitty, who did not return it. He died in 1899, his son found the book and gave it back to the Forster collection in South Kensington.

In the first collected edition of Browning's *Poems* (2 vols., London, 1849), Browning's short preface says:

Many of these pieces were out of print, the rest had been withdrawn from circulation, when the corrected edition, now submitted to the reader, was prepared. The various Poems and Dramas have received the author's most careful revision.

Pauline was among those "withdrawn from circulation." It was also omitted from the *Poetical Works* (3 vols., London) of 1863. But in the six volume edition of the *Poetical Works*, London, 1868, it appears for the first time since 1833. Browning's well-known preface states:

The first piece in the series, I acknowledge and retain with extreme repugnance, indeed purely of necessity; for not long ago I inspected one, and am certified of the existence of other transcripts, intended sooner or later to be published abroad: by forestalling these, I can at least correct some misprints (no syllable is changed) and introduce a boyish work by an exculpatory word.

Later, in the final edition of 1888, Browning preserved this preface and added another, explaining that finally he had revised the poem.

² Wise's *Second Series*, II, (1908), 32.

The preface to the 1868 edition is dated Dec. 25, 1867. In *MLN.* for June 1909, I pointed out that Browning was mistaken when he said (1867) "no syllable is changed." There were enough changes to make the edition of 1868 a different text from that of 1833. So we have three texts of *Pauline*, 1833, 1868, 1888.

I think I can now satisfactorily answer, though I cannot absolutely prove it, the question "as Browning hated to reprint *Pauline*, why did he do it, and why did he do it in 1867?" His reasons as given in the Preface of that year are vague. Mr. Ansley Newman, a former pupil of mine at Yale, bought in Europe a very important MS. letter of Browning's and sent it to me.

The letter is addressed on the envelope to Richard Herne Shepherd, Esq. 5. Hereford Square, Brompton. S.W. It is all in Browning's handwriting and covers four pages of "mourning" stationery—probably for his father who had died the previous year, 1866.

19, Warwick Crescent,
Upper Westbourne Terrace, W.
Feb. 1. '67.

Dear Sir,

I hardly know what to say in reply to your request: I cannot but have repugnance to any exhibition of a boyish attempt, which never bore my name, and, as yourself remark, from my keeping it out of all collections of my poems these thirty years and more, must have enjoyed my best wishes for its abolition: but nobody cares about an author's feelings in such a matter, and I can hardly do more than make a grimace and submit to whatever mine may have to undergo. I do not wonder that you refused to edit the whole poem for America, though I am obliged greatly by your sense of justice and gentlemanliness as shown by such a refusal; and in consequence I will bring myself to say that—in reliance upon those two qualities—if you will strictly confine yourself to "a few extracts"—and will preface these with mention of the fact that the poem was purely dramatic and intended to head a series of "Men & Women" such as I have afterwards introduced to the world under somewhat better auspices,—mentioning this on your own authority, and not in any way alluding to this of mine—and, further, if you will subject the whole of the extracts to my approval—(not a single remark upon them,—only the passages themselves)—in this case, and not otherwise, I give the leave you desire. I may add that I am glad you do not refer to any early works of my wife: I should be compelled to prevent any extract from them. I am, dear Sir,

Yours Faithfully,

ROBERT BROWNING.

Something happened between February and December, 1867, to cause Browning to publish *Pauline* with a very few changes—evidently he did not have time to revise the poem. It seems to me highly probable that Shepherd's proposal offers the explanation. As a matter of fact, Shepherd never did print the "extracts" he had in mind when he wrote to Browning. Possibly he did not reply to this letter, and Browning became suspicious.

Shepherd's ideas about the rights of authors were hazy. In spite of the clear statement of Browning in this letter saying he "should be compelled to prevent" any publication of extracts from his wife's poetry, Shepherd in 1878 published Mrs. Browning's *Earlier Poems* without the consent of her family, who were very angry. Shepherd was only forty-three when he died in 1895, but he had managed to annoy a good many authors. He edited a large number of uncollected works. In 1875 he printed an edition of fifty copies of some of Tennyson's earlier poems, and the volume was suppressed by order of the court. He got 150 pounds damage out of the staid *Athenaeum* in 1879 for its adverse review of his edition of Lamb's *Poetry for Children*. In 1881, the year of Carlyle's death, he published a biography of him and was forced to cancel some passages. The *DNB.* calls Shepherd a "literary chiffonier." I suspect he was consumed by literary ambition, for he had published a book of original verse at the age of sixteen. Finding he could not write anything important, he became busy as a bibliographer and editor.

Browning seems to have been justified in making precise conditions with Shepherd.

Had Mr. Wallis been aware of the Kensington *Pauline* it would have helped him. He is not sure what the allusion to Shelley, "His award" means. Well, Mill had written "What does this mean? His opinion of yourself? only at the fourth reading of the poem I found out what this meant" and Browning wrote under that, "The award of fame to him, the late acknowledgment of Shelley's genius."

It has often been assumed that if the magazine editor had been willing to print Mill's review, that review would have been favorable; but Mill's long MS. note at the end of the poem hardly

bears that out. Mill had occasionally written "Beautiful" on the margins, but his final note shows that he thought the poem very confused. It is pleasant, however, to see his wish: "A mind in that state can only be regenerated by some new passion, and I know not what to wish him but that he may meet with a *real* Pauline." When Mill returned the book to Fox, he wrote that his pencilled observations were on the whole "not flattering to the author—perhaps too strong in the expression to be shown him."³

An amusing thing in Mill's notes is on page 18, lines 4, 5. "The passages where the meaning is so imperfectly expressed as not to be easily understood, will be marked X." Evidently Mill had got tired of writing queries.

Browning was in a cheerful mood when he annotated Mill's annotations; Mill wrote, "he is always talking of being *prepared*—what for?" Browning wrote, "Why, 'that's tellings,' as school-boys say."

Here are some of Mill's notes:

Line 18, "Nature would point at one" Mill writes, "not I think an appropriate image and it throws considerable obscurity over the meaning of the passage." 36, 37, "Not even poetically grammatical." 112, *And then I was a young witch*. "A curious idealization of self-worship, very fine, though." 147, "A bad simile. the spider does not detest or scorn the light." 164-170, "beautiful". 172-180, "most beautiful". 213-218, "The obscurity of this is the greater fault as the meaning if I can *guess* it right is really poetical". 222-229, "beautiful". 232-235, "beautiful". 260-268, *I strip my mind bare, etc.* "this only says you shall see what you shall see has more prose than poetry". 284, *Which marks me—an imagination which* "not imagination but Imagination the absence of that capital letter obscures the meaning" B. changed it to "I" to conform to Mill, but he left it without the capital in 1868 and in 1888. 342, *tho' those shadowy times were past* "what times? your own imaginative time? or the antique times themselves?" 383, *I had done nothing, so I sought to know* "this writer seems to use 'so' according to the colloquial vulgarism, in the sense of 'therefore' or 'accordingly'—from which occasionally comes great obscurity & ambiguity—as here." 448-490, "This, to page 36, is finely painted, and evidently from experience." 572, *And him sitting alone in blood, "striking."* 622, *is in that power* "you should make clearer *what* power." 637-642, "self-flattery." 646-647, "inconsistent with what precedes." 678-80, "deeply true." 686, *And sympathy obscured by sophistries*, Mill marked X, meaning unintelligible. B. cancelled the line, but kept it in

³ *Baylor's Browning Interests*, 2 Series, p. 45.

the eds. of 1868 and 1888. 689-709, Mill drew a line through the entire paragraph, from *I cherish* to *These are*. 770-778, "good descriptive writing." 811, Mill cancels this line and the entire French note and everything from 812 to 821. Miss Phillips says, "Mill quite overlooks the little note in French." 1029, last 3 lines of poem, "this transition from speaking to Pauline to writing a letter to the public with *place* and *date*, is quite horrible." Mill is mistaken; B. was not addressing Pauline, but Shelley. However, B.'s explanation of "*Richmond. October 22, 1822*" is well known. He first wrote it here, an annotation to Mill's note.

Mill's notes were in pencil, Browning's in ink. Here are Browning's:

36, "comma after But, omit period after thee." 92, "change *that* to *yet*." 171, "change *scarce* to *not*." 284, "make Imagination big I." 314, "italicise myself." 315, "change *For* to *And*." 361, "change *was* to *is*." 388, "change *and* to *at*." 404, "make One capital." 497, "change *as a* to *a mere*." 544, "change *would* to *should*." 548, "put 'to' before *them*." This was done in 1868 as it was an obvious typ. error. Wallis misses this in his reprint of 1833. 686, "strike out" this line. 818, "Elide *that*." This was done in 1868, an obvious error.

At line 567 *king* is explained by B.'s writing in Greek a passage from the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus. At line 569, *him* has Browning's Greek quotation from Sophocles's *Ajax*. At line 573, *boy*. Browning quotes the *Choephoroë* of Aeschylus. It refers to Orestes. At line 964, *The fair*, Browning quotes the *Antigone* of Sophocles.

The fact that although Browning made these notes with the belief that they were improvements, while he adopted hardly any of them in the edition of 1868 and only two or three in 1888, and those only obvious errors that required correction, proves to my mind that when Browning was preparing the edition of 1868 and of 1888, he did not have this annotated copy within reach. In 1881 he knew (by letter previously given in this article) that the volume was still in existence and he thought it was in the Forster and Dyce Library.

I wish I knew exactly when Browning wrote his notes in this volume. Perhaps the long note at the beginning came later than the replies to Mill, which may have been written in 1833, when he got the book back. But his long note, published in full in Griffin (p. 56), could hardly have been written then; he calls *Pauline* an "abortion" and in the well-known last sentence, "Only this crab remains of the shapely Tree of Life in this Fools paradise of mine." Kenyon, in the Centenary Edition (I, p. ix), says it was written

"five years later" than 1832. It is probable that he gave the book to Forster in 1837, in recognition of Forster's help in *Strafford*.⁴

Yale University

WILLIAM LYON PHELPS

COLERIDGE'S "THEORY OF LIFE"

Two fragments of manuscript which I have recently come across in the S. T. Coleridge collections of the British Museum throw some light on the much-discussed posthumous "Hints Towards the Formation of a More Comprehensive Theory of Life."

The first offers corroboration of statements found in manuscript notes left by the poet's daughter Sarah and his grandson Ernest Hartley Coleridge, about the immediate occasion for the composition of the "Theory of Life." These notes were first printed in 1929, and evidently had not been known to students

⁴ The Forster and Dyce collection also contains the MSS. of *Paracelsus* and of *Christmas Eve and Easter Day*. The *Paracelsus* MS. is a large quarto. It is beautifully written; a fair copy in large hand, quite unlike the MS. of *Christmas Eve*, which is written in very small characters. The *Paracelsus* MS. was carried to the publishers, while *Christmas Eve* was sent from Italy, and postage was expensive. The *Paracelsus* MS. is written with hardly any corrections or erasures on both sides of sheets, 11 inches by 8½, of thick, rough paper. On first leaf is pasted a big full-length picture of Paracelsus with his long sword, "AZOTH" on the hilt. Browning has written "*Parturiunt madido quo nixu prola, recepta: Sed quo scripta manu sunt—veneranda magis.*" To John Forster Esq. (my early Under-stander) with true thanks for his generous & seasonable public Confession of Faith in me. Hatcham, Surrey, 1842. R. B." Prof. G. L. Hendrickson informs me the Latin should read *prela* for *prola*, and the *quo* in both cases should be *quae*. Thus the Latin phrase is a pleasantry showing how much better is MS. than the printing press. "What the presses spawn with sodden travail is received; but what is written by hand deserves more reverence." Browning could be obscure even in Latin.

Next leaf is "Paracelsus: by Robt. Browning." This is written in an enormous hand. Then follows the Preface "I am anxious," etc. which appeared in the first edition, and was afterwards omitted. The preface is dated in the MS. "15. March 1835." At the end of Part III another picture of P. is pasted in, and at end of Part IV still another.

Christmas Eve, stanzas XII, XIII, XIV, through the line "The hawk-nosed, high-cheek-boned Professor," are in Mrs. Browning's hand, as are also stanza XVI, from the line "But if the common conscience must" through the line "And from man's dust to God's divinity?" and stanza XXII, from the line "In short, a spectator might have fancied" to the end.

of the treatise at the time Joseph Needham published his interesting article, "Coleridge as a Philosophical Biologist," in *SP.*, April, 1926. Sarah Coleridge in her note spoke of the essay as "an offset" of a treatise on scrofula, and E. H. Coleridge stated that it "was intended to form part of an Essay on Scrofula which was begun by James Gillman Senior," the physician with whom Coleridge spent the last years of his life.¹

Those familiar with the use Coleridge makes of the laws of "productivity," "irritability," and "sensibility" in his "Theory of Life" will easily find in the fragment evidence of a close relationship between that treatise and some work on the disease of scrofula; they will also find it indicative of Coleridge's habitual method of linking his most abstruse metaphysical speculations with practical problems of applied science. The fragment, f. 160 of Egerton MSS. 2800, is in Coleridge's own hand, and reads as follows:

the higher Analysis. These are now confirmations of the Theory; but what if they had been allowed to occasion it's rejection? . . . Thus it is most true that Scrofula is not confined to any one class of complexions, and characters of constitutional tendency. But it is likewise true, that the complexion itself, in the widest acceptation of the word, is tho' a frequent yet far from being a constant exponent of constitutional character. Still however it is fact, that in this country and generally throughout the North of Europe the Males, that are, or are most likely under exciting causes to become the subjects of Scrofula, are distinguished by a certain *speciousness* of color, and apparent laxity of fibre, large or full eyes, and a certain feminine character of quick feeling, ready sympathy, lively fancy, and other marks of venous predominance. [An asterisk follows, indicating probably that some lost fragment was to be inserted in place of a deleted clause—"Distinguishing the Powers of Life into it's three dimensions corresponding to Length, Superficies, and Depth," and then the argument continues with the following tables:]

	1	2	3
As thus:	Reproduction	Irritability	Sensibility
	Reproduction	Irritability	Sensibility
	Irritability	Reproduction	Irritability
	Sensibility	Sensibility	Reproduction

It is to be noted that the figure 3 is underscored, showing that the third table, in which sensibility predominates, is meant to characterize individuals of scrofulous tendencies. There is no more

¹ See my study, *Coleridge on Logic and Learning, with Selections from the Unpublished Manuscripts*, 16, 17.

to the fragment except an isolated note on the reverse side of the page, an insert, though not that referred to by the asterisk mentioned above.

Insert

In like manner, of the Textures, that comprise the Apple of the Eye, each may be influenced without &c.

The second fragment, found among those catalogued as "Notes and fragments on the doctrine of opposites, or polarity, in metaphysics, logic, theology, etc.," Egerton MSS. 2801 ff. 121 ff., is very similar to the argument in the "Theory of Life," pp. 50 ff. It is, however, a much more concise and definite attempt—in fact, barring the fact that it breaks off at a crucial point, it is the best attempt of Coleridge's that I know—to relate the two most fundamental principles of his philosophical thought: the principle of organic development and that of polarity or the reconciliation of opposites. As such it may be of incidental use to students who are still working on Coleridge's relations to Schelling and the German Natur-philosophen.

In the inorganic world the constituent antagonist powers meet only to destroy each other, and in the instant of their mutual Intersusception lose themselves in the common Product: while, on the other hand, the self-same instant, that the *Productivities* are liberated, and with the recommencing of *their* Conflict, the *Product* ceases to exist. Instance, Water = Oxygen + Hydrogen, as the chemical Representatives of the Electrical, or E. and W., Poles.—The continuance therefore of the productive Power as Power in the Product as Product constitutes Organization. Hence it would be difficult to recall any true Thesis and Antithesis, of which a living organ is not the Synthesis or rather the Indifference—difficult to imagine any true Opposites, which are not balanced against each other in the living organism. Rest in Motion, Sameness in change, Unity in Multiplicity—&c; or Hardness with Softness, Solidity with Capacity, the semi-fluid with the semi-rigid—and in like manner of all the component forms of organization itself as fibre, vein, artery, &c.

Now this "wonderful & fearful making" is possible under one condition only—viz. that the product is never completed, but always

This fragment, like the first, is in Coleridge's own hand, and it is marked by a symbol used by Coleridge to indicate insertion in some work. What more probable than that it is a part of some draft of the "Theory of Life," discarded, like many such manuscript fragments, by Coleridge himself, or a copyist or editor?

ON THE REVISIONS OF *HYPERION*

Recent criticism on the date of the two *Hyperions*, evoked by Amy Lowell's contention that the *Fall of Hyperion* was the earlier version of *Hyperion* itself, is restricted to a discussion of the external evidence. Sidney Colvin, who in 1887¹ first proved that *Hyperion* was the earlier poem, argued the question also from the standpoint of the internal evidence, offered by the Woodhouse MS. of *Hyperion*, the only MS. at the time available.

The most convincing part of Colvin's argument concerns the lines which are corrected in the MS. by the hand either of Keats, Taylor, or Woodhouse. These lines appear again in the *Fall of Hyperion* in precisely this revised form. Colvin's argument is weak, however, because it rests really on only three² instances. One immediately asks if Keats might not have reverted in these cases to the earlier form of the line. As a matter of fact, Keats did in a few instances revert to earlier readings when composing the *Fall of Hyperion*. The most striking of these cases is afforded by line 199.³ In the holograph of *Hyperion* this first appears

Who on a wide plain gather in sad troops

but is revised to read

Who on wide plains gather in panting troops;

in the *Fall of Hyperion* it appears in its earlier form,

Who on a wide plain gather in sad troops.

Is not more convincing internal evidence offered by the holograph itself? Here are to be found thirty⁴ lines whose corrections evince definite gains in poetic excellence—lines which appear

¹ Colvin, *Keats* (English Men of Letters Series), 1887, pp. 226-228.

² Lines 76, 189, 200.

³ Other instances appear in lines 81, 190.

⁴ Lines 3, 18, 19, 20, 21, 48, 62, 76, 78, 90, 91, 108, 112, 128, 173, 175, 178, 181, 190, 191, 192, 193, 196, 198, 199, 203, 214, 217, 218, 219. The more important of these corrections are given by de Selincourt in the notes to his edition of Keats. A complete discussion of the revisions of the *Hyperion* as well as a facsimile of the holograph is to be found in *Hyperion, A Facsimile of Keat's Autograph Manuscript*, ed. E. de Selincourt, Oxford, 1905.

in exactly this corrected and perfected form in the *Fall of Hyperion*. An instance afforded by ll. 18-19 will suffice to illustrate the point. Keats first wrote:

His old right hand lay nerveless on the ground,
Unseptred; and his white brow'd eyes were clos'd;

"on the ground" was first replaced by "dead or supine," which in turn was replaced by "listless, dead." "White brow'd" was first changed to "ancient" and later to "realmless." In the *Fall of Hyperion* the lines appear in just this final form:

His old right hand lay nerveless, listless, dead,
Unseptred, and his realmless eyes were closed.

ADELE B. BALLMAN

Baltimore

THE AUTHENTICITY OF BURNS' "WHEN FIRST I SAW FAIR JEANIE'S FACE"

There has always been some doubt concerning Burns' authorship of the posthumous song, "When First I Saw Fair Jeanie's Face." Some authorities deem it so poor that they class it among the "Improbables." Burns editors all agree that its first printing occurred in the *New York Mirror*, for Saturday, November 22, 1846. Those who accept the song include: Henley and Henderson (Centenary Edition), G. A. Aitkin (Aldine), and J. L. Robertson. They do so on the statement of Chambers, to the effect that Alexander Smith collated it with a copy in the poet's handwriting in his 1868 edition of Burns' works. Those who reject the song are: J. C. Dick, William Allan Neilson, and W. Wallace. The last mentioned does not include it in his re-editing of Chambers' work.

Seemingly unknown to the many Burns editors, this song was actually first printed in the *Analectic Magazine*, for September, 1813, with this notation: We have been favored with the following song in manuscript. It is from the pen of Robert Burns, and has never before been published.

At the time when this song was printed in the *Analectic Magazine*, Washington Irving was the anonymous editor. This circum-

stance is verified by David J. Hill, Charles Dudley Warner, George S. Hellman, and William Morton Payne. R. Farquharson Sharp, in his *Dictionary of English Authors*, lists him as Associate Editor. Moses Thomas' magazine was called *The Select Review*, until Irving became associated with it, when it became known as the *Analectic Magazine*. It was a short-lived publication. Irving, during the two years or less of his editorship, wrote several articles for it. Among them were a number of short bibliographies of famous naval men.

The song, "When First I Saw Fair Jeanie's Face," was addressed by Burns to Jane Jefferies, who became Mrs. William Renwick. This woman was, later in her life, a friend of Washington Irving, according to Charles Dudley Warner and George S. Hellman. Further proof of the friendship is found in the letter which Irving wrote to Mrs. Renwick, and which has been printed for private distribution in the collection compiled by her great-grand-daughter, Agnes Adams, of Wall Vicarage, Lichfield, England. The fact that Irving traveled through Wales with James Renwick, the son of "Fair Jeanie," is further proof of his friendship with the family. George S. Hellman goes so far as to claim that Irving was at one time in love with this widow, who was nine years older than himself. It is significant that Hellman quotes this very song in his "Washington Irving, Esquire," as evidence that the woman who took Irving's fancy had once been thought attractive by Burns.

These two men were evidently connected in their interest in Mrs. Renwick. What more likely than that she gave her young editor-admirer the song that her dead friend had written about her, years before, with permission to use it in his *Analectic Magazine*? This assumption seems to strengthen the probability of Burns' authorship.

The earlier printing does not vary greatly from the *New York Mirror* edition, except for the use of 'Nith' in place of 'Forth,' in the sixth line of the last verse. The *Analectic* version of the song is as follows:

When first I saw my Jeany's face
I coud na' think what ail'd me,
My heart gaed fluttering, pit a pat,
My een had nearly fail'd me.
She's ay sae neat, sae trim and tight,
Ilk grace does round her hover;
Ae look depriv'd me o' my heart,
And I became her lover.

She's ay ay sae blythe and gay,
 She's ay sae blythe and chearie,
 She's ay sae bonnie, blythe and gay;
 O gin I were her dearie!

Had I Dundas's whole estate,
 Or Hopeton's pride to shine in,
 Did warlike laurels crown my fate,
 Or softer bays entwining;
 I'd lay them all at Jeany's feet
 Could I but hope to move her,
 And prouder than a peer or knight,
 I'd be my Jeany's lover.

She's ay ay, &c.

But sair I doubt some happier swain
 Has gain'd my Jeany's favour,
 If sae, may every bliss be her's,
 Though I can never have her.
 But gang she east, or gang she west,
 'Twixt Nith and Tweed all over,
 While men have eyes, or ears, or taste,
 She'll always find a lover.

She's ay ay, &c.

The traditional version of the song as given in the *New York Mirror* may be found in the following compilations: Henley and Henderson (1897), vol. 4, page 32; Globe Edition (London 1900), edited by Alexander Smith, page 278; Cambridge Edition (Houghton Mifflin 1897), page 311; and John Dicks (London 1868), page 129.

ESTHER C. AVERILL

Worcester, Massachusetts

AN INTERPRETATION OF BLAKE'S *A DIVINE IMAGE*

In *William Blake: His Philosophy and Symbols*,¹ Mr. Damon writes thus:

A Divine Image is a picture of the God of this World, Urizen. It reveals Satan as he appears in human form.—Stanza 1. Cruelty, Jealousy, Terror, and Secrecy are human qualities, just as much as Kindness, Generosity, Love, Confidence; therefore a god can be erected out of them.

¹ *William Blake: His Philosophy and Symbols*, Boston and New York, 1924, pp. 283-284.

Stanza 2. As a result, the "human dress" or the flesh becomes the "forged iron" of a prison to the soul; the inner form is itself a creator of other forms equally materialistic (since everything is created by the mind); the face conceals its hot passions; and the heart expresses them.

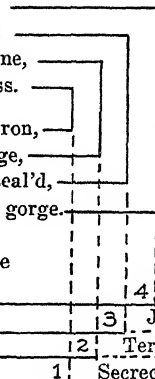
As an interpretation this is vague and, indeed, the meaning is less apparent here than in the original poem. The commentator is searching far for the explanation and is using materialism not to clear up but to becloud the situation.

The poem is, obviously, a "companion poem to 'The Divine Image,'"² in *Songs of Innocence*. With that in mind we may quote the poem, linking the lines on the same subjects in this song of Experience and joining these lines to the contrasted keywords in the earlier poem.

A Divine Image

Cruelty has a human heart,
And Jealousy a human face;
Terror the human form divine,
And Secrecy the human dress.

The human dress is forgèd iron,
The human form a fiery forge,
The human face a furnace seal'd,
The human heart its hungry gorge.



From *The Divine Image*

For Mercy has a human heart,	_____	4	Cruelty knows no Mercy
Pity a human face,	_____	3	Jealousy supplants Pity
And Love, the human form divine,	_____	2	Terror displaces Love
And Peace, the human dress.	_____	1	Secrecy ruins Peace

On the basis of these groupings we may interpret the poem thus.

1. "The human dress is forgèd iron"—that is, man is willing to clothe himself in *Secrecy* which ruins *Peace*; for is not the secrecy of the cabal, of misunderstanding, or of hypocrisy the cause of war? Thus he forges iron for the conflict and makes himself iron-clad and ready to do battle.

2. "The human form [is] a fiery forge"—that is, man is a "forge" burning with plans for torturing others and brooding over ways of creating *Terror*. Man is no longer controlled by *Love*; he is a forge glowing with *Terror*.

² *Poetical Works of William Blake*, ed. John Sampson, London, 1928 (Oxford Edition), p. 106.

3. "The human face [is] a seal'd furnace"—that is, man's face is a "furnace" full of "hot passions" (as Mr. Damon suggests); but *Jealousy* has sealed that face. Fear of others and of change has cooled over the furnace which no longer has any place for new feelings. Thus sealed over, the furnace glows on as it is because it lacks *Pity*, which would destroy Jealousy and unseal the face. Doubtless Blake would say Reason was responsible for this cooling process.

4. "The human heart [is] its hungry gorge"—that is, the heart of man is a sort of *cruel*, unglutted gullet which is ever-eager to swallow all vicious food. It knows no *Mercy* and circulates its *Cruelty* in various forms such as actions, thoughts, and deeds throughout the whole body or "forge", furnishing the raw materials for all the parts.

Thus the whole poem is seen to be a direct contrast to the humanitarian idealism of the earlier poem, "The Divine Image." Here man is in the perverted or satanic form that he assumes under the dominance of the God of this World, Urizen or Reason or Materialism; man is in the shape that Experience gives him. In the companion poem man is in the true or divine form which is molded in the image of God; man is in the shape that Innocence bestows upon him. Moreover, this meaning may be applied to the individual as well as to man in general.

Frequently writers have employed the symbol of iron dress for man's life on earth, thus agreeing with the disillusioned mood of "A Divine Image." The defiance which Experience had taught Melville's *Pierre* is couched in Blake's own terms. "Stemming such tempests through the deserted streets, Pierre felt a dark, triumphant joy; that while others had crawled in fear to their kennels, he alone defied the storm-admiral, whose most vindictive peltings of hailstones,—striking his *iron-framed fiery furnace of a body*,—melted into soft dew, and so, harmlessly trickled from off him."⁸

Still it is necessary not to forget that writers, of however deep insight, usually stop at this knowledge taught by the world, and that the poem under discussion is but a phase in Blake's development, in the scale of his mystical values. The ideals of "The Divine Image," he is convinced, shall ultimately overthrow the

* *Pierre*, New York, 1930 (Americana Deserta Edition), p. 378.

wordly reason of "A Divine Image"; then man shall be characterized by Mercy, Pity, Love, and Peace rather than by Secrecy, Jealousy, Terror, and Cruelty.

STEPHEN A. LARRABEE

Purdue University

ADDITIONS TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF W. S. GILBERT'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO MAGAZINES

Although discussions of the work of W. S. Gilbert are nearly legion, Townley Searle's *Bibliography of Sir William Schwenck Gilbert* (London: 30 Gerard Street, 1931) is the first serious attempt to establish an extended list of his writings in magazines and for the theatre. In his anomalous *Story of Gilbert and Sullivan: The 'Compleat' Savoyard* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1928), Isaac Goldberg noted the need of a complete bibliography and announced that he had the materials for one. But before the appearance of Mr. Searle's work, the existence of many a Gilbertian item was known only through casual references in Mr. Goldberg's book, in *W. S. Gilbert: His Life and Letters* by Sidney Dark and Rowland Grey (London: Methuen, 1923), in S. J. Adair Fitzgerald's *The Story of the Savoy Opera in Gilbert and Sullivan Days* (New York: Appleton, 1922), and in perhaps a few other sources, including the manuscript Master's dissertation of Elizabeth Long, *Sir W. S. Gilbert: The Savoy Operas in Relation to their Time* (Columbia University Library), which contains a list of Gilbert's plays inclusive of a few items not in the *DNB*. Although his work is incomplete and abounds in errors, Mr. Searle adds many an item to the list provided by these writers; and in discussing first editions of plays and operas, he opens an entirely new field.

Reviewers have recently commented at some length upon Mr. Searle's handling of Gilbert's dramatic works. The selections of "Books about W. S. Gilbert" and of "Fugitive Contributions about W. S. Gilbert" is eccentric; but the two lists, after all, contain nearly everything of importance—Gilbertian scholarship is not yet far beyond the chatty point. Gilbert's "Contributions to Magazines, Annuals, &c." remains for discussion.

It is notable that the "Valuable Baby" of p. 88 in Mr. Searle's bibliography was really the "Variable Baby" of p. 76 (so in *Fun*,

9 Oct., 1869, p. 51, and as reprinted correctly by Mr. Goldberg, p. 552); similarly that "Blubworth-cum-Tarkington" of p. 75 was really "Blabworth-cum-Talkington" of p. 87 (*Fun*, 20 June, 1868, p. 153; Goldberg, p. 535); that Gentle Archibald's name was not "Melloy" (p. 75), but "Molloy" (*Fun*, 19 May, 1866, p. 100); that "A. and B., or The Sensational Twins" was published in *Fun* (2 Nov., 1867, p. 77), not in *Punch* of the same date as Mr. Goldberg implies (pp. 531, 534) and Mr. Searle avers it was (p. 75); and that the illustrations to "King Borria Bungalee Boo" (*Fun*, 7 July, 1866) were not the first Gilbertian drawings signed "Bab" inasmuch as there was a drawing signed "Bab" in *Fun* for 9 Nov., 1861 (p. 77) and "The Story of Gentle Archibald" (*Fun*, 19 May, 1866, p. 100) and "Only a Dancing Girl" (*Fun*, 23 June, 1866, p. 146) were Babs illustrated by "Bab." It is certainly misleading to say with Mr. Searle (p. 87) that "General John" (*Fun*, 1 June, 1867) was the first ballad written by Gilbert, for he would be a bold man who would define a "Bab ballad." At least eight poems written before "General John" were included in the collected *Bab Ballads*; "Bab" illustrated four poems before he illustrated "General John"; and "The Yarn of the 'Nancy Bell'" (*Fun*, 3 March, 1866) was in the ballad metre of "General John." It is true therefore only that "General John" was the first Gilbertian poem in ballad metre to be illustrated by "Bab" for *Fun* and included in *Bab Ballads*. It is similarly misleading to say with Mr. Searle (p. 87) that W. S. G. "commenced writing 'Dramatic Notices'" for *Fun* on 15 Sept., 1866. Gilbert was the author of "At the Play" (*Fun*, 16 Jan., 23 July, 1864), "Procession of Pantomime" (16 Jan., 1864), "On the Pantomimic Unities" (20 Feb., 26 Mar., 1864). And "From our Stall," a series of dramatic notices extending to 7 March, 1868, began in *Fun* on 20 May, 1865—Messrs. Dark and Grey, who had access to a "marked" copy of *Fun*, quote (p. 15) from these notices as Gilbert's for May, 1865.

Mr. Searle prints (pp. 75-6) a list of eighteen "lost" or uncollected Babs, including at least two—"The Dream" and "To my Absent Husband"—which are not, properly speaking, Babs, since neither was illustrated by "Bab" or included in *Bab Ballads*. All of these eighteen poems have been reprinted by Mr. Goldberg (pp. 96-7, 529-558) or by Messrs. Dark and Grey (pp. 241-260). The list omits mention of the following "lost" or un-

collected poems illustrated by "Bab" in magazines: "Croquet: An Anticipation" (*Fun*, 2 May, 1867, p. 77); "Sir Galahad the Golumptious" (*Fun*, 15 June, 1867, p. 149); "Boulogne" (*Fun*, 12 Sept., 1868, p. 7; Mr. Searle, however, lists this occasional poem on p. 87); "The Wise Policeman" (*Fun*, 22 Oct., 1870, p. 156); and "Drop of Pantomime Water" (*The Graphic*, Xmas No., 1870). Mr. Searle's list also omits mention of other uncollected poems by Gilbert, including "Young May Moon" (*Fun*, 6 June, 1863, p. 118); "Sixty-three and Sixty-four" (*Fun*, 2 Jan., 1864, p. 162); "The Baron Klopffzetterheim; or The Beautiful Bertha and the Big Bad Brothers of Bonn," in 5 fyttes (*Fun*, 19, 26 Mar., 2, 9, 16 April, 1864, pp. 8, 18, 21, 38, 48); "Down to the Derby with Rhymes on the Road" (*Fun*, 28 May, 1864, p. 110); and "Musings in a Music Hall" (*Fun*, 28 Oct., 1865, p. 69).

Mr. Searle's list (pp. 86-8) of the original magazine-publications of those Babs which were later included in *Bab Ballads* or *More Bab Ballads* is so incomplete that the simplest way to reconstruct it is to give the entire series in chronological order. I must confess that I have never come across two of these Babs—"To a Little Maid" and "Tempora Mutantur"—in *Fun*, though they were probably published there. In the following list, those Babs marked with an asterisk are noted by Mr. Searle; the "lost" Babs are listed sequentially in footnotes. Unless specified otherwise, all are from *Fun*.

I. The *Bab Ballads* group, first collected in 1869:

1. To a Little Maid
2. Tempora Mutantur

1865

3. To Phoebe, 20 Aug.
4. To the Terrestrial Globe, 30 Sept.

1866

- 5.*The Phantom Curate, 6 Jan.
6. Ferdinando and Elvira, 17 Feb.
7. The Pantomine "Super" to his Mask, 24 Feb.
8. The Yarn of the 'Nancy Bell,' 3 March
9. Haunted, 24 March
10. To my Bride, 9 June

Illustrated by "Bab" ¹

¹ Illustrated by "Bab," "The Story of Gentle Archibald" was published 18 May, 1866; republished by Grey-Dark, p. 254.

1866

11. Only a Dancing Girl, 23 June
- 12.*King Borria Bungalee Boo, 7 July ²

1867

- 13.*General John, 1 June
14. Sir Guy the Crusader, 8 June ³
15. Disillusioned, 6 July
16. John and Freddy, 3 Aug.
17. Lorenzo de Lardy, 10 Aug.
18. The Bishop and the 'Busman, 17 Aug.
19. Babette's Love, 24 Aug. ⁴
20. Sir Macklin, 14 Sept.
21. The Troubadour, 21 Sept.
22. Ben Allah Achmet, 28 Sept.
23. The Folly of Brown, 5 Oct.
24. Joe Golightly, 12 Oct.
25. The Rival Curates, 19 Oct.
26. Thomas Winterbottom Hance, 26 Oct. ⁵
27. The Bishop of Rum-ti-Foo, 16 Nov.
28. The Precocious Baby, 23 Nov.
29. Baines Carew, Gentleman, 30 Nov.
30. A Discontented Sugar Broker, 14 Dec.
31. Force of Argument, 21 Dec.
32. At a Pantomime, 28 Dec.

1868

- 33.*The Three Kings of Chickeraboo, 18 Jan.
- 34.*The Periwinkle Girl, 1 Feb.
- 35.*Captain Reece, 8 Feb.
- 36.*Thomas Green and Harriet Hale, 15 Feb.
37. Bob Polter, 29 Feb.
- 38.*The Ghost, the Gallant, the Gael, and the Goblin,
14 March
- 39.*Ellen M'Jones Aberdeen, 21 March
- 40.*The Sensation Captain, 4 April ⁶
- 41.*The Reverend Micah Sowls, 18 April
- 42.*Peter the Wag, 25 April
- 43.*The Story of Prince Agib, 16 May
- 44.*Gentle Alice Brown, 23 May

² "Croquet: An Anticipation" was published 4 May, 1867.

³ "Sir Galahad the Golumptious" was published 15 June, 1867.

⁴ "Fanny and Jenny" was published 7 Sept., 1867; republished by Grey-Dark, p. 245.

⁵ "A. and B." was published 2 Nov., 1867; republished by Goldberg, p. 531.

⁶ "Trial by Jury," originally a Bab, was published 11 April, 1868; republished by Goldberg, p. 164; listed by Searle, p. 35.

II. The *More Bab Ballads* group, first collected in 1873:

1868

1. Pasha Bailey Ben, 6 June ⁷
2. *The Sailor Boy to his Lass, 27 June ⁸
3. The Cunning Woman, 25 July
4. *The Modest Couple, 8 Aug. ⁹
5. Sir Barnaby Bampton Boo, 29 Aug. ¹⁰
6. *Brave Alum Bey, 19 Sept.
7. *Gregory Parable, LL.D., 3 Oct.
8. Lieutenant-Colonel Flare, 10 Oct. ¹¹
9. *Annie Protheroe, 24 Oct.
10. The Captain and the Mermaids, 7 Nov.
11. *An Unfortunate Likeness, 14 Nov.
12. *Lost Mr. Blake, 28 Nov.
13. *Little Oliver, 5 Dec. ¹²

1869

14. The Baby's Vengeance, 16 Jan.
15. *The Two Ogres, 23 Jan.
16. Mister William, No. 60, 6 Feb. ¹³
17. The Martinet, No. 61, 13 Feb.
18. The King of Canoodle-dum, No. 62, 20 Feb.
19. First Love, No. 63, 27 Feb.
20. The Haughty Actor, No. 64, 27 March
21. The Two Majors, No. 65, 3 April ¹⁴
22. The Bishop of Rum-ti-Foo Again, No. 68, 8 May
23. A Worm will Turn, No. 69, 15 May
24. The Mystic Selvagee, No. 70, 22 May

⁷ "Blabworth-cum-Talkington" was published 20 June, 1868; republished by Goldberg, p. 535.

⁸ "Sir Conrad and the Rusty One" was published 4 July, 1868; republished by Grey-Dark, p. 247.

⁹ "The Bandoline Player" was published 22 Aug., 1868; republished by Grey-Dark, p. 251.

¹⁰ "Boulogne" was published 12 Sept., 1868.

¹¹ "The Hermit" was published 17 Oct., 1868; republished by Goldberg, p. 537.

¹² "The Phantom Head" was published 19 Dec., 1868; republished by Goldberg, p. 540; "Woman's Gratitude" was published 9 Jan., 1869; republished by Goldberg, p. 544.

¹³ With "Mister William," Gilbert began numbering his illustrated poems in *Fun*. The first number is "60"!

¹⁴ "The Three Bohemian Ones," No. 66, was published 10 April, 1869; republished by Grey-Dark, p. 258. "The Policeman's Beard," No. 67, was published 1 May, 1869; republished by Goldberg, p. 548.

- 25. Emily, John, James, and I, No. 71, 29 May ¹⁵
- 26.*The Way of Wooing, No. 73, 11 Sept.¹⁶
- 27.*Hongree and Mahry, No. 77, 10 Nov.
- 28. Etiquette, *The Graphic*, Xmas No., 1869

1870

- 29.*The Reverend Simon Magus, No. 78, *Fun*, 5 Feb.
- 30.*My Dream, No. 79, 19 March
- 31.*Damon v. Pythias, No. 80, 26 March
- 32.*The Bumboat Woman's Story, No. 81, 2 April
- 33. The Fairy Curate, No. 82, 23 July
- 34. Phrenology, No. 83, 6 Aug.
- 35. The Perils of Invisibility, No. 84, 20 Aug.¹⁷

1871

- 36. Old Paul and Old Tim, No. 85, 28 Jan.

Other notable omissions in Mr. Searle's list of Gilbert's publications in magazines are "Gossip of the Week" (*Fun*, 24, 31, Oct., 7, 14, 21, 28 Nov., 12, 19 Dec., 1863, pp. 53, 63, 73, 89, 99, 108, 129 138), which anticipates the "spur of a moment" joke of *Yeoman of the Guard*, and several short stories: "The Duke's Surprise," discovered by Mr. Goldberg (p. 422) in *Blackwood's*; "Finger of Fate," *Every Saturday* (XL, 562); "An Elixir of Love," *The Graphic* (Xmas No., 1876; see Mr. Searle, p. 40); "Little Mim," *The Graphic* (Xmas No., 1876); and "The Story of a Twelfth Cake," *The Graphic* (Xmas No., 1874). Without explaining what they are, Mr. Searle lists a few skits illustrated by "Bab" in *Fun*. These belong to a series of page-burlesques of contemporary plays, most of which were certainly written by Gilbert, though he illustrated but a few of them. They may prove

¹⁵ "The Ghost of his Ladye Love" was published 14 Aug., 1869; republished by Goldberg, p. 96. It is unnumbered in *Fun*, coming between Nos. 71 and 72, and is not, properly speaking, a Bab. "Prince Il Baleine," No. 72, was published 28 Aug., 1869; republished by Grey-Dark, p. 241.

¹⁶ "The Scornful Colonel," No. 74, was published 25 Sept., 1869; republished by Goldberg, p. 549. "The Variable Baby," No. 75, was published 9 Oct., 1869; republished by Goldberg, p. 552. "The Ladies of the Lea," No. 76, was published 30 Oct., 1869; republished by Goldberg, p. 555.

¹⁷ "The Wise Policeman," No. 85, was published in *Fun*, 22 Oct., 1870, p. 156. "A Drop of Pantomime Water" was published in *The Graphic*, Xmas No., 1870. The latter, like "Etiquette," was naturally not numbered. It will be noted that there are two No. 85's.

valuable some day in a study of Gilbert's "Dramatic Opinions." One of the most interesting of them is a burlesque—"An Old Score" (*Fun*, 7 Aug. 1869, p. 225)—of Gilbert's own *An Old Score*.

ARTHUR E. DUBOIS

Baltimore, Maryland

WALT WHITMAN AND NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE

It is already known that Walt Whitman thought highly of the *Twice Told Tales*. For he wrote in an editorial on "*Home*" *Literature* which appeared in *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* for July 10, 1846:

. . . Let those who read (and in this country who does not read?) no more condescend to patronize an inferior foreign author, when they have so many respectable writers at home. Shall Hawthorne get a paltry *seventy-five dollars* for a two volume work¹—shall real American genius shiver with neglect—while the public run after this foreign trash? We hope, and we confidently expect, that the people of this land will come to their "sober second thought" upon the subject, and that soon.

The above statement is not the only indication Whitman appreciated *Twice Told Tales*. He reprinted "Old Esther Dudley" in *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* for July 28 and 29, and inserted "The Shaker Burial" on October 8, 1846.

Nor is this all that Walt Whitman had to say about Hawthorne and his literary work. On April 6, 1846, Whitman wrote the following hitherto unreprinted editorial for *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*:

GOVERNMENT PATRONAGE OF MEN OF LETTERS

WELL DONE.—In the last list of appointments confirmed by the Senate, published in the *Union*, thousands of readers will notice with peculiar gratification that of HAWTHORNE—the gentle Hawthorne—as Surveyor of the port of Salem, Mass. It is a credit of which any administration may be proud, to have the opportunity of thus conferring a portion of its official patronage upon such recipients. The Author of "*Twice Told*

¹ Whitman refers here to the second edition of *Twice Told Tales* published in 1842. The first edition of 1837 was a single volume. Hawthorne, it seems, kept no account of profits received from the sales of these books. For remarks concerning financial arrangements with his publisher for the first edition, see Horatio Bridge, *Personal Recollections of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, New York, 1893, pp. 79-81.

Tales," the Elia of our country returns more honor than he receives, in his acceptance of such a favor. This is the only mode in which our system of government permits the patronage of literature and men of letters, and we only regret that where it can be done with due regard still had to political character, it is not more often resorted to for that purpose. Hawthorne is and has always been a Democrat, while never engaged in active politics; so that we have his name too, one of the brightest in the young annals of our national literature, to grace the party which notwithstanding Whig pretensions to all the talents and all the education, has already numbered in its ranks the first Poet, the first Historian, the first Novelist, and the first Tragedian, our country has produced.² How do the Whigs explain this "singular coincidence [*sic*]"—*News, this morning*.³

Most heartily do we respond th [*sic*] sentiment of pleasure which our contemporary feels at this appointment! Though we do not know Hawthorne personally, yet we know him in some sort, and take it upon us to say that he will perform the duties of his office, whatever they may be, in an efficient manner, and to answer all the requirements of propriety.—But the recognizing of the principle, is the thing—the principle that literary men are prominently eligible to civil appointments. In this case it has been applied strongly; for Hawthorne is a quiet shrinking person, and little fitted to make his way through the blustering crowd. We hope the government will act upon the same principles again and again, until it gets to be fixed as one of the settled rules for its action.

"But," says one, "why have mere writers any higher claims for such favor, than those of other professions?"

For the following reasons: Literary men of the highest grade, (particularly those who are guided altogether by their ideas of right, and scorn to bend the knee "that thrift may follow fawning")⁴ in a large majority of cases are wretchedly poor, and though fame sometimes comes, yet profit rarely does. They serve the world, as it were, without fee and without reward—for there is no higher and more useful service to humanity, than that of boldly advocating great truths, or elevating intellectual taste. What office, what money, what gift in the power of government, could have compensated Channing for the great anchor he has built for mental independence in America? What pay *could* pay Bryant for those words of glory and truth, richly ushered as the old English language can parallel? What sum in the treasury might balance the account America never has settled with Fulton? And there are now dozens of struggling literary men—not Channings, of course, or Bryants, or Fultons—but with ardent and truthful minds, who have a far closer claim on the government for nomination to office, than all the political demagogues and fishers that ever

² Bryant, Prescott, Cooper, and Forrest.

³ Whitman reprinted all of this editorial from *The New York Morning News*, Monday, April 6, 1846, p. 2, where it is headed "Well Done." In copying the article Whitman omitted the comma after "country" and the question mark after "'coincidence.'"

⁴ *Hamlet*, III, ii, 65.

existed! Such men, *the country is indebted to*. We talk about a gift from a rich millionaire, to some benevolent institution—a granting one hundred or five hundred dollars—as though humanity were bound in everlasting gratitude to such a philanthropist; but what is equal to the far spread and deeply penetrating influence of intellect, coined in images of beauty or truth, and diffused among all the pe[o]ple, to be incorporated in their characters, and to elevate and improve them, and increase their means of pure enjoyment?

We wish the writers of America, through their various avenues of utterance, would dwell oftener and more pointedly on this theme. Daily and hourly we are working—some of us spending health and life itself in the labor—for the cause of mere politicians, of men who make a *trade* of what in its purity is, or ought to be, nobler than any of the other professions. Though much of this is necessary and unavoidable—and though a very large portion of political candidates are men who may be worked for, and spoken for, with a hearty good will, by the truest writer—yet it were not amiss, and the immense demands of the state for servants and service, to remember, also, those who have as honest a right to her smile as any else!

In all probability Hawthorne never saw this editorial, written by a young editor who was to become famous. There is not, moreover, a single reference to Whitman or to *Leaves of Grass* in the letters or literary work of Nathaniel Hawthorne.

T. A. ZUNDER

Brooklyn College

WHITMAN ON ARNOLD: AN UNCOLLECTED COMMENT

From the early days in Washington, following Whitman's dismissal from his clerkship in the Department of the Interior by James Harlan, Arnold had not been in sympathy with Whitman's poetical endeavors. He wrote (1866) in reply to O'Connor's fiery letter (sent to many persons whose influence he wished to enlist upon Whitman's side): "As to the general question of Mr. Walt Whitman's poetical achievements, you will think it savours of our decrepit old Europe when I add that while you think it is his highest merit that he is so unlike anyone else, to me this seems to be his demerit; no one can afford in literature to trade merely on his own bottom and to take no account of what other ages and other nations have acquired."¹ Yet, if Whitman had read and remembered this

¹ Perry, Bliss, *Walt Whitman*, 178.

letter, it did not prejudice him: "I have tried to be just with Arnold: have taken up his books over and over again, hoping I would at last get at the heart of him—have given him every sort of chance to convince me—taking him up in different moods, thinking it might possibly be the mood that prejudiced me. The result was always the same: I was not interested: I was wearied."²

When the news of Arnold's death reached America, on April 16, 1888, the *New York Herald* wired for some comment. Contrary to Whitman's usual leisurely practice, he finished and dispatched that very day the following appraisal, which has apparently never been reprinted:

No doubt a character like Arnold's has a meaning and influence in literature, for we welcome all kinds, and indeed the glory of our age is that it would leave no voice, no claim unrecognized. But the fine gentleman, the purist, even the fine scholar, was probably never really less called for. Literature is already over-weighted with them, and henceforth revolts from being a mere profession, a select class. I doubt whether America will miss Arnold at all. We missed Carlyle hugely, and the taking away of Tennyson would make a great void here in the emotions and aesthetic intellect of the United States. There are three or four great scientists to-day in the British Islands any of whose deaths would cause a chill here. But I don't think anything of the kind will happen in the present case.

Commenting on his own article Whitman said: "I discussed Arnold in effect—throughout in such words—as one of the dudes of literature. Does not *Leaves of Grass* provide a place even for Arnold? Certainly, certainly: *Leaves of Grass* has room for everybody: if it did not make room for all it would not make room for one."³ On another occasion Whitman remarked that "Arnold had no genius—only a peculiarly clever order of refined talent. Arnold is much that sort of man who would be in his place as keeper of Her Majesty's Despatches, careful that never a word be misapplied or misspelled."⁴

JOHN HOWARD BIRSS

Columbia University

² Traubel, Horace, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, I, 105.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 45.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 95.

ADDISON'S *LETTER FROM ITALY*

Mr. A. C. Guthkelch in the first volume of his edition of Addison's *Miscellaneous Works* printed (as he supposed for the first time) the early version of *A Letter from Italy* from a manuscript in Addison's handwriting (Bodleian MS. Rawl. Poet. 17). In the appendix he gave five pages of alterations in ink added to the manuscript by another hand.¹ The text as altered is substantially the text that was printed by Edmund Curll in a biographical compilation which he issued in 1741, *An Impartial History of the Life, Character, Amours, Travels, and Transactions of Mr. John Barber*. After describing Barber's disappointment in not finding in Italy a duplicate of the pastoral world reflected in Dryden's translation of "Virgil's *Pastorals*," Curll, or his hack, declared that the ingenuous alderman had brought back from Italy a real curiosity:

An *Italian Nobleman* was possessed of the *First Manuscript Copy* of Mr. Addison's Poetical Description of *Italy*, wrote by that Gentleman in the Year 1702, Feb. 19. N. S. The Alderman begged it of him; and as it differs very much from what is printed in *Tonson's 5th Miscellany*, we doubt not but it will prove acceptable to every Reader.²

It is possible that Addison's autograph manuscript of an early draft of *A Letter from Italy* was corrected by some one who had Curll's volume before him and accepted Curll's text as the final draft of the original version of the poem.³ Curll, indeed, may have been telling the truth. Where his text (based on the supposed manuscript brought back from Italy by Barber) differs from the altered Bodleian manuscript, it is sometimes closer (chiefly in spellings) to the text in the later, more familiar version. Curll's text of the first version of *A Letter from Italy* deserves consideration from the editor who completes Mr. Guthkelch's unfinished edition.

PAUL BUNYAN ANDERSON

Parsons College

¹ *Miscellaneous Works of Joseph Addison* (London, 1914), I, 491-95.

² *An Impartial History of Mr. John Barber* (London, 1741), 14.

³ The alternative is that Curll printed from Bodleian MS. Rawl. Poet. 17 after the alterations had been added to it.

THE THEORY OF A PLURALITY OF WORLDS AS A
FACTOR IN MILTON'S ATTITUDE TOWARD
THE COPERNICAN HYPOTHESIS

Consideration of the attitude of Milton toward the Copernican theory has apparently overlooked a fundamental point, namely: the tendency of his age to associate the hypothesis with the doctrine that other inhabited worlds exist, and the possible effect of this doctrine on the purpose of *Paradise Lost*. Some years after the publication of *Celestial Revolutions*, the spheres enclosing the simple Copernican system were eliminated, and the fixed stars were identified as suns spread irregularly in space, and attended by individual planetary systems. This expansion of the system stimulated theories that the number of suns and systems is infinite, that other bodies in the solar system contain living and rational creatures, and that there exist other systems, finite or infinite in number, which include inhabited planets.¹

Argument for the three last mentioned doctrines was necessarily supported by philosophical and theological premises. Perhaps because of a too free use of analogy, and certainly because of an absence of scientific proof, these theories were at times rejected by astronomers and others who accepted the simple Copernican system. There were also various combinations of the several hypotheses, containing two or more of the theories, which were accepted by some who opposed the original system, or withheld judgment concerning its truth. Whatever the combinations of these doctrines, however, they were more significant in their religious implications and in their effect upon the general outlook on life than was the simple Copernican hypothesis.

During the second decade of the Seventeenth Century, this hypothesis was not infrequently associated with one of the several theories of a plurality of worlds. By the middle of the century, the tendency of the highly speculative to employ it as a premise supporting the doctrine of additional worlds had so strengthened this association that it was not unusual for acceptance of the theory to imply acceptance of the doctrine. Indeed, a number of English-

¹ For the analysis of post-Copernican doctrines in this and the following paragraph, the writer is particularly indebted to Professor J. A. Lovejoy of The Johns Hopkins University.

men apparently interpreted the Copernican system as one which included a plurality of inhabited worlds, perhaps for the same reason which leads many people today to refer to our present cosmology as the Copernican.

The first important association of the heliocentric hypothesis with the theory of a plurality of inhabited worlds seems to have been made by Giordano Bruno.² After indicating his complete acceptance of the hypothesis in *Del infinito universo e mondi*, he proceeds to expand it, asserting that heaven is infinite, that the earth is a planet, and that the fixed stars are suns surrounded by other planets.³

The conception of the Copernican system as implying or suggesting a plurality of worlds soon acquired apparent authority. Galileo's observations with his newly invented telescope, his description of these observations in *Nuncius Sidereus* and Kepler's preface in his reprint of the *Starry Messenger* were interpreted by some as giving scientific color or reasonableness to what was a highly speculative supposition. For at least two centuries following Galileo, and particularly during the age of Milton, non-scientific men frequently believed that the Copernican system included or supported one of the several doctrines of a plurality of worlds. The tendency of various educated Englishmen to associate the heliocentric hypothesis with one or more of these doctrines may be illustrated by a few representative statements.⁴

Among the earliest of these associations are those made by Donne in *An Anatomie of the World* and *Ignatius His Conclave*.⁵ In the latter work he refers to Galileo's observations, and suggests that the

² Nicholas Cusanus and others may have suggested this theory to Bruno.

³ Weber, *History of Philosophy*, section 49. See also *De Immenso*.

⁴ Additional statements include references by Webster (*Works*, ed. Dyce, p. 71), Phineas Fletcher (*Poetical Works*, ed. Boas, I, 149), Habington (Chalmers, VI, 467), Shirley (*Works*, ed. Dyce, V, 24), Hammond (*Caroline Poets*, II, 517), and Ross, *The New Planet No Planet: or the Earth No Wandering Star*: except in the wandering heads of Galileans (London: F. Young, 1646).

⁵ As quoted by Simpson (*A Study of the Prose Works*, pp. 183 ff.), Donne satirizes what he considers the impertinence of Galileo and Kepler. In the concluding portions of this interesting satire, Donne has Loyola challenge the claim that Copernicus has rendered the greater service to the devil on the ground that Lucifer has profited nothing by the introduction of the new astronomy, and worst of all, it may be true.

Jesuits are the proper persons to colonize the moon.⁶ In the *Anatomie*, he links the hypothesis with the doctrine of a plurality of worlds or systems, and attacks it, at least indirectly, as a part of the new philosophy then disrupting the universe:

And new Philosophy calls all in doubt, . . .
 The Sun is lost, and th' earth, and no mans wit
 Can well direct him where to look for it.
 And freely men confesse that this world's spent
 When in the Planets, and the Firmament
 They seek so many new:
 Tis all in peeces, all coherence gone;
 All just supply, and all Relation:
 Prince, Subject, Father, Sonne, are things forgot.⁷

In his *Staple of News*⁸ and *News from the New World*,⁹ Jonson satirizes the invention which had given the Copernican hypothesis such prestige as to bring upon it the official disapproval of the Roman Church.¹⁰ In the latter work, his attack upon the telescope is followed by a satiric reference to the doctrine of another world in the moon. His statement, which would tend to associate the Copernican hypothesis, Galileo, the telescope, and this theory of a plurality of inhabited worlds in the minds of those attending the play, or reading it, concludes in this fashion:

Heralds. Our relation . . . is news . . . Of a new world. And new creatures in that world. In the orb of the moon. Which is found to be a world inhabited. With navigable seas and rivers.¹¹

In *A Cypresse Grove*, Jonson's friend Drummond describes the Copernican theory and the theory that the moon is inhabited as though they were associated in his mind. He finds these theories equally objectionable, as follows:

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Poetical Works*, ed. Grierson, I, 237.

⁸ *Works*, ed. Cunningham, II, 305.

⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 134.

¹⁰ According to Weber (*op. cit.*, section 48), the Roman Church reasoned in part that "if the earth is a planet, then it moves *in heaven*, and is no longer the antithesis of heaven; then heaven and earth are no longer opposed . . . Moreover, to affirm . . . that the world is infinite, is to deny the existence of a heaven *apart* from the universe, of a supernatural order of things, of a God *on high*." Milton's interest in Galileo and his imprisonment suggests that he might have known of such objections.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, III, 134.

The Earth is found to move, and is no more the centre of the Universe . . . Some affirme there is another World of men and sensitive Creatures, with cities and palaces in the Moone . . . Thus Sciences . . . have become Opiniones, nay Errores, and leade the Imagination in a thousand Labyrinthes.¹²

Drummond's acquaintance with and opposition to the doctrine that unnumbered worlds exist is shown in this statement in *Flowers of Sion*:

Were Worlds as many, as the Raies which streame
From Heavens bright Eyes, or madding Witts do dreame.¹³

Certainly the most extensive, if not the most interesting discussion of implications of the Copernican system as many educated laymen of the early Seventeenth Century apparently understood them, is given by Burton in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*. A portion of the full discussion included in this work, one so popular that it must have done much to associate the simple Copernican theory with some doctrine of a plurality of inhabited worlds, is as follows:

To grant this their tenet of the earth's motion: if the earth move, it is a planet and shines to them in the moon, and to the other planetary inhabitants, as the moon and they do to us upon the earth: but shine she doth, as Galileo, Kepler, and others prove, and then per consequens, the rest of the planets are inhabited, as well as the moon, which he grants in his dissertation with Galileo's *Nuncius Sidereus* 'That there be Jovial and Saturn inhabitants' . . . Then . . . the earth and they be planets alike, inhabited alike, moved about the Sun alike, why may we not suppose a plurality of worlds . . . Which Cardinal Cusanus, Walkarinus, Brunus, and some others have held, and some still maintain . . . These and such like insolent and bold attempts, prodigious paradoxes, inferences, must needs follow, if it once be granted, which Rotman, Kepler, Gilbert, Digges, Origanus, Galileo, and others maintain of the earth's motion.¹⁴

A number of the Englishmen who accepted the Copernican theory, as well as those who opposed it above, interpreted it as implying, supporting, or as inseparably connected with a theory of a plurality of worlds. John Wilkins, Bishop of Chester and pioneer of the Royal Society, closely associates it with this doctrine in his *Discovery of a new World*, and in *A Discourse Concerning a New Planet, That the Earth May be a Planet*. He states that the works

¹² *Poetical Works*, ed. Kastner, II, 78.

¹³ *Ibid.*, II, 46.

¹⁴ New Edition (London, 1898), pp. 326 ff.

of Galileo, Kepler, and others have convinced him that there is a world in the moon, and proceeds then to prove by Scripture that "a plurality of worlds doth not contradict any principle of reason or faith."¹⁵

In the extended cosmological discussion given in the second part of the *Platonick Song of the Soul*, Henry More moves definitely from the simple Copernican theory to the doctrine of an infinite number of inhabited worlds. He first attacks the "common sense" support of the geocentric system, and then asserts that objection to the rapid movement which the Copernican hypothesis would require of the earth is without foundation, for this motion is a natural one.¹⁶ Continuing, he discusses additional arguments in favor of "earth's annual and diurnal course," and mentions telescopic discoveries made by Galileo and others.¹⁷ With the heliocentric theory as a basis, he sets up the concept that the universe is composed of an infinite number of suns surrounded by inhabited planets, saying in part:

The centre of each severall world's a Sunne,
Whose shining beams and kindly warming heat,
About whose radiant crown the planets runne . . .
And . . . ever infinite such worlds there be.¹⁸

In *Paradise Lost*, Milton apparently follows the tendency of a number of those of his age, and associates the Copernican hypothesis with the general doctrine of a plurality of inhabited worlds. Not that he bases one upon the other, as More and others in part appear to do, but he writes of them as if they were linked in his mind. He says of the first "What if", and of the second, "What if"; "whether", concerning the first, and "whether" concerning the second. The mood of the description of one is that of the description of the other. These descriptions, only slightly separated by the repetition of "what if," are further unified, externally at least, by being placed without break between Raphael's admonitions concerning the futility and undesirability of cosmological investigation and speculation.¹⁹

¹⁵ Third Edition (London, 1640), pp. 19 ff. This edition includes both the *Discovery* and the *Discourse*.

¹⁶ *Complete Poems*, ed. Grosart, pp. 75 ff.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 82.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

¹⁹ VIII, 119-178.

Whether this common treatment of the two theories indicates that Milton associated them almost inseparably, or considered that his readers frequently did so, is in a sense unimportant. The vital point is that he follows a definite tendency of his age in presenting them side by side and on a basis of apparent equality. This intimate association of the theories, whether a conscious or unconscious one, had an important bearing on the attitude which Milton could take toward the simple Copernican hypothesis. Informed and intelligent as he was, he would know or believe that advocacy of one indicated and almost required advocacy of the other. Public endorsement of the heliocentric system therefore implied or demanded endorsement of some doctrine of a plurality of worlds, and suggested approval of speculation concerning it. This in turn might be interpreted by many readers as providing some authority for such a thesis as Bruno grounded on the general doctrine, in which God is conceived as neither the creator nor the first mover, but as *natura naturans*, the universe, or the soul of the world.²⁰

Henry More, from Milton's university, had reasoned from the doctrine that there is an infinite universe, that such a universe is the proper creation of an infinite God, and that it is proof of a universal and infinite soul from which all things are made. Such a deity would rule these infinite realms and worlds in a similar, and logically, a somewhat mechanical manner, for More says:

And what is done in this terrestrial starre,
The same is done in every Orb beside.²¹

Because of such implications of the doctrine of a plurality of worlds, one would expect Milton to distrust it. His triple injunction that man solicit not his thoughts with matters hid, be lowly wise, and dream not of other worlds does indicate disapproval of speculation concerning it.²² However, his reference to the moon as possibly inhabited by translated saints or middle spirits shows that the general doctrine was not unattractive to him.²³ The description of every star as perhaps a world of destined habitation, while not favorable to the belief that other worlds were then inhabited, also suggests friendly interest in the theory.²⁴ Further-

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, section 49.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 92.

²² VIII, 167; 173; 175.

²³ III, 458-461.

²⁴ VII, 621, 622.

more, despite the allusion to speculation concerning it as fume and fond impertinence,²⁵ he provides pleasing poetic descriptions of several phases of the doctrine.²⁶

The contradiction implied in the favorable attitude of these passages and the somewhat fundamentalistic warning regarding dreams of other worlds, is perhaps more apparent than real. It is to be expected that in a justification of the personal Christian God, Milton would rebuke a practice then leading some men to non-Christian concepts of Deity. That he does not deny the truth of the doctrine and does describe it in a friendly fashion regardless of its implications suggests a favorable personal attitude toward the belief. He apparently does not feel, however, that his public statement should indicate more than suspended judgment.

It appears reasonable to believe that because of the close association of the doctrine and the true hypothesis, Milton did not consider he was prepared to advocate openly the latter. His suspended judgment concerning the simple Copernican system is therefore apparently influenced by the similar attitude taken toward the doctrine of a plurality of worlds.

GRANT MCCOLLEY

Kansas Wesleyan University

VOLTAIRE'S NOTE ON *EMILE* ONCE MORE

In MLN for January, I pointed out that an important marginal note of Voltaire on Rousseau's *Emile* was incorrectly reproduced in the *Annales Jean-Jacques Rousseau* for 1905. In a most gracious manner, M. Bernard Bouvier, the author of the article in question, has informed me that the error on p. 284, l. 10, of *texte* instead of *reste*, due, not to the author's MS., but to the printer, was corrected in the *Errata* of the *Annales*, II (1906), 311. It is a pleasure to bring this fact to the attention of readers of my previous article.

GEORGE R. HAVENS

Ohio State University

²⁵ VIII, 194, 195.

²⁶ VIII, 140 ff.

REVIEWS

Journal of Washington Irving, 1823-24. Edited by STANLEY WILLIAMS. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931. Pp. xviii + 278. \$3.50.

Stanley Williams, in this otherwise well edited *Journal*, falls into two errors, one minor, one major. The minor lapse is to be found on page 57 where Mr. Williams names John Howard Payne as the author, with Irving's assistance, of the translation of the German libretto of Weber's famous opera, *Der Freischütz*. The translation—in some measure also an adaptation—was by Irving, who may, however, have had some slight aid from Barham Livius. Payne had no share in the writing. Even if Mr. Williams was unwilling to accept the facts presented in my introduction to the first edition of Irving's manuscript, he might have had careful recourse to the pages of Thatcher T. Payne Luquer. In this publication of the letters of Payne and Irving, Irving and not Payne is revealed as the author of *Der Freischütz*. Possibly Mr. Williams's error is due to the fact that Payne tried to find a London producer for Irving's version at the same time that he was seeking to place plays of his own.

Far more grave is the statement (p. 3), "It has been said that Irving was a rejected and despondent suitor for the hand of Miss Emily Foster, but no conclusive evidence exists that this is so." Mr. Williams then goes on to suggest that the present *Journal* is an argument to the contrary. It is, if one feels the need for minor evidences, quite the opposite. Irving fell in love with Emily Foster in 1823 at Dresden. The Dresden Journals, drawn upon by Irving's earliest biographer, Pierre M. Irving, were first published in full in 1919 under the editorship of W. P. Trent and myself. A facsimile of one of the March pages was given, "showing" [I quote the note of the editors] "how lines were erased, presumably by Irving's biographer in his desire to perpetuate the tradition of Irving's exclusive devotion to his first love, Mathilda Hoffman. Still decipherable, however, are the words: 'Early part day *triste*—Emily delightful' in the seventh line. We surmise that the rest of the deleted portion referred to Irving's determination to put his fortune to the test, and that on March 31 (which entry shows another deletion—this time probably of the word 'depressed') Irving asked Emily to become his wife, but without success."

Yes, a surmise; but *why*, otherwise, did Irving's nephew rub out passages from the diary he was using in writing the biography? And another interesting question is *when*? Was it before or after Emily's sister Flora categorically stated that Irving sought Emily's

hand in marriage and adduced her own journal of the Dresden days in evidence? Pages from Flora's journal (published in 1863) were printed as an Appendix to the London edition of Pierre M. Irving's *Life and Letters of Washington Irving*, and no satisfactory reply came from the nephew who had deleted portions of his uncle's diary. It is as inconceivable that a well-bred English girl of an aristocratic family would, first in her private diary and, later, publicly write a false statement of this nature concerning a distinguished friend who had died, as it is impossible to understand why Pierre Irving should have deleted passages referring to Emily, unless to bolster up his sentimental presentation of Irving's youthful love affair, or to protect his challenged integrity as a scholar.

As a matter of fact, although Irving deeply loved and always cherished the memory of Mathilda Hoffman, he recovered sufficiently from the blow of her early death to enter not so very long after into the gay life of New York society. Although he became devoted to the delectable widow, Jane Renwick, the "Jeanie" immortalized by Robert Burns, perhaps not until the Dresden days did he deeply fall in love again. Mrs. Foster wished her daughter to accept him. Emily could not make up her mind. Some weeks after this March refusal (a conditional refusal?) Irving left Dresden for a trip through Bohemia. He returned to Dresden for a while. When the Fosters left Dresden, Irving also left. Then came the Paris days, whose record begins in the Journal edited by Mr. Williams and is continued in the Journal edited by Professor Trent and myself. Irving arrives at Paris on August 3, 1823. On March 13, 1824, after various letters to Mrs. Foster, he writes to both mother and daughter. Not until July does he visit them at their home in England. He arrives on July 6. The next morning he takes a long walk with Emily and her mother, his ally; and again in the afternoon. Subsequent to that, there is no walk with Emily, and she is never alone with him. When he leaves, it is Flora who gives him a parting gift. Is the surmise untenable that in England, as in Saxony, Emily is still unable to make up her mind to marry Washington Irving? But Irving has not given up hope. On August 26, again at Paris, he writes to Emily. On August 27, he re-writes his letter. On August 29 he sends the letter to Emily. It takes three days before this famous author, this fluent letter-writer, is satisfied with his missive to the young girl some twenty years his junior! Is it difficult to conjecture the contents of so deeply pondered an epistle?

One could adduce many other evidences contrary to the lovely Mathilda Hoffman theory advanced as explaining Irving's life-long bachelorhood. There is, for instance, Irving's story of "The Broken Heart" where he writes that though it may be possible for a woman to adhere forever to a lost love of youth, a man is not likely to do so. He is, one feels, writing autobiographically. Yet all corroborative details seem, though interesting for the research

student, really unimportant in view of the significant deletions in Irving's journals and the unqualified statements in the diary of Emily's sister.

Stanley Williams is one of the greatest scholars in the Irving field. His editing of the Journal from Dr. Roderick Terry's collection is but one of his many worth-while labors in this field—a delightful journal, full of wit and amusing anecdotes. If we have laid much stress on what seems to us so grave an error in his present work, it is in the hope that if Mr. Williams should ever attempt, as he is well qualified to do, a *Life of Irving*, he will not continue in the defense of a sentimental fiction so opposed to the stirrings of nature of men in general, and, in particular, of the susceptible heart of Washington Irving.

GEORGE S. HELLMAN

New York City

American Literature as an Expression of the National Mind. By RUSSELL BLANKENSHIP. New York: Henry Holt, 1931. \$4.

It is at once the merit and the demerit of this book that it reflects faithfully the leading tendencies in American literary historiography of the past decade. As the author acknowledges, he has written on lines suggested by the "journalist" group—Bourne, Brooks, Macy, Mumford, etc.—and the massive work of Vernon Louis Parrington. He is also indebted to some of the authors of *The Reinterpretation of American Literature*. In consequence, the general organization of his book, as indicated in the table of contents, is superior, I think, to that of any previous survey of American literature, including the useful but essentially aimless *Cambridge History of American Literature*. Book I, pages 3-74, sketches "The Background," physical, racial, and intellectual; Book II, 77-191, studies "The Mind of Colonial America"; Book III, 195-387, deals with "Romanticism in America"; and Book IV, 391-724, carries the account to the present under the caption "The Triumph of Realism." A comparison between this scheme and that of nearly all the earlier histories of American literature would surely indicate that we are moving toward a more thoughtful scholarship in the field of the national letters.

The manner in which this scheme is applied in the text, however, indicates a serious defect both in the book and in the school of literary history which inspired it. Of 724 pages, only 2½ are devoted to Longfellow, 4 to Bryant, 6 to Poe, and 7 to Hawthorne. Taken together, the space given to these four American "classics" is the same as that given to Whitman alone. Even today this distribution of emphasis will strike most scholars and teachers as strange; fifty or a hundred years hence it may well be simply funny. How it happened is explained, after a fashion, by the

second part of the title, "as an Expression of the National Mind," together with the assertion in the introduction that our proper concern is with the "social import" of literature, not with "that esoteric goddess known as esthetic beauty." "Whether our literature is 'great' or not is of comparatively slight importance. It is profoundly expressive of the changing American mind." It is Parrington's argument over again. But Parrington used it to justify what his disciple rightly terms a monumental work of scholarship, a study of American liberal thought in its relations with American literature, which deservedly won the Pulitzer Prize in History. On the other hand, his pupil, Professor Blankenship, uses the same argument to justify a very different enterprise: the writing of a textbook for the college survey course in American literature. If the proportions of the textbook are paralleled in the reading of literature, the student will read as much in Whitman as he will read in Bryant, Poe, Hawthorne, and Longfellow combined; and he will have to read very closely a vast deal of writing that is perhaps neither "great" or "literature." Is it really obvious that American literature, in the colleges, should become merely a part of American history?

Even if one grants the validity of the author's purpose, the question remains, What *is* the national mind, in either its permanent or its changing aspects? Naturally enough, Mr. Blankenship has no assured knowledge of the permanent American mind, but he does profess to trace changes. The two great changes are indicated in his scheme by the terms romanticism and realism. If America, in its golden day, was romantic, why, one must insist again, was Poe dismissed in six pages and Longfellow in two and a half? And in the realistic age, was it proper to give the same attention to Arturo Giovannitti as to Edwin Arlington Robinson? At the Sorbonne, the professor of American literature likes to introduce his students to the recent "American" mind by means of Mr. Robinson; at the University of Berlin, the professor of American literature attempts the same task by means of Mr. Dooley. What *is* the American mind? Are we to look for the average, or for the peculiar and racy, or for the best that has been thought and said in America?

NORMAN FOERSTER

University of Iowa

The University of Texas Bulletin, July 8, 1930. Austin: University of Texas Press. \$1.00. (Studies in English, Number 10).

Of the four articles in this *Bulletin* devoted to Poe's use of sources, "Poe's Debt to Coleridge" by Floyd Stovall presents the most extended treatment. The author's purpose appears to be twofold: he has endeavored, first, to deal "more fully and systemati-

cally with Poe's dependence on Coleridge in poetry and prose fiction, in criticism, and in speculative thought than has heretofore been done"; and second, to prove that Coleridge was Poe's first and chief master and "the guiding genius" of the latter's "entire intellectual life". Quite the best part of this study touches its first purpose. The author presents as an organized whole a vast number of instances in which Poe's ideas agreed with those of Coleridge, or at least approximated them. He has collected under separate heads Poe's scattered critical opinions and has sub-divided these main heads into many lesser divisions. For example, he sees in Poe's theory of poetry alone nine "constituent ideas". All this assembled material Mr. Stovall has collated, point for point, with Coleridge's views on similar topics, and he has added, by way of interpretation, some illuminating discussions on the writers' opinions thus placed in juxtaposition. The chief excellence of the paper rests, however, in its author's lucid organization whereby the reader can examine for himself these cases of contact. His article becomes, therefore, splendid hand-book material for the serious student of Poe's work.

Not so successful, however, is the carrying out of the author's second purpose. Mr. Stovall has weakened his argument for Coleridge as Poe's chief master by contending too strenuously for Coleridge's influence when other influences are plainly discernible. Especially is this true when he tries to sweep away Poe's early indebtedness to Schlegel. In saying that Poe was drawn to Schlegel through Coleridge, and that he owed "little directly" to Schlegel, he fails to recognize Poe's early familiarity with *Blackwood* critics who commented on Schlegelian principles, and also the unquestionable similarity between Schlegel's text in the advice on the conduct of the drama and Poe's directions for writing a short story. Mr. Stovall further weakens his argument by what seems to be an effort to minimize the breadth of Poe's study. If Poe attributed ideas which he knew were held by Coleridge to other critics also holding these ideas, he was not, necessarily, as Mr. Stovall supposes, struggling to appear erudite. Rather it would seem that Poe was confirming in his own mind his knowledge of critical principles.

Particularly disappointing is the connection made between Coleridge and Poe in speculative thought. Coleridge had defined intelligence as the action of two counterbalancing forces, the attractive and the repulsive, acknowledging that he had borrowed these terms from astronomy. In one instance Mr. Stovall speaks of Poe's following this definition "in fragmentary ideas." In another instance, quite in contradiction to his former statement, he asserts that this reasoning appears in *Eureka* in Poe's whole "train of thinking". One familiar with Poe's seeking by recourse to physical law to confirm this doctrine of counteracting forces and with his use of the doctrine in his literary technique will feel that

through this contradiction Mr. Stovall has missed an opportunity of strengthening his whole thesis.

In spite of the above shortcomings, Mr. Stovall's large compilation of materials and especially his well ordered plan of procedure make his article a genuine contribution to Poe scholarship.

MARGARET ALTERTON

University of Iowa

Fitz-Green Halleck, an Early Knickerbocker Wit and Poet. By NELSON FREDERICK ADKINS. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930. Pp. xiii + 461. \$5.

The subject of this tall, thick volume is the best illustration of what could happen to the Knickerbocker who never passed beyond the Salmagundi stage. Coming to New York at the age of twenty-three, he fell in with the literary virtuosos and cemented friendship with Joseph Rodman Drake with his jejune exclamation that "it would be heaven to lounge upon the rainbow and read Tom Campbell." He was uncomfortably aware of the prosaic drive of American life and disposed to lament the wane of romance, a sentiment to which he somewhat feebly reverted in his valedictory "Young America."

Yet his few successes were not in romantic writing but in the "Croaker Papers" of 1819, done in conjunction with Drake, and in "Fanny", both of them light social satires. His enthusiasm for Drake's "Culprit Fay" was quite indiscriminating and built up the myth about this hasty improvisation that was never honestly criticised until Poe in 1834 fairly disposed of the poem and condemned Drake as a culprit poet. In Halleck's surprise at originality in an American appeared the vital difference between himself and Drake. As fate would have it the more independent of the pair was taken off before his prime, and Halleck settled down into complacent Knickerbockerism.

People liked "Fanny", so he wrote a supplementary fifty stanzas for a *jeu d'esprit* that he had at first described as "spun out." While abroad in a moment of fine fury he wrote "Marco Bozzaris", "the keystone of the arch of my renown, if renown it be." But all the applause failed to rouse him to any real productivity. Publishers implored him for manuscript, but editions trickled along only of "The Croakers" and "Fanny" and "Alnwick Castle" and "Fanny" and "the Croakers." His fellow-authors challenged him to fulfill the promise of his early verse; he sat at public dinners where toastmasters acknowledged his presence; he was an incessant guest at private tables where he was remembered for anecdote and quotation rather than for any original utterances. For sixteen years, while Poe was never far from penury he lived in comfort and intel-

lectual indolence, and when in 1848 his employer-patron died leaving him a tiny annuity, he packed up and slipped back to Guilford, Connecticut, and the oblivion from which he had emerged.

All this is derivable from Mr. Adkin's voluminous study, but it is not the explicit burden of it. The man is taken more nearly at the estimate of his contemporaries and solemnly enshrouded in rhetoric.

The young man had inherited a breadth of imagination and fulness of life that clashed harshly with the restraint and bigotry imposed by his New England environment. Now freed from the narrow yoke of prejudice, Halleck at once found in the freer life of the city the liberty for which his heart yearned.

It was the liberty of the small boy who runs away after breakfast and gets home for lunch.

The same solemnity characterizes the scholarly treatment of the man as a creature of problems which demand circuitous and prolonged solutions. And occasionally the parade of pedantry is so occupied with its own appearance that it misses the most obvious of steps; as in the speculation on the significance of Y. H. S. as a signature, which the author regards as insoluble, although in addition to being subscribed to three poems, it is also used at the end of a letter. And this in a day when "Your Humble Servant" was the commonest of formulae.

Mr. Adkins's book is a useful compilation. In its fulness it will never need to be supplemented. In its factual accuracy it seems to be beyond reproach. As a reference book it is valuable. As a piece of critical writing, however, it is as insecure as were the critical findings of Fitz-Green Halleck himself.

PERCY H. BOYNTON

University of Chicago

Hypnotic Poetry: a Study of Trance-Inducing Technique in Certain Poems and its Literary Significance. By EDWARD D. SNYDER. With a Foreword by JAMES H. LEUBA. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930. Pp. xii + 162. \$2.00.

The author, evidently a competent oral reader of poetry, has found that, in reading certain poems, he exercises upon his auditors a peculiar "spell-weaving" or "trance-producing" effect, for which he seeks explanation in psychological theory. His exposition divides poems into three classes; first, "spell-weaving" or "hypnotic"; secondly, as opposed to these, "intellectualist"; and thirdly, since these two kinds run together, "mixed" or "semi-hypnotic" poems. His aim in the first four chapters is to show

that poems of the first class, which in a "loose, popular sense" have generally been regarded as spell-weaving, are "actually and technically"—i. e., in the light of recognized psychological theory—hypnotic. The remaining chapters—to quote the Preface—"make practical applications of this idea to individual poems and to topics of a more general nature," including "poetic inspiration" and "free verse in America." True reading and criticism of poetry will, as the author hopes, be greatly aided once his distinctions are recognized and appropriate treatment given to each of his classes.

The argument, though, as far as it goes, not open to serious objection, is rather popular than seriously critical, from either the literary or psychological point of view, and somewhat careless, not always avoiding illogical and inconsistent statement. Space permits but one example. On p. 18 the "state of trance, sometimes called *hypnoidal*" is "clearly demonstrable as abnormal"; but on p. 28, "in the *hypnoidal* or light state of trance, the subject's behavior is practically normal." The serious critic will use this word "normal" with circumspection.

One may fully agree with Professor Leuba that "poetic criticism is in much need of an assistance which the psychologist only can give," without finding in this volume very much that is new or helpful. Readers of poetry have always recognized the spell-weaving power of poetry, from the "hypnotic incantations of savage tribes" (which the author notes) to Shelley's "incantation of this verse" in the *West Wind*. They are in little need of the demonstration which Professor Leuba believes this volume to have accomplished,—namely, "the existence of a type of poetry which owes its attraction to a method of composition, the effect of which is to limit the intellectual activity, . . . and thereby to free in some measure the emotional life from the trammel of critical thinking." They have indeed always recognized the very devices which are here enumerated as trance-producing,—such as "an unusually perfect pattern of sound," "a certain vagueness of imagery," "the use of refrain or of frequent repetition," the use of "suggestion," etc. It does not help us much merely to put old ideas into new psychological terms, or to call familiar experiences "*hypnoidal*." It is sometimes enlightening indeed only to have old problems regarded from quite new angles; accordingly some readers will find their conceptions sharpened by a perusal of this book. But what poetic criticism really hopes for from psychology is not restatements but substantial contributions.

F. C. PRESCOTT

Cornell University

Additional Chapters on Thomas Cooper. By MAURICE KELLEY.

Orono: University of Maine Press, 1930. Pp. 100. (University of Maine Studies).

The purpose of this work is to interpret Cooper in the light of the latter's "biography and of the sciences to which he contributed" and thus "effect a fuller conception of Cooper's works and versatility". To this end Mr. Kelley surveys Cooper's writings of the latter part of the 18th century in England and the first half of the national period in America. He presents Cooper in his connections in both countries with learned societies devoted to science and in his interests in popularizing education in America. In both fields of Cooper's endeavor, Mr. Kelley professes to find a binding thought of radicalism, and, in forming a general conclusion, asserts that in neither of these fields is his author a significant figure.

Not altogether fair is Mr. Kelley's treatment of Cooper's achievements. He allows his disapproval of the latter's unorthodox opinions to blind him to the value of what Cooper actually accomplished in pioneer work in America in both science and education. Although he calls attention to the facts that Cooper held certain scientific theories now pronounced reliable by modern science, that he entered a "plea for a critical test of historicity" now favored by modern scholarship, and that he foreshadowed the plan of the present-day state university, Mr. Kelley, nevertheless, by various methods, lessens the importance of this constructive thinking. For example, he intimates that Cooper's radicalism motivated his adoption of Hutton's igneous theory in explanation of the earth's geologic changes. There is thus an attack on the scientist's sincerity. According to Mr. Kelley, all of Cooper's work in science and education illustrates "the mental vagaries of a man regarded by his age as an intellectual leader". It is, in fact, with surprise that Mr. Kelley notes the praise bestowed on Cooper by certain of the latter's contemporaries. He holds more to the view of those in Cooper's time who, in bitterly opposing the man's unorthodoxy, could see little good in his scholarship. Mr. Kelley briefly mentions that Jefferson "praised Cooper's brilliance". But Jefferson did far more; in numerous instances he testified to Cooper's special abilities in furthering the scholarly interests of America in the national period.

The chief merit of Mr. Kelley's work lies in the fact that he has painstakingly assembled Cooper's writings, many of which lay scattered through the periodicals of his time. He has not, however, so interpreted these writings that they reveal their author with any degree of fullness for what he was—pioneer scientist and educator. He has not allowed the age to explain the man.

MARGARET ALTERTON

University of Iowa

The Golden Thread. By PHILO M. BUCK, JR. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. xx + 552. \$4.00.

The professor of comparative literature at the University of Wisconsin has written an elementary, readable survey of world literature, especially, of course, European literature, strung together on a golden thread. This golden thread he calls tradition, not traditions, for, as he conceives, "mankind, in spite of varied language and culture, is at heart one," "human nature, in spite of differences in age and background, has remained essentially the same." This doctrine, itself long traditional, and still maintained by humanists, is daily rejected by modernists who profess to see nothing in life but relativity, nothing in literature but the whirling of fashion.

That there is relativity as well as permanence Professor Buck is well aware: the great authors who defy time are yet children of their own age. We are here on the verge, it would appear, of a fruitful attempt to suggest a division between the constant and the inconstant in literary values. This is one of the central tasks of higher literary scholarship in our groping times. If Professor Buck had made bold to attempt it, he would have produced a useful book, useful in its provocative weaknesses as well as in its positive contribution; he would at least have encouraged debate among scholars on an important subject. That he did not do so is to be explained, curiously enough, by his own fascination by the principle of change. "It is not a static or unchanging tradition," he declares, "the pattern it weaves is as variable as human nature itself, and its end no man can predict. In this it is like nature itself, subject to its own inner laws, and modifying itself constantly to meet every new occasion." This cannot be questioned; it is as true as the assertion above that mankind is at heart one. The point is one concerning tone and emphasis. The author promises, and gives us, "unexpected surprises." As we move on through the ages, the story of literature shifts from one sort of triumph to another as if man were capable (as he is) of every manner of thing, and yet everything seems to develop naturally from what went before. The richness of human nature, its avoidance of sheer repetition, paralleled in physical man by endless individuality of face and figure, renders the story one of high romantic charm. But the plot, the action, the unity of the story? Here the courage of the author flags. He falls back on the misty notion that all diversities, past, present, and future, are somehow aspects of unity, which like all pantheistic views tends to be nearly meaningless. A more sharply defined picture he postpones till all of the future becomes past. At this juncture, or junction, that will give us a tedious wait.

NORMAN FOERSTER

University of Iowa

The Letters of Robert Burns. Edited from the Original Manuscripts. By J. DE LANCEY FERGUSON. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1931. 2 vols. Pp. xlix + 382; 413. \$10.00.

Professor Ferguson's work represents the most notable contribution to Burns scholarship since the publication of Henley and Henderson's Centenary edition, *The Poetry of Robert Burns* (Edinburgh, 1896-97. 4 vols.). During the thirty-five years that have elapsed since these volumes appeared much has been done towards adding to our knowledge of Burns. Some old myths have been exploded; not a few uncertainties have been clarified; a large number of previously unknown letters have been printed—for the most part in the pages of the *Annual Burns Chronicle*, now under the competent editorship of Mr. J. C. Ewing. But the student who wished to see Burns in his habit as he lived has been handicapped by the fact that his letters—the chief source of first-hand biographical information—were scattered among several editions each of which inaccurately claimed to contain his complete works, and, more disheartening, by the knowledge that no one of these editions would show what Burns actually wrote, but only what some previous editor had said that he wrote. And whenever one placed a Burns manuscript beside a well-meaning early nineteenth-century editor's "accurate copy" of that manuscript, one discovered such discrepancies as made one distrust even those editors who intended to be honest.

The trouble began with Dr. James Currie, the Liverpool physician who in 1800 published the first collected edition of Burns's works. In his "Dedication" Currie announced quite frankly that "all topics are omitted in the writings, and avoided in the life of Burns, that have a tendency to awaken the animosity of party." But Currie did more than omit some of Burns's most characteristic utterances on religion and politics. He softened his language, altered his dates, and in general took such liberties with his texts as he or his literary advisors thought desirable. Later editors reproduced Currie's versions of the published letters, and when adding new texts, followed Currie's general editorial practise. Even the Chambers-Wallace *Life and Works of Robert Burns* (Edinburgh, 1896. 4 vols.), the best edition of both prose and verse that has yet appeared, is sadly mutilated by lacunae in the texts of previously unpublished letters, and is but little better than Currie *et als* as regards what had previously been printed.

Professor Ferguson has corrected this situation, and has given the texts of seven hundred and thirteen of Burns's letters, of which some five hundred and fifty are taken directly from either the original documents or photostatic reproductions. The accuracy of these transcripts is beyond praise. Here one may read Burns's

own words, colored with all his significant and characteristic mannerisms of spelling and punctuation. So at last, a century and a half after Burns began writing, it has been made possible for the reader to enjoy the poet's voluminous correspondence unmutilated by omissions or editorial alterations.

In preparing this material for the press Professor Ferguson has several times re-dated letters by the simple process of turning the sheet over and looking for the post-mark—an obvious method of determining when a letter was actually mailed, but one which no previous editor seems to have thought of. And once or twice this process has resulted in clarifying baffling obscurities.

The editorial material which accompanies the text is ample, pertinent, reliable and never obtrusive. In each case the history of the letter is carefully recorded: place and date of first publication, and location of the manuscript if discoverable. Quotations are localized, and information necessary to an understanding of the text supplied. A succinct glossary of "Dialect and obsolete words" will be useful to some readers, though Burns rarely dropped into the vernacular when writing prose; the "Appendix: Notes on Burns's Correspondents" contains information available nowhere else, and invaluable to any student of Burns and his world; the Index is of the sort which such a publication warrants: analytic, intelligently complete, and easy to use. And the "Introduction: The Letters and the Man," is the most informing evaluation of Burns that has appeared in a long day.

One Scottish reviewer has suggested that Professor Ferguson has erred in certain of his reassignments of previously published letters. This may conceivably prove to be the case, for it is well known that there are in existence letters by Burns, withheld from publication by their Scottish owners, which might force a rewriting of one or two episodes in the poet's career. But until the owners of these letters permit them to be read and utilized by scholars, neither editor nor biographer can be held responsible for failure to factor them into the equation. And no matter what may turn up in the way of unpublished material, Ferguson's edition will remain a credit not only to his industry and learning but to the world of American scholarship.

FRANKLYN B. SNYDER

Northwestern University

Deutsche Literatur. Reihe Barock: Barockdrama, Band 3: Das Schauspiel der Wanderbühne. Herausgegeben von Univ.-Prof. Dr. WILLI FLEMMING. Leipzig: Verlag von Philipp Reclam jun., 1931.

A stimulating but, nevertheless, a somewhat disappointing volume. Every student who has busied himself with the "barnstorming" tours of the English Comedians in Germany during the last decade of the 16th century and especially the first three decades of the 17th, will welcome the more ready accessibility of the Graz 1608 version of *Niemand und Jemand*, the earliest and indeed the only text which comes to us directly from the hands of the English actors, and also of Blümel's version of *Der Jude von Venetien*. The selections from Rist's *alleredelste Belustigung* (1666), with its evident reference to *Hamlet*, is significant, but I greatly regret the omission of Rist's account of a *Peter-Squenz* performance, mentioned incidentally on page 10 of the *Einführung*. Indeed no objection can be raised to any one of the individual selections, with the possible exception of the last: *Von einem Buler und Bulerin* by Herzog Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig. His *Ungeratener Sohn*, as originally announced for the volume, would have been more typical both as regards the "blood and thunder" and the supernatural.

If, however, the selections be considered as a group, representative of the *Wanderbühne* from the nineties of the 16th century to the end of the 17th, judgment cannot be so favorable. For the earlier period, that of the English Comedians, there is no selection from the *Collection* of 1620, also no example of the *Spanish Tragedy*, *Titus Andronicus* type, which formed after all the backbone of the earlier repertoire. Of the later, more strictly German *Wanderbühne*, there is but one piece: *Aemilius Paulus Papinianus*, the original of which appears in the first volume of the series. For the period of the English Comedians we already have the earlier publications of Tittmann and Creizenach which the present volume supplements very acceptably but for the later *Wanderbühne* there exist no such collections. It is a great pity that the abundant material was not presented in two volumes—one specifically for the English Comedians and the second for the subsequent German *Wanderbühne*. The result of the present compression into one is that neither period is fairly represented.

A like general criticism may be made of the *Einführung* (1-69). As was to be expected of Professor Flemming there are many very suggestive passages, especially such as relate to sociological and economic conditions, *e. g.*, the comparison with the "movies" of our own day is very apt. But it is no *Einführung*, rather a compact and concise critical essay, so concise that at times a definite

reference is lacking, *e. g.*, 6, 10-8 from bottom (Is the reference to Augsburg or Nürnberg?); 24, 8-6 from bottom (complete omission of reference to *Der Jude von Venetien* III, 5). The discussion of the *Gestalt der Bühne* (41-49) is particularly unsatisfactory. Instead of portraying the very significant advance of the stage in Germany during the 17th century in its historical development, Professor Flemming starts with the highly developed stage of Stranitzky in Vienna, at the close of the period, and then by a process of elimination finally arrives back at the much simpler stage construction of the English Comedians. His assumption of the *Mittelgardine* for this earliest type of stage, on the ground that it was current in England, although admittedly mentioned neither in the *Collection* of 1620 nor in the plays of Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig, is scarcely warranted.

It is also exceedingly unfortunate that the many problems of comparative literature, which just in this period confront the student on every hand, are nowhere even hinted at.

In points of detail the following are to be noted:

Misprints: 36, 8 *Andalosie* should read *Andalosia*. 56, 10 *Bocaccia* should read *Boccaccio*. 72, 1 *pouben* should read *puoben* (cf. reference 332). 75, 1 *vndt* should read *undt* (cf. 334, 8. The same misprint also occurs in Bischoff's text). 84, 14 *jezczung* should read *jezczund*. 218, 28 comma after *gesehen*. 233, 5 *Pritz* should read *Printz*. 339 (226, 30) *Cornbiena* should read *Cornbüna*. 339 (229, 21) *Heffelein* should read *häffelein*. 339 (282, 2) *gehalen* should read *gehalten*. 339 (290, 13) *aufmachen* should read *auszmachen*. 340 (316, 3) *vertyhet* should read *Verthyhet*. 340 (321, 18) *Gloth* should read *Gloch*.

In the text of *Niemand and Jemand*, the name of King Arznгал (the spelling of the *Dramatis Personae*) appears in various forms. This, however, should scarcely occasion five different spellings in the *Einführung*: 21 *Artznгал*; 24 *Herznгал*; 26 *Arengал*; 36 *Arcznгал*; 54 *Hercznгал*.

This name illustrates also a question of considerably greater significance, the extremely frequent appearance of *cz* instead of *tz*. Instead of accepting a suggestion of Slavic influence Flemming writes (333): *Möglicherweise handelt es sich um eine Schreibgewohnheit, die das t zum bloßen hakenförmigen Ansatz verkleinert hat, der deswegen unserem Auge als dem c verwandt erscheint*. From some considerable experience with Lucerne manuscripts of about the same period in which just this is undoubtedly the case, I am strongly of the opinion that Flemming's surmise is correct. In any case, however, it is a question which should have been decided before the text was reprinted.

Quotations are occasionally rather carelessly made: 42, 4 from bottom: "*Juden von Venedig*" (V, 5): "*die innere Scena eröffnet sich, sietz der Herzog usw . . . zu gericht* should read: '*Jude von*

Venetien (V, 6): *Die Scena eröffnet sich, darin sitzen der Hertzog usw . . . zugericht.*" Tittmann fares badly at the hands of the editor. In the five lines quoted at the bottom of 21 six slight errors were noted, while on 22, 10 *auch* should read *euch*.

The notes contained in the critical apparatus (332-340) are entirely inadequate. Certainly *Haszstarigkheit* (82, 6) but *Halls-terigkheit* (88, 24) should have suggested a corrected reading of the former; or for 195, 29 f.: *Meine kleider dich ich abgelegt*, a note would seem to be imperative. These are but two examples of many which might be cited. The interpretation (334, to 95, 9) *Mar* = *Mohr* is very questionable. It is suggested, to be sure, by Bischoff, but with a question-mark following. The context would seem to demand *Nar*. The most liberally annotated selection is the last, but of the 47 notes here offered all but 6 (*i. e.* 41) are taken verbatim, or with insignificant changes, from Tittmann's edition of the same play. There is, however, no acknowledgement of this indebtedness to the earlier editor.

M. BLAKEMORE EVANS

Ohio State University

Die realistische Tendenz in Grabbes Dramen. Erwin Guido Kolbenheyer als Dichter des Lebensproblems. By FRIEDRICH WILHELM KAUFMANN. Northampton, Mass.: Smith College. 76 pp. (Smith College Studies in Languages, Vol. XII, No. 4.)

Im zweiten dieser beiden Aufsätze gibt der Verfasser eine Einführung in das Werk Kolbenheyers, dessen weltanschauliche Fundierung er besonders mit Hilfe der *Bauhütte* festlegt, ehe er mit der Analyse der Romane und Dramen beginnt. Wert und Bedeutung des Dichters für unsere Zeit sind auf diese Weise klar herausgearbeitet und eine Grundlage ist geschaffen für das nicht leichte Erfassen Kolbenheyerscher Probleme.

Wichtiger ist indessen der Grabbeaufsatz. Grabbe hat lange auf ein Verständnis warten müssen, das sich jetzt wenigstens anzubahnen scheint. Die deutsche Vorliebe für tragischen Individualismus, dem freilich der Dichter selbst Vorschub geleistet, war bei ihm von vornherein auf das Kainszeichen des Genies eingestellt, und erst die neuere Entwicklung auf Gemeinschaftswerte hin beginnt nun die gegenteiligen Züge zu erschließen. Kaufmann weist in seiner Arbeit überzeugend nach, daß die bisherige Annahme, Grabbe trete unbedingt für das Recht des Genies gegen die Dummheit und Stumpfheit der Masse ein, unzutreffend ist. Der Romantiker in Grabbe sehe sein Recht in der Überschreitung der naturgegebenen Grenzen, der Realist in ihm sehe in dem

gleichen Versuche eine ungerechtfertigte Überhebung des Individuums.

Im Laufe seiner Entwicklung verschiebt sich nun die Bewertung der beiden Standpunkte im Dichter, sodaß wir am Anfang im *Herzog Theodor von Gothland* die Zertrümmerung aller objektiven Werte und damit auch des Ichwertes durch den Solipsismus des Helden erleben, am Ende den Untergang Napoleons und Hannibals durch die Nichtanpassung an die empirischen Gegebenheiten.

Während noch Wilhelm Schöttler in seiner im vorigen Jahre erschienen Dissertation (*Über die innere Motivierung in Grabbes Dramen*) die Wichtigkeit des Ideals der Volksgemeinschaft für Grabbe erkennt, nimmt er dennoch an, daß der Dichter davon enttäuscht worden sei, da Napoleons Überwinder diesen mit nichts Besserem als der Restauration hätten ersetzen können. Das ist indessen aus dem Drama *Napoleon* durchaus nicht zu erschließen, und Kaufmann findet mit Recht die Quintessenz desselben eher in Blüchers Schlußworten als in der Prophezeiung des Helden. Dieser "hat die realen Bedingungen seiner Macht überschritten, hat sich der Strömung der Zeit entgegengestemmt, hat aus persönlicher Eitelkeit die barocke und romantische Ideologie der Fürsten mit ihrem Gottesgnadentum mitgemacht" (S. 24). Demgegenüber steht der Zeitgeist der Revolution und ein kräftiges Gemeinschaftsgefühl unter seinen deutschen Gegnern, das sich nicht mit "Überzahl von Schwachen und Elenden," wie es Napoleon tut, charakterisieren läßt. Die These, "daß der beste Führer wertlos ist, wenn das Volk nicht zu folgen willens ist, und zweitens, daß ein Volk, das wirklich innere Kraft und Ziel hat, auch mit geringwertigeren Führern zum Erfolg gelangen kann," sieht Kaufmann dann in der Hannibaltragödie zur vollen Durchführung gebracht. Seine Ausführungen werden, nebenbei gesagt, gestützt durch die gleichzeitigen Aufsätze von F. J. Schneider in der *Dt. Vjs.* 1930, H. 3 und im *Euphorion* 1931, H. 2.

Übrigens zeigt sich gerade bei Grabbe die ganze Verworrenheit unserer literargeschichtlichen Stempel. Wenn ein Mensch Frühromantiker, Jungdeutscher, Spätromantiker und Klassizist ist (was sich alles in Einzelzügen belegen läßt), was ist er dann?

ERNST FEISE

Arthur Symons als Kritiker der Literatur. Von MAX WILDI.
Anglistische Forschungen, Heft 67. Heidelberg: C. Winter,
1929. Pp. 145. M. 7.50.

After touching upon Symons's rather morbid childhood, and noting that it was Pater's *Renaissance* that opened up to him the world of art and literature, Part I of Herr Wildi's monograph

proceeds to consider chronologically Symons's principal critical essays as far as the end of the nineteenth century, tracing the manifold influences, literary and environmental, which color the work of his formative period. Part II, occupying two-fifths of the book, analyzes the critical powers of his maturity, and adds a note on the weakening of his powers since 1920.

For a critic so impatient of imitative work in others, Symons reflects surprisingly often the thinking and even the stylistic peculiarities of the authors who have successively appealed to him. Hence his sympathetic preoccupation, at one time or another, with impressionism, naturalism, symbolism, and decadent art. He falls in turn under the spell of Pater, Browning, Yeats, Henley, Patmore, Huysmans, Verlaine, Baudelaire, Mallarmé, Maeterlinck and a multitude of other contemporary writers, not always freeing himself from the influence of the earlier favorite while endeavoring to assimilate the later. His indebtedness to Pater, for instance, is apparent everywhere in his writings.

Wildi has rendered a service by indicating the various sources of his author's sometimes inconsistent theories and shifting points of view. We are impressed by Symons's limitations: the narrow range of his interests; his over-emphasis of the importance of art as a stimulus of the senses; his tendency to read his own decadent fancies into the thinking, for instance, of Byron and Keats; his inability to understand either religious mysticism or symbolism; his lack, in general, of *phantasie*; his inability to arrive at any consistent conception of drama. Wildi shows the weakness in Symons's powers of generalization: his interest, even in his *Romantic Movement in English Poetry*, in authors as individuals, rather than as factors in literary movements; his tendency to become vague and vacillating when he attempts to formulate critical principles. Perhaps the most persistent and most characteristic theory brought out by Wildi's analysis is Symons's ever strengthening conviction that the only true poetry is a kind of "embodied ecstasy," a purely personal reaction, intoxicating the senses by means of its rhythmical magic, although metrically never forcing accent or word order.

Wildi's study is well organized, searching, fully documented, compact, and discriminating. It is to be regretted that the formal bibliography is not more nearly complete. There are a score of typographical errors, mostly in passages quoted in English.

F. F. FARLEY

Wesleyan University

Robert Bridges: Recollections by LOGAN PEARSALL SMITH, and
His Work on the English Language by ELIZABETH DARYUSH.
Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931. Pp. 481-513. \$1.00. (S.
P. E. Tract No. XXXV.)

The two essays by Logan Pearsall Smith and Elizabeth Daryush, daughter of the great Laureate, are indispensable to admirers of Robert Bridges and his work. Mr. Smith's recollections of the founding of the S. P. E. are charmingly conversational and include material which no student of the Age of Bridges would spare. Together with an account of the Society, they include intimate portraits of Robert Bridges himself, Walter Raleigh, and others of the group; many hitherto unpublished letters from Bridges and one from Henry James. Typical of the jauntiness with which Robert Bridges carried his honours and genius are his characterization of the Laureateship as "my queer appointment", and a description, in another letter, of his work on the last book of "The Testament of Beauty": 'I am still unfortunately busy with my long poem, which I thought to have finished by now. But my fourth and last book on Ethick has been more difficult than I expected, for tho I knew what I meant to say I did not guess how very difficult it would be to poetise—but it is getting on; and John Sampson, who came to stay with us for a few days, approved of it. It is very good fun but hard work, and I am generally gratified after a morning's work on it. . . .' Some years ago, at the time Bridges was being taken to task for re-establishing friendly relations with the German professors after the war, the writer of this review received a letter in similar vein in which the Poet Laureate described attacks on him in terms of highly amusing sport. It is only the giants of the earth who can thus lightly carry great burdens, and one happily agrees with Mr. Smith's concluding sentence: "There was, indeed, a giant who took part in those adventures, and that giant was Robert Bridges."

Mrs. Daryush's contribution is largely composed of excerpts from Robert Bridges's essays which concern his work on the English language. Exceedingly well-chosen, these selections dealing with "language as sound," "the choice of words," "order of words," "the poverty of English accidence," "poetic diction," and so forth, reveal with what careful study the greatest poet of our age laid the foundation for his work; and do much, by their disclosure of hard-working genius, to refute the romantic notion that untutored inspiration is a sound or even a possible theory for an approach to poetic composition.

ROBERT HILLYER

Harvard University

Royster Memorial Studies. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1931. Pp. viii + 332 + v. \$4.00.

When the October (1931) number of "Studies in Philology" was designated by the Editorial Board as a memorial to Professor James Finch Royster, very ready was the response to the request for contributions. Scholarly companions, quick to honor "so worthy a friend and fellow", brought many and varied offerings. Of the thirty-seven articles in a volume everywhere creditable to heart and head, no less than eighteen come from former pupils and colleagues at the University of North Carolina, where Royster's devoted service as dean and professor and editor did much to found and foster in his own and kindred fields a workshop of wise spirits. Chicago, where he studied, Colorado and Texas, where he taught, and yet other spheres of his influence send many literary tokens of high regard.

How far is it significant of the present trend of research that, of the nearly forty papers published by "Studies in Philology" in honor of its lamented editor, but four or five are devoted to his favorite topic, language; and that only the linguistic articles are classed by the compilers as "philological"? The implication that philology controls no larger province than that of forms of speech runs counter not only to the connotation of the titles of this and other journals of like name, but to the comprehensive hospitality of Mr. Royster's own editorial policy. Let it be quickly added that the somewhat scanty linguistic diet is not the least nutritious of the food for all kinds of appetites that the heaping table of contents offers.

Another distinction between the prevailing scholarship of to-day and of yesterday! A generation ago such a book as this would have been, if not generally at least generously, medieval. Now only one fifth of the themes antedate Shakspeare. And the survey of certain topics of the modern period frankly eschews far retrospection. One looks forward from Spenser to the sprightly Lamb, not backward to the sluggish beasts of the Seven Deadly. Alain de Lille is transformed from a "Universal Doctor" of the twelfth century to a "German" of the seventeenth. And the lure of medieval legend is steadfastly resisted in favor of more recent forms of the story of Fair Rosamond. Yet "literary history," faithfully pursued, imparts to the book its larger values. Hence it was meet and right on scholarly as well as personal grounds that Professor Edwin Greenlaw, sometime Royster's colleague at North Carolina and ever a sturdy champion of the historical study of literature, should write the sympathetic dedication to the volume. Of his own loyalty and love and zeal the story that he tells of his friend may also be narrated. The book of "Memorial Studies" thus suggests a twofold cause of grief linked with the inspiration of manifold endeavor.

Philosophical Poems of Henry More, comprising Psychozoia and Minor Poems. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by GEOFFREY BULLOUGH. Manchester University Press, 1931. Pp. xc + 250.

In this, the fourth volume published by the University of Manchester under the terms of the Ward Bequest, Professor Bullough, feeling that "something less than justice had been done to Henry More's poetry even by admirers of his character and doctrine", reprints "all of More's verse that is worthy of resuscitation." Impressive though the volume is (and Henry More, who loved fine books and more than once pleaded with his publishers for the qualities he would find here, would be the first to admire these pages in which he has been embalmed and treasured up), it actually contains only a small proportion of the amount of verse the prolix Cambridge Platonist composed. Not even his most ardent disciple will suggest that all More wrote should be republished. Rather, indeed, we may question whether, since the poetry was available in the Grosart edition, with all its limitations, the republication of some of the less readily accessible prose works would not have been of more value. But it would be churlish to criticize the good we have merely because of regret for another good we might have had.

Yet even though we may welcome any book which serves to give more emphasis to that remarkable band of which More was one of the leaders, I personally must continue to regret the omission of the *Infinite of Worlds*, which seems to me not only the most original of More's philosophical poems and a significant landmark in seventeenth-century thought, but a poem which exemplifies in high degree the very qualities Professor Bullough praises as characteristic of More's best work: it possesses that "curious diagrammatic quality" which More shared with Dante; even more than in *Psychozoia*, the descriptions in this poem "are flung off with a telescopic vision and a speed which convey something of the grandeur of the physical world, and the forces at work within it."

It is his analysis of these and other poetic qualities in More's work which gives Professor Bullough's Introduction its real value. Most of the critical apparatus which accompanies such work as More's must necessarily be tedious, for so abstruse and purposely involved is much of his allegory that editor and reader alike agree with Thomas Vaughan who remarked drily: "Thou didst well to taylor it with an interpretation." There is therefore little scope for originality in the editor's explanation, since More himself so elaborately annotated his work. Nor is the present editor's interpretation of More's character and of his place in his generation marked by originality. Indeed, one regrets here—as in so many of the modern works on More—a tendency to relegate him affectionately

to some twilight of the gods, to consider him as quaint and charming, but somehow completely detached from the life about him. "He was, even more than Milton," writes Professor Bullough, "something of an anachronism before he died." Yet if ever two men were made what they were by the generation which produced them, they were Milton and More. And though I should agree that a change came over More after the 1660's, I continue to protest such statements as, "His intellectual development was quite at variance with the spirit of the new age."

Yet after all Professor Bullough is not pretending that this is a study of More's relation to his age. He has, except for a few paragraphs, limited himself to a study of More as a poet, and here he has much to say that has not been said. Indeed, his is the only really thoughtful estimate of More's poetic abilities. He has analyzed in more detail than any preceding critic More's relationship to Spenser; he has suggested various other possible literary relationships. Most of all he has suggested, briefly but acutely, the part More played in the Metaphysical movement, and has given us a new appreciation of More as a satirist. His interpretation of the various elements which make More primarily a "philosophical" rather than a "metaphysical" poet is illuminating. The reader comes to reevaluate the poet, and to read the abstruse poems themselves with new appreciation, seeing in their author one who "surpasses all his predecessors in ingenuity of systematic exposition"; one who is "interested primarily in metaphysical forces rather than in people and things"; one whose poetic imagination was stirred less by people and things than by abstract ideas, and who wonders less at the beauty of the universe than "at the beauty of the human mind itself"; one whose poetry remains important "less for its artistic value, and its influence, than for its psychological significance and its embodiment of the religious ideas of an epoch."

Smith College

MARJORIE NICOLSON

BRIEF MENTION

Englische Wege Zu Kant, by ELSE WENTSCHER. Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz, 1931. 86 pp. 3 M. *Die Politische Schulung Des Englischen Volkes*, by HERBERT SCHÖFFLER. Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz, 1931. 38 pp. 1.25 M. These essays are the fourth and fifth numbers in the series "Hefte zur Englandkunde," edited by Prof. Herbert Schöffler of the University of Köln. They are apparently semi-popular in character and contribute nothing new or important to their respective subjects.

Dr. Wentscher seeks to show how English philosophers prepared the way for Kant. The result is a commonplace sketch of English philosophy from Roger Bacon to David Hume in which the familiar relationships are pointed out between the English thinkers and Kant. The frequent evaluations that supplement Dr. Wentscher's expositions indicate that for her the Kantian system, from the synthetic judgment a priori to the categorical imperative, still enjoys virtually exclusive rights to the comparatives "tiefer" and "prinzipieller." Her discussion of Hume and causality demonstrates the necessity of approaching the German master more critically. With Berlin, Göttingen, and Vienna readily available, this should not be so difficult.

Prof. Schöffler gives a brief account of the factors to which he attributes the political abilities of the English people. He mentions prominently the continuity of their political development, the gradual extension of political rights, the high quality of their nobility, the devotion to sports, the relative freedom during the past from economic difficulties, and particularly the presence of active religious minorities. It is these features of England's development rather than some "inherent" capacity which explain the Englishman's supremacy in the field of government and politics.

ALBERT E. BLUMBERG

The Johns Hopkins University

Anthology of Romanticism and Guide Through the Romantic Movement. In Five Volumes. By ERNEST BERNBAUM. New York: Nelson, 1930. About 400 pages each. \$6.00. Each volume is sold separately at \$1.25. Professor Bernbaum's *Guide* constitutes the first volume of this series. Volume II, which is devoted to the Pre-Romantic Movement, contains selections from over eighty writers of the eighteenth century, half of whom are seldom or never represented in the ordinary anthology and would hardly deserve to be enshrined in this one, were it not that the sheer bulk

of their offerings bears impressive testimony to the pervasive character of early romantic influences. Volumes III-V present familiar extracts from sixteen romantic authors, beginning with Blake and ending with the early work of Carlyle.

The *Guide* is a useful and readable handbook, skillfully planned at every point to meet the needs of the college student. A chapter is assigned to each of the sixteen major writers included in the anthology, and another to the Pre-Romantic Movement. Additional chapters survey the whole subject from different points of view. The author explains that he has endeavored to keep his own opinions under restraint, but nevertheless he vigorously and ably defends romanticism—with unnecessary acerbity, perhaps, in the passages which castigate the “neo-neo-classic Dioscuri.”

The last two or three decades have, of course, yielded a considerable amount of new information in regard to the Romantic Movement, and have developed new points of view. Professor Bernbaum has embodied the most important of these results in his biographical and critical observations, and he has added a generous assortment of classified bibliographies with accompanying brief appraisals and occasional citations of reviews or other discussions of the books or articles mentioned. Probably no other single volume covering the same ground is so nearly up to date.

F. E. FARLEY

Wesleyan University

Italy in the Post-Victorian Novel. By H. T. BOILEAU. Philadelphia, 1931. Pp. x + 127. In spite of its alluring and suggestive title, this doctoral dissertation reveals what happens when a thesis is all subject and no predicate. It is a conscientious exercise consisting chiefly of plots of modern British novels whose scenes are laid in Italy or which have Italians as characters. Incidental comments of the most obvious nature relieve the otherwise tedious recital of plot-synopses. Because of the ambiguity of its title and the tangential distractions of books, arbitrarily assembled, which have some reference to Italy or Italians, the work exhibits the pedestrian energy of an industrious and not too reflective reader. Only a reference librarian could check the dissertation's inclusiveness; its exclusiveness is obvious enough since it is limited to *British* novelists. Except for passing allusion, its author ignores American writers like Mariou Crawford and Henry James (the former of whom is fairly prolific on the Italian scene), though it is not inconceivable that either or both may have stimulated the *genre* among British novelists. Contributing causes—social, economic, or political—are sedulously avoided. Even the most enlightening comment (p. 37) is questionable: “English both in life and fiction are apt to pick Italy for amours, liaisons and elopements.”

Questions which are ignored: What significance does the Italian *mise en scène* have in the post-Victorian novel? What aesthetic motives lured each of the novelists to select Italy? In what ways does the Italian scene in the modern British novel differ from other national *locales* (non-English) in that novel? Is there any change in the temperament or mood of modern England to account for this renewed interest in Italy? What advance, if any, has been made upon the treatment or function of the Italian scene by living writers over Victorians like George Eliot, Meredith, or Hawthorne, who laid scenes of novels in Italy?

WILLIAM S. KNICKERBOCKER

The University of the South

English Theories of Public Address, 1530-1828. By W. P. SANDFORD. Ohio State University, 1929. Columbus: H. L. Hedrick, 1931. Pp. 212. The increasing scholarly interests of our colleagues in public speaking deserve every encouragement and recognition, especially investigations in the history of their art that throw light on contemporary theories of literature. Professor Sandford's study is careful and methodical; but unfortunately it is only a step on the way rather than an accomplishment; for it is based on very incomplete bibliography. In the Renaissance, though it corrects some misconceptions, it might well have borrowed even more from McGrew's *Bibliography on Works of Speech during the 16th and 17th Centuries*, and should have used the work of Croll, R. F. Jones and others on contemporary prose style. In the later period, it is even more incomplete. No mention appears of works by, or attributed to, Cockin, Cooke, Du-Gard, Gentleman, Knox, Newberry, Mason and Polwhele, or of *The Art of Speaking in Public* (London, 1727), or of Sharp's paper in the *Memoirs of the Manchester Literary Society* (III, 307). Periodical material, even Steele's *Tatler* (Oct. 31, 1710) and Goldsmith's *Bee* (VII) is ignored, as are also such influential French writers as Fénelon, Batteux, Formey, Troublot and Maury. In the histrionic field, it omits Aaron Hill and *The Ladies Magazine* (XX, 290, 425, 472; XXII, 198); and, on pulpit oratory, it omits Langhorne, Dodsley and Sanderman.

JOHN W. DRAPER

West Virginia University

Literary Criticism in America, A Preliminary Survey. By GEORGE E. DE MILLE. New York, 1931. Pp. 288. \$3.50.

A few years ago, in the preface to a study of American criticism, I deplored the lack—amid all our historical studies of literature—

of a history of American criticism; but I restricted my own effort to an analysis of the criteria of four critics, Poe, Emerson, Lowell, and Whitman, with a conclusion concentrating upon contemporary humanism. Mr. De Mille, in his preface, also deplores the lack of a history of American criticism, without which, he asserts, we shall not be able to write the new history of American literature for which the time is ripe; but he restricts his own efforts to a series of brief chapters on *The North American Review*, Lowell, Poe, Emerson and Margaret Fuller, Stedman, Henry James, Howells, Huneker, and Sherman. The treatment is closer to journalism than to substantial scholarship. Our history of criticism is still to seek.

NORMAN FOERSTER

University of Iowa

The Romantic Quest. By H. N. FAIRCHILD. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. Pp. 444. \$4.50. This volume is a revision and development of a series of lectures in a graduate course at the Columbia Summer School. It deals with the thought of the romantic poets, summing up many recent studies of influences more adequately than any other general survey, and adding a fair amount of original material. Some of the best examples of this new material are a new (and unconvincing) definition of romanticism, an account of the influence of the philosopher Drummond on Shelley, and a new anti-intellectualist interpretation of Keats, which is likely to receive a hostile reception.

T. M. RAYSOR

University of Nebraska

Modern Continental Playwrights. By FRANK W. CHANDLER. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931. Pp. xi + 711. \$3.00. This helpful book is descriptive rather than historical or, except incidentally, critical. Drawing on his wide and first-hand acquaintance with modern dramatic literature, Professor Chandler reports on the chief continental practitioners from Ibsen to Pirandello. His method is to summarize the most important works of each, relate them to the main dramatic currents, and estimate concisely the author's significance and merit. His attitude is consistently objective: he plays no favorites. The result is a sensible book, which is readable throughout and contains an immense amount of information. A bibliography of eighty-five pages and an index of thirty add to the value of this excellent handbook.

H. S.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

GERMAN

Arens, Hanns.—Stefan Zweig. Der Mensch im Werk. *Wien*: Krystall-Verlag [1932]. 33 pp. M. 1.20.

Baumgart, Herm. — Goethes lyrische Dichtung in ihrer Entwicklung und Bedeutung. Hrsg. von Gertrud Baumgart. Bd. 1. *Heidelberg*: Winter, 1931. iv, 339 pp. M. 10.50.

Bertram, Karl. — Johannes Kurtz. Ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte des Spätmittelalters. Diss. *Greifswald*: Adler, 1931. 88 pp.

Biedermann, Floodoard v. — Chronik von Goethes Leben. Zusammengestellt. [Insel-Bücherei. Nr. 415]. *Leipzig*: Insel [1931]. 85 pp. 90 Pf.

Bollow, Hans. — Angelius Beuthien und die deutsche Dorfgeschichte. *Lübeck*: Westphal, 1931. 125 pp. M. 3.20.

Borchardt, Rudolf. — Deutsche Literatur im Kampfe um ihr Recht. *München*: G. Müller, 1931. 47 pp. M. 1.50.

Brandl, A., und Tourbier, R. — Lebendige Sprache. Fortsetzung: Oszillographische Forschungen zum Wesen des Akzents. [S.-A. aus den Sitzungsber. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Kl. 1931. xxxii]. *Berlin*: de Gruyter, 1931. 109 pp., 3 plates. M. 10.

Brandt, Werner. — Die deutsche Literatur des 18. u. 19. Jhs. im Urteil Ferd. Freiligraths. Diss. *Münster*. *Quakenbrück*: Kleinert, 1931. x, 108 pp.

Eklblom, R. — Zur Entstehung und Entwicklung der slavo-baltischen und der nordischen Akzentarten. [S.-A. aus Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala, Bd. 26]. *Leipzig*: Otto Harrassowitz [1931]. 63 pp. M. 2.30.

Frerichs, William Reinhard. — Georg Ruseler. Ein Beitrag zur niederdeutschen Literaturgeschichte. Diss. *Greifswald*: Adler, 1931. 108 pp.

Freytag, Helmut. — Wilhelm Raabes Erzählung "Meister Autor." Diss. *Jena*. *Halle*: Klinz, 1931. xiii, 70 pp.

Gebhardt, Martin. — Goethe als Physiker. Ein Weg zum unbekannten Goethe. *Berlin*: Grote, 1932. viii, 163 pp., 7 plates. M. 5.20.

Geissler, Ewald. — Nationale Freiheit und Dichtung. [Friedr. Mann's pädagogisches Magazin, H. 1343]. *Langensalza*: Beyer, 1931. 76 pp. M. 1.90.

Görner, Otto. — Vom Memorabile zur Schicksalstragödie. [Neue Forschung. 12]. *Berlin*: Junker & Dünhaupt, 1931. 97 pp. M. 5.

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NOTES ON THOMAS, GEOFFREY AND PHILIPPA CHAUCER

New doubt has been cast upon the traditional relationship of Thomas and Geoffrey Chaucer by Victor Langhans in his paper, "Chaucers Heirat."¹ Langhans' chief contentions are that the pension of 1374 from Gaunt to Geoffrey constituted a cancellation of the pension granted in 1372 to Philippa, that Geoffrey and Philippa, whose maiden name was Chaucer, were not married until 1374, that the Geoffrey of North Petherton was not the poet though he may have been the father of Thomas, and that the Chaucer seal used by Thomas in 1409 was not the poet's. Thus baldly stated, his theory obliges us to accept at least two coincidences: that of the common surname of Geoffrey and Philippa and that of the common surname and Christian name of two Geoffrey Chaucers.

Ever since Kirk allowed himself to be troubled by Philippa's apparent status as a married domicella² and by the failure of early documents concerning her to mention her husband,³ there has been unwarranted questioning of her marital status in many quarters. A mere glance at the list of Edward III's household for 1368⁴ makes one doubt that all the domicellas with surnames similar to those of the esquires could have been sisters and daughters of those esquires. A very cursory examination of the records shows that Stephanetta (Esteuene) Olney was the wife of John Olney,⁵ Margaret Ellerton of John Ellerton,⁶ Agatha Lynggeyn of Hugh

¹ *Anglia Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie*, LIV, 297 ff.

² *Life Records*, p. xix.

³ *Ibid.*, p. xix.

⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 53.

⁵ *Pat. Rolls*, 1364-67, p. 107.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 415.

Lyngeyn,⁷ and Alice Preston of Peter Preston.⁸ These same couples reappear as domicellas and esquires, respectively, in the writ for the issue of mourning for Queen Philippa.⁹ If all the other men and women with the same surnames were investigated the list would be considerably swelled. We may be sure that Geoffrey and Philippa were merely following an established custom. If analogy means anything, there is here a strong implication that they were married. Why then, asks Langhans, was Geoffrey not mentioned in the royal grant of 1366¹⁰ and in the Lancastrian grant of 1372?¹¹ Why did the first mention of Philippa as Chaucer's wife come when Gaunt gave Chaucer his annuity in 1374?¹² It would perhaps not suffice to answer that Gaunt in 1379 ordered payment of 'sa annueltee' to 'nostre chere et bien amee Damoiselle Philippe Chaucy' and again ignored her husband,¹³ or that he referred to her in much the same way when assigning her New Year's gifts.¹⁴ It would not do to answer that the records of the payment of the royal annuity identify her only as 'Philippe Chaucer nuper domicella camere Philippe nuper Regine Anglie' except when Chaucer himself actually made the collection.¹⁵ In another quarter, how-

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1367-70, pp. 342, 386.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1377-81, p. 125.

⁹ *Life Records*, no. 58.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 42.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, no. 67.

¹² *Ibid.*, no. 83.

¹³ *Ibid.*, no. 131. Langhans, unfortunately for his case, neglected this vital document from the *Life Records* in his effort to establish 1374 as the year of Geoffrey's marriage. He believed that the pension granted to Geoffrey and Philippa in 1374 by John of Gaunt constituted a cancellation of the grant to Philippa in 1372 (*Anglia*, LIV, 305). He further adduced the supposedly parallel case of Perinne Whetteneye, who in 1390 received a pension for her services to Queen Anne and in 1392 surrendered it on her marriage to Thomas Clanvowe, obtaining at the same time a new grant jointly with her husband. Now Langhans is manifestly wrong in believing that the cancellation of Philippa's pension marked the date of her marriage, for her pension was not cancelled at all. According to record 131, Philippa was still collecting payments on her pension by her own hand as late as 1379. To make Langhans' error the more obvious, record 130 shows that Geoffrey had received an installment on his 1374 pension just the day before Philippa received hers on her pension of 1372.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, nos. 133, 142, 154.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, nos. 128, 135, 152, 157, 165, 179, 187, add. 5.

ever, we find the solution. Agatha Lyngeyn was granted an annuity without reference to her husband.¹⁶ We have already seen that they occupied positions similar to those of Geoffrey and Philippa. Alice Preston received at least three grants (one of a manor)¹⁷ as 'damsel' and it is not until we read a record of 1378 that we are certain that she was married to Peter Preston. I quote two of the records because of their interest here:

1368. Grant for life or until further order to Alice Preston damsel of Queen Philippa of an annuity of 100 s. Vacated because surrendered and said Alice has other letters patent dated 10 Feb. 1 Ric. II granting her one fourth part of the manor of Oore in the parish and hundred of Middleton, co. Kent . . . and twelve marks yearly at the Exchequer in recompense of 15*l* granted her by *divers* letters patent of Ed. III. (*Pat. Rolls*, 1367-70, p. 277.)

1378. Grant at supplication of Alice, late wife of Peter de Preston, one of the damosels of the chamber of Queen Philippa, the king's grandmother, to the said Alice in fee, of one fourth part of the manor of Oore in the parish and hundred of Middleton, co. Kent. (*Pat. Rolls*, 1377-81, p. 125.)

It would seem then that the independent references to Philippa merely reflected the favor she found at court. It was long ago surmised that Geoffrey owed much to his wife and the language that John of Gaunt used in awarding Chaucer his pension certainly confirms the supposition.¹⁸ We can hardly doubt that the Chaucers were married by 1366.

Coming to Langhans' other contentions, though we cannot entirely dispose of his doubts as to the identity of the forester and the poet, the re-establishment of the early marriage of Philippa and consequently of the probability that she really was a Roet and the mother of Thomas materially aids us. That Geoffrey, the forester, is never again referred to as a separate individual must make us suspect that he was the poet, the only known Geoffrey Chaucer of the time of Richard II. It is true that Geoffrey is not known to have used his father's seal or any seal for that matter and that the seal used by Thomas in 1409 was not John's¹⁹ though apparently Geoffrey's.²⁰ It is highly questionable whether John Chaucer, a vintner, was actually entitled to arms of any sort, and his son

¹⁶ *Pat. Rolls*, 1367-70, p. 342.

¹⁷ *Pat. Rolls*, 1367-70, pp. 277, 342, 360.

¹⁸ *Life Records*, no. 83.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, nos. 31, 38, 41.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 286.

certainly had the same indefinite right to select for himself. There can be no doubt that Thomas did use the seal of a Geoffrey Chaucer in 1409 and that the arms from this seal did impale the Burghersh arms in a window of Woodstock Church.²¹ Langhans' case seems to rest wholly on his belief that Geoffrey should have used the arms of John, his father.

It is regrettable that Professor Martin Ruud in his admirable *Thomas Chaucer* makes no contribution to the study of the Pether-ton Forest question which has been neglected so long. Most authorities seem content to make guesses about the Mortimers and the Heyrouns, and even Manly as late as 1926 re-echoes the old supposition that 'the connection of the Heyroun family with Pether-ton Forest may have been a contributory influence' in Chaucer's obtaining the appointment as sub-forester.²² Easily available records permit a much closer approach to a solution of the problem than this. Ruud himself overlooked, or at least neglected, two pertinent records that exist in the very volumes from which he made other quotations. The first, dated 1431, comes from *Feudal Aids*, Vol. iv, p. 435. From it we learn that Thomas Chaucer of Ewelme, William Wrothe of Newton-Plecý and William Pawlet of Melcombe were seized of the manor of Newton-Plecý 'cum suis pertinenciis.' From the second record we discover that before December 2, 1395, Thomas Chaucer had proved the legal age of his wife Maud in the presence of *John Perlee, late escheator of Somerset*.²³ An examination of the *Close Rolls* shows that Perlee was escheator from June 1394 until June 1395.

Despite Kirk's extraordinary gymnastics in the *Life Records* with 'de noun Reynald Curteys' it has been generally agreed that the phrase merely means 'by the hands of Reginald Curteys' who may, or may not, have been related to Gaunt's butler, John Curteys. The date of the document from the *Lancaster Registers* in which the phrase occurs is given as 1394-95.²⁴ I feel certain that Thomas Chaucer was in Somerset at the very moment when the account was made out, and consequently it is only reasonable that the money specified should have been delivered to a third person for him. We have other reasons than his appearance before John Perlee for believing this. Ismania Burghersh's first husband was Sir John

²¹ *Visitations Co. Ox.*, p. 53, no. xv.

²² *Close Rolls*, 1392-96, p. 446.

²³ *Some New Light on Chaucer*, p. 43.

²⁴ *Life Records*, no. 351.

Raleigh of Nettlecombe and Alford in Taunton Archdeaconry, Somerset.²⁵ By him she had two sons, John and Simon, and a daughter Joan.²⁵ John seems to have died young without heirs but Simon certainly succeeded to Nettlecombe and Alford.²⁵ What more natural than that Sir John Burghersh's widow and her minor daughter Maud should retire to the estate of the son and brother? The continued interest of the Raleghs in Ismania is illustrated by the giving of her name to a grandchild.²⁶ Besides this we must recall that Maud's legal guardian was old Lady Joan Mohun of Dunster and elsewhere in the Taunton Archdeaconry.²⁷ The Mohuns and the Burghershes had been associated for at least half a century and the association continued until 1430 or later. Lady Mohun, herself the sister of John Burghersh, the elder,²⁸ had been guardian of Maud's own father in his minority.²⁹ In 1430 Thomas Chaucer was one of the executors of the will of the dowager Duchess of York,³⁰ who was none other than Philippa, second daughter of Lady Mohun.³¹ Elizabeth, the first daughter, became Lady Salisbury and was thus the aunt of the Earl of Salisbury who became Alice Chaucers second husband.³² On Thomas Chaucer's tomb the Mohun arms appeared, impaling those of the Burghershes.³³ In 1402 Thomas had further dealings with his brother-in-law, Simon Ralegh, as we discover from two deeds whereby Simon transferred land in Wales to Thomas and Maud.³⁴ Ruud has already noted that Thomas was appointed warden of Taunton Castle by Henry Beaufort in 1406. Collinson erroneously makes the date 6 Hen VI, two years after the appointment as sub-forester.³⁵ Altogether too little has been made of Thomas Chaucer's connection with Somerset and Somerset families.

The important implication for us, of course, is that Thomas was

²⁵ *Collectanea Top. et. Gen.*, II, p. 392; *Herald and Gen.*, VIII, p. 439 f.; *Visitations of Som.*, 1531-73, p. 68; *Som. Rec. Soc.*, XVI, p. 147.

²⁶ *Herald and Gen.*, *ibid.*

²⁷ Note 23, above.

²⁸ Hasted, *History of Kent, Blackheath*, index Mohun.

²⁹ *Close Rolls*, 1360-64, p. 337.

³⁰ *DNB*, Thomas Chaucer.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Edward Langley, Duke of York.

³² *Vic. Hist. Berks.*, IV, p. 75.

³³ *Visitations Co. Ox.*, p. 39.

³⁴ *Coll. Top. et Gen.*, II, pp. 390 f.

³⁵ Ruud, *Thomas Chaucer*, p. 72; Collinson, *Hist. Som.*, III, p. 227.

prosecuting his suit with Maud Berghersh in Somerset about 1394 at the very time when Geoffrey was sub-forester of North Petherton. It may be that Geoffrey and Thomas were together in Somerset or it may be that Thomas was there alone as Geoffrey's agent. In either case a personal connection of some sort can hardly be denied. I intend to show that the share of Newton-Plecý held by Thomas in 1431 (indeed by 1420, and, as will be shown in my dissertation, shortly to be published, even as early as 1413) was the Mortimer share, which contained the dwelling Parkhouse; the manor, like Dunster and Nettlecombe, was in the Taunton Archdeaconry. I do not wish to minimize the size of the archdeaconry. It included some half of the county, but the three localities were by no means on its extreme boundaries.

To understand the details connected with the holding of the forestership of North Petherton we must go back to the end of the thirteenth century. Passing over the Wrothams who held the manor of Newton-Plecý and the bailiwick of all the forests of Somerset in the time of Henry III,³⁶ we find that William Plessetis of Enefield, Middlesex, through his marriage with Muriel de Wrotham obtained the manor and all rights by failure of the male line of Wrotham.³⁶ Richard, son of William and Muriel, also died without male heirs.³⁶⁻³⁷ His rights and property went to his three sisters, Sabina, Emma and Avelina, who married, respectively, Nicholas Pecche, John Heyroun and John Durant, all of Enefield, Middlesex.³⁷ Collinson states that after the perambulation of North Petherton in 1298 it was discovered that the bailiwick of all the forests of Somerset was hereditary with a field (*Windenreidmede*) in Sabina's portion.³⁸ There is an inquisition dated 21 Ed. II showing that Heyroun and Durant with their wives agreed that special privileges should go to Nicholas and Sabina Pecche.³⁹ Though Sabina's heirs held the forest bailiwick, the advowson of the free chapel, founded by Richard Plessitis for William, his father,⁴⁰ was shared by all Richard's heirs and the presentations were taken in turn.⁴¹ The Pecche share, together with the baili-

³⁶ *Vic. Hist. Som.*, II, 555 ff.

³⁷ Collinson, *Hist. Som.*, III, p. 56 ff.

³⁸ *Cal. Inquisitions*, III, no. 78.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁴⁰ *Ancient Deeds*, II, B2771.

⁴¹ Weaver, *Som. Incumbents*, below. *Inquisitions*, III, no. 445, IX, no. 402, x, p. 538; *Pat. Rolls*, 1343-48, p. 46; *Close Rolls*, 1422-29, p. 135, etc.

wick, was sold by Sabina's grandson Matthew to Sir Richard Damori in 1337.⁴² Damori transferred it to Matthew Clyvedon but afterwards recovered it⁴³ and finally sold it to John and Sybil Beauchamp (1351),⁴³ who in 1359 enfeoffed Roger Mortimer.⁴⁴ Edward IV, himself the Earl of March, still held it in 1461.⁴⁵ During the minority of Thomas Pecche, nephew of Matthew, William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, had the wardship.⁴⁶ John Heyroun, grandson of Emma, in 1336 willed part of his share to John Garton of Enefield, Middlesex, his brother-in-law.⁴⁷ His widow Agnes transferred the remainder to Garton in 1340.⁴⁸ The only Heyroun connection with the property thereafter was the circumstance that Agnes Heyroun, now Agnes de Oxenford, received life rents from John Garton. The Gartons held the property until 1416 when an heir, another John, transferred the title to Richard Burton and William Gascoigne of Bridgewater.⁴⁹ Burton and Gascoigne were to enjoy the property after the death of Richard Mayne whom Garton had meantime enfeoffed for life.⁵⁰ Burton gave his share to William Pawlet and others.⁵¹ Many documents concerning this portion of the manor are preserved in the archives of Wells Cathedral inasmuch as the Gascoigne share went to the chapter in 1445.⁵² The interesting point here is that the Heyrouns were definitely eliminated by 1340; besides they had no pretensions to the bailiwick. This should dispose of the alleged 'contributory influence' of the Heyrouns. For fault of male heirs Thomas Durant left the land inherited from Avelina to his daughter Maud in 1360.⁵³ She became the second wife of the younger John Wrothe of London.⁵⁴ Though he left his London and Middlesex lands to

⁴² Note 37 above. *Inquisitions*, VI, no. 486, VII, no. 445; *Fine Rolls*, 1327-37, pp. 172 and 343.

⁴³ *Pat. Rolls*, 1350-54, p. 181.

⁴⁴ *Pat. Rolls*, 1354-59, p. 245.

⁴⁵ *Ancient Deeds*, V, A7551; Weaver, *Som. Incumbents*, below.

⁴⁶ *Fine Rolls*, 1327-37, p. 172 and p. 343.

⁴⁷ Note 37 above. *Inquisitions*, VII, no. 679.

⁴⁸ *Pat. Rolls*, 1338-40, p. 250. *Hist. Mss. Com.*, III, p. 363.

⁴⁹ *Close Rolls*, 1422-29, p. 135.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Hist. Mss. Com.*, III, p. 361 and 364; *Wells Cathedral Mss.*, 3 Vols. *Hist. Mss. Com.*

⁵³ *Inquisitions*, IX, no. 402.

⁵⁴ Collinson, *Hist. Som.*, III, p. 65.

a son by his first wife, Maud's son William Wrothe inherited the third of Newton-Plecý.⁵⁴ His heirs continued in possession for many generations, one following Thomas Chaucer as forester.⁵⁴

It is perhaps significant that the Plessetises, the Durants, the Pecches, the Heyrouns, the Wrothes and the Gartons were all from Enefield, Middlesex, and held estates there as well as in Somerset. The later Wrothes, Heyrouns, Gartons and Durants became citizens of London, though John Wrothe's son by Maud Durant probably retired to Somerset. A considerable knowledge of the property must have been current in London. Pawlet and Gascoigne were Somerset men.

From this review of the holders of Newton-Plecý it must already be clear that the only portion that Thomas Chaucer could have held in 1431 was the Mortimer share. A study of the following chart will make this doubly certain: ⁵⁵

Ecclesia vel libera Capella vel Cantaria de Newtown-Plecý juxta North Pederton.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Incumbent</i>	<i>How Vacated.</i>	<i>Patron</i>	<i>Bishop's Reg's.</i>	
1328	John de Nywton	.....	John Heyroun	Drok 283	
1349	Robt. ob. Roser	.....	.....	Rad. 355.	
—	John Osborn (a)	.....	Hen IV Rex custos Edm. comitis Marchiae.	.....	<i>P</i>
1418	Ric Wytyng	.....	Ric. Mayne, arm (b)	Bub. 147.	<i>H</i>
1420	Will. Style	per mort. RW.	Thomas Chaucer, arm.	Bub. 175.	<i>P</i>
1425	Robt. Bertlot	per res. WS.	John Quyn, capitalis baro. scaccarii regis, Hum. Stafford et Tho. Stawell, milites, John Warre et complures alii a. c. per <i>Will Powlet</i> de Melcomb, Robt. Burgh, cap. et Hugh Kene. (c)	Staff. 3.	<i>H</i>
—	Robt. Laurence	.....	.....	.....
1439	Will. Edward	per mut. c. RL.	Will. Wroth, arm.	Staff. 160.	<i>D</i>
1445	John Pike	.....	Edw. Hull custos et gubernator forestarum et parci de Pederton etc. (d)	Bec. 46.	<i>P</i>
1453	Ric. Ford	per res. JP.	Wm. Gascoigne, dom.	Bec. 150.	<i>H</i>
1460	Tho. Watch	.....	John Wroth, arm.	Bec. 259.	<i>D</i>
1461	John Scarsy	.....	Ed. IV Rex.		<i>P</i>
1484	Will. Tredewyn	per res. JS.	Hugh Sugar, Ric. Swan, John Comb et Ric. Hayne, clerici. (e)	Still. 125.	<i>H</i>
1525	John Saunders	per mort. WT.	Robt. Wroth, arm.	Wolsey 15.	<i>D</i> ⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Weaver, *Somerset Incumbents*, p. 406.

⁵⁶ At the end of each line I have placed the letter denoting the property

(a) The *Patent Rolls* give the date, December 29, 1404. (b) It will be remembered that Richard Mayne was enfeoffed for life by John Garton. (c) The presence of the names in addition to William Pawlet's can be understood by reference to *Close Rolls*, 1422-29, p. 135. (d) The position of Edward Hull seems significant. (e) Hugh Sugar was treasurer of Wells Cathedral. *Hist. Mss. Com.* 10th report, p. 143. It will be remembered that after 1445 Wells Cathedral held the Gascoigne interest in Newton-Plecy.

It is clear that wherever there is an undoubted series the order of presentation is preserved with great care. The last seven, *D, P, H, D, P, H, D*, illustrate this perfectly. Since I have taken the provisional liberty of marking Chaucer's presentation *P*, the first four, *P, H, P, H*, seem to belie this regularity. Ruud quotes a document of August 21, 1421, that removes this difficulty and makes it certain that Chaucer did hold the Mortimer property:⁵⁷

Henricus etc. venerabile etc, episcopo Bathoniensi et Wellensi, salutem. Sciatis quod Willhelmus Wroth in curia nostra coram iusticiariis nostris apud Westmonasterium per consideracionem ejusdem curie nostre recuperavit presentacionem suam versus Thomam Chaucer, armigerum, et Willhelmum "that was parish prest of Newton-Plecy" capellanum de Newton-Plecy que vacat et ad suam spectat donacionem per defaltam ipsorum Thome et Willhelmi "that was etc." et ideo vobis mandamus quod, non obstantibus reclamacionibus predectarum Thome et Willhelmi ad presentacionem predicti Willhelmi Wroth ad liberam capellam predictam idoneam personam admittis.

Ruud comments:

I am not clear what happened, but venture to surmise that Chaucer and Wroth held the presentation jointly, that by a very natural oversight, Chaucer had inadvertently exercised his right out of turn and that it required a friendly suit to set the matter straight.⁵⁸

The facts show that this was a very good guess. It seems that Ruud's other doubt about Chaucer's rights in Newton-Plecy ('By what right Chaucer held the advowson I do not know—it can hardly have been as sub-forester of North Petherton, within which parish the manor of Newton-Plecy lay')⁵⁹ is answered at the same time.

In all these facts there is nothing to contradict the received tradition that Geoffrey held the forestership of North Petherton

responsible for the particular presentation, *P* for Peeche, *D* for Durant, *H* for Heyroun.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁵⁷ Ruud, *Thomas Chaucer*, pp. 59-60.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

and much to confirm it. We may believe that Geoffrey and Philippa were married early enough for Thomas to have been their legitimate son. Thomas was definitely connected with Somerset at the time when a Geoffrey was forester of North Petherton. Thomas used the arms of a Geoffrey Chaucer and no other Geoffrey Chaucer has been identified in the time of Richard II. Nothing really remains of Langhans' contentions except the extremely doubtful question of the arms.

RUSSELL KRAUSS

New York University

CHAUCERIANA

1. *Worthy*. (A 43 etc.)

Manly glosses this word, 'dignified, of good social position.' Skeat and Greenlaw give no gloss, while Liddell gives various definitions, such as 'brave,' 'excellent,' 'substantial.' The word seems to have some such meaning as 'able,' 'fit,' 'suitable,' 'having such qualities as to be deserving of or adapted to some specified thing.' These qualities may have different connotations. When Chaucer says 'a worthy woman' he may mean she has qualities often humorously attributed to women, as love of talking, fickleness ('Housbondes at chirche dore she hadde fyue'), etc. To define the qualities, one would have to know what the medieval Englishman thought the characteristics of a 'worthy' or typical person (of any status) were. Such a definition seems to be implied in the Wife of Bath's description of her husbands (D 8):

And alle were worthy men in hir degree.

2. *Sangwyn*. (A 333)

Chaucer tells us that the Franklin is a sanguine man, that he has a generous nature, that he loves fine food, and that he gives himself over to absolute pleasure or 'pleyn delit.' Such a description is in accord with medieval conceptions of the sanguine humor. The *Secreta Secretorum* (EETS, ex. ser., LXXIV, pp. 219-220) says:

The sangyne by kynde sholde lowe Ioye and laghyng, and company of women, and moche Slepe and syngynge: he shal be hardy y-nowe, of good

will and wythout malice: he shalbe flesshy, his complexioñ shalbe lyght to hurte *and* to empeyre for his tendyrnesse, he shall haue a goode stomake, good dygescioñ, and good delyueraunce: and yf he be wovndid he shalbe sone be holde, he shall be fre and lyberall, of fayre semblaunt, *and* dylyuer ynowe of body.

(Cf. also, Thomas Elyot, *The Castel of Helth*, chap. II; John Davies of Hereford, 'Microcosmosus,' *Works*, ed. Grosart, I, p. 31; Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, New York, 1924, p. 262; and Thomas Vicary, *The Anatomie of the Bodie of Man*, EETS., ex. ser., LIII, p. 41.)

3. *Moral vertu.* (A 307 etc.)

Skeat gives various meanings for *vertu* ('virtue,' 'power,' 'mental faculty,' 'magic influence,' etc.), and glosses *moral* as 'excellent in character.' Liddell in his vocabulary glosses *vertu* as 'efficacy,' and gives no meaning for *moral*; but in the notes he says,

Moral in M. E. refers rather to the civil and social, than to the religious duties, of man, so that *moral vertu* is nearly equivalent to N. E. practical wisdom.

Greenlaw gives no definition for *moral*, and glosses *vertu* 'power, virtue.' Manly's notes state that *sownynge in moral vertu* means 'making for righteousness, tending to virtue.'

There are only seven instances of the word *moral* in Chaucer:

- A. Prol. 307 — Souninge in moral vertu was his speche
- B. Mel. 2130 — It is a moral tale vertuous
- C. Pard. 325 — Tel us som moral thing, that we may lere
- C. Pard. 460 — A moral tale yet I yow telle can
- TC. II. 167 — For greet power and moral vertu here
Is selde y-seye in o persone y-fere
- TC. IV. 1672 — But moral vertue, grounded upon trouthe
That was the cause I first hadde on yow routhe
- TC. V. 1856 — O moral Gower, this book I directe

From these passages, it would seem that *moral* has much the same meaning in Chaucer as in N. E. Chaucer begins his 'moral tale vertuous,' and the *Melibeus* turns out to be just the kind of tale we would call 'a moral tale of virtue.' (Cf. Manly's note to B 2123.) The third and fourth uses are moral tales, and the second use connects *moral tale* with *vertuous*; the first, fifth, and sixth uses are of *moral vertu*; and the last use is of *moral* man. Furthermore, we know Gower to have been *moral* in the sense in which we understand the word today. Manly's gloss, therefore, would seem to be the correct one. *Moral vertu* means moral virtue and not practical wisdom. There is nothing of practical wisdom in *Melibeus*.

4.

Wel coude he fortunen the ascendent
Of his images for his pacient. (A 417-8)

In glossing this passage, Manly repudiates Liddell's and Greenlaw's interpretations, saying,

The *ymages* for which the doctor chose fortunate ascendants . . . were certainly not the wax images described by most commentators on this passage. Those were, I think, used only in 'black magic,' with unlawful ceremonies, to injure persons represented by the images.

Manly seems quite right in stating that Chaucer's doctor is not engaged in black magic. But other commentators have pointed out that natural magic may be for good or evil, as Chaucer indicates in the *Hous of Fame* (ll. 1265-70), where he saw,

. . . clerkes eek, which conne wel
Al this magyke naturel,
That craftely don hir ententes,
To make, in certeyn ascendentes,
Images, lo, through which magyk
To make a man ben hool or syk.

Further, in describing Thebit ben Corat's well known work on images, Lynn Thorndike states:

The images described are astronomical or astrological and must be constructed under prescribed constellations in order to fulfill the end sought. Often, however, they are human forms rather than astronomical figures. . . . Thebit expressly states that the material of which they are made or upon which they are engraved is unimportant, . . .¹

Again, in describing *Of images and rings*, Thorndike relates that the writer

describes an astrological image which will cause men to reverence and obey you, will repel your enemies in terror, afflict the envious, send visions, and perform other marvelous . . . feats . . .²

From the foregoing passages, then, it would seem that images in white or 'natureel' magic may be for good or evil, and may be of any substance—wax, mud, metal, etc.

CARROLL CAMDEN, JR.

The Rice Institute

¹ *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, I, 665-6.

² Thorndike, II, 258. Cf. Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, III. iv, III. v, IV. iii, and John Swan, *Speculum Mundi*, Cambridge, 1635, p. 352.

SOLAS IN THE MILLER'S TALE

Chaucer's characterization in *The Miller's Tale* of Absolon the parish-clerk includes a description of Absolon's musical inclinations. He could

. . . pleyen songes on a small rubible;
 Ther-to he song som-tyme a loud quynible;
 And as wel coude pleye on his giterne.
 In al the toun nas brewhous ne taverne
 That he ne visited with his solas,
 Ther any gaylard tappestere was.

Canterbury Tales, ll. 3331-36.

Not only did he possess some musical talents but he also made use of them at those taverns in which lively barmaids served—so one may loosely paraphrase Chaucer's lines. But while the general sense of the passage is clear, the exact meaning of line 3335 seems to me to have been obscured by the accepted gloss of the word *solas*. Skeat glossed it *pleasure, solace*, and the phrase has thus always been translated *for his pleasure*. Had Chaucer written *for his solas* instead of *with his solas* Skeat's gloss could not be questioned, but a collation of the texts of the six manuscripts published by the Chaucer Society reveals that each manuscript reads *with his solas*. Furthermore, there is no likelihood that the two prepositions were in Chaucer's time in any sense synonymous; the *N.E.D.* has no citation which allows *with* and *for* a similar meaning, nor does Chaucer in analogous passages use any preposition but *for* when expressing purpose. Compare, for example, *Romaunt of the Rose*, ll. 5068-70:

But she, for solace or for pley,
 May a jewel or other thing
 Take. . . .

Hence the phrase in question must mean *accompanied by his "solas,"* and *solas* cannot mean *pleasure* or *solace*.

Now these six lines are concerned with Absolon's musical accomplishments, and it would seem reasonable to suppose that *solas* has some musical significance. When the hexachord system was developed by Guido d'Arezzo the notes of that scale were designated not by letters, as is now more common, but by the Latin syllables *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*. Chaucer's word seems—like the Elizabethan

fa-la-la—to refer to this terminology. And the line hence means "That he did not visit with his singing, his *sol-las*."¹

There is in the British Museum MS. Arundel 292, f. 71 verso, an early fourteenth-century poem which discloses that the hexachord terminology was well known in England by Chaucer's time.² The writer, a monk, complains that secular music, which was based upon the hexachord, is much more difficult to learn to sing than the plainsong of church music.

Of *effauz* and *elami*: ne coud y nevere are,
I fayle faste in the *fa*: it files al my fare.
Yet ther ben other notes: *sol* and *ut* and *la*,
And that froward file: that men clepis *fa*.

ll. 38-41.

Similarly, *Piers Plowman*, Text C, Passus VIII, l. 31:

Yut can ich nother *sofye* ne syng: ne a seyntes
lyf rede.³

Chaucer's use of *solas*, then, was readily understood by an enlightened fourteenth-century audience; every gentleman was taught solmisation—his *do-re-mis*—by French music-masters.

I have not been able to find in Middle English an exact parallel to Chaucer's use of *solas*, but when one sees how variously the hexachord terminology was employed one does not feel that such a parallel is necessary to find. Chaucer might as well have written *ut-las* or *re-las*; his choice of *solas* seems to have been governed merely by the requirements of euphony and the end-rhyme.

FLETCHER COLLINS, JR.

Yale University

¹ The spelling of the word offers the only possible objection to this interpretation. One might suppose that Chaucer and the scribes would have spelled it *sollas* had he been referring to the hexachord. But in Latin the *o* of *sol* is long, and had Chaucer or the scribes spelled the word with two *l*'s the *o* would have been shortened and the meaning obscured. It is perhaps significant that Goethe, in two lyrics, *Die Spröde* and *Die Bekehrte*, uses *so la*[sic] as the basis of his refrains.

² Printed by T. Wright and Halliwell *Reliquæ Antiquæ*, I, 292.

³ Later examples in English poetry of the use of hexachord terminology could be multiplied; Skelton's *Colin Clout*, l. 107, contains the word *a-la-my-re*, and Edmund in *King Lear*, Act I, scene 2, ll. 152-4, says, "O these eclipses do portend these divisions! *Fa, sol, la, mi.*"

TWO NOTES ON CHAUCER

I

Professor Manly, in his volume of selections from the *Canterbury Tales*, says (note to I, 1850) that "in ME *to-nyght* regularly means the night just past (cf. VII, 4116)." It seems to me that in the majority of instances the text of Chaucer does not support this view.

Of the use to which Professor Manly refers, the Bradley-Stratmann *Middle-English Dictionary* gives two unquestionable examples, but it also gives one citation of *to niht* with the future of the verb. The *NED.* lists three primary meanings for the adverb:

1. On this very night (i. e. the night now present).
 - b. On any night (as contrasted with the next day).
2. On the night following this day.
3. On the night just past; last night. (Perhaps only said in the morning.) *Obs. exc. dial.*

Citations from before 1400 are given for all but 1 b.

According to the Concordance, *to nyght* is used nine times in all of Chaucer's works. In seven instances—A. Rv. 4253, B. Sh. 1468, D. Fri. 1636, E. Mch. 2253, LGW. 1710, TC. III. 669, and TC. V. 1169—it is used with the present or future of the verb, and hence cannot refer to past time. The remaining two cases—B. NP. 4116 and C. Pard. 673—require a closer inspection.

B. NP. 4116 occurs early in the opening discussion of Chanticleer's dream, and the beginning of the scene is placed "in a daweninge" (B. NP. 4072). Now Chaucer recognized two different kinds of day: (1) the artificial day, which extends from sunrise to sunset, and (2) the vulgar day, which extends from the break of day until "verrey nyght" and thus includes the periods of dawn and twilight. (See headings to *Astrolabe*, Part II, Nos. 7 and 9.) If Chaucer normally considered *day* the equivalent of *vulgar day*, or if the sun had risen between the opening of the scene and Pertelote's words, *to nyght* here refers to the night just past. But there is no evidence for either of these views, and both are implicitly contradicted by "For it was day" in B. NP. 4363. The context indicates that in this case *to nyght* means "on this very night" (*NED. To-night*, A 1).

The interpretation of C. Pard. 673 is apparently easy and in

reality difficult. The scene is set "Longe erst er pryme rong of any belle" (C. Pard. 662) and the three rioters swear to kill Death "er it be nyght." Hence, *to nyght* must refer to the night past. But the difficulty lies in the interpretation of C. Pard. 662. No one has recently questioned seriously that *pryme* in Chaucer normally means 9 a. m., but in this particular instance two contrary assumptions seem fair: (1) that prime rung by a bell indicates a church service, and (2) that the service of prime retained its position at the beginning of the day after the civil use of the word had changed. If these assumptions are correct, "Longe erst er pryme rong" means long before day. The abnormal interpretation of *pryme* is supported by the fact that this is the only case of the ringing of prime in Chaucer and by the probability that rioters would drink until very late rather than start early in the morning (unless, of course, the Pardoner wished to impress his audience with the extent of the drinkers' depravity).

Whether or not this suggestion be accepted, it is established by at least eight of the nine cases that the normal meanings of *to nyght* in Chaucer coincide with the first two definitions given by the *NED*.

II

The word *undern*, used only three times by Chaucer, has been frequently a subject for annotation. The most valuable studies are by Skeat (*Oxford Chaucer*, v, 345), and F. Tupper ("Anglo-Saxon *Dæg-mæl*", *PMLA.*, x, 1895, 164-170), and H. B. Hinckley (*Notes on Chaucer*, 142 and 195). They prove conclusively that in ME in general *undern* had several meanings, but they fail to agree upon the interpretation given it by Chaucer. Since appeal to uses of the word by other ME writers has failed to produce a clear understanding, two courses only are left open to scholars: to admit frankly that no definite meaning can be arrived at, or to restrict the bases of the interpretation to evidence afforded by Chaucer's poetry.

From the occurrence of *undern* in B. NP. 4412 nothing can be deduced, but the other two uses (E. Cl. 260 and 981) are both helpful, since they correspond respectively to Petrarch's *hora prandii* and *hora tertia*. It has been established (*Troilus and Criseyde*, ed. R. K. Root, notes to II. 1163, II. 1557, and v. 1126) from Chaucer's poetry that dinner began between ten and eleven

in the morning. To attempt to reduce the dinner-hour to an exact point of time would be absurd, but it is fair to assume 10:30 a. m. as a normal time. Apparently *hora tertia* is as slippery an expression as *undern*, but if in civil use prime was at 9 a. m. and noon at midday, it seems justifiable to assume that in civil use *terce* referred to a point or period of time somewhere between. There is some reason to infer that *hora prandii* = dinner-time = c. 10:30 a. m. = *undern* = *hora tertia*. That Chaucer may have used *undern* in two different senses is a possibility that cannot be eliminated, but the interpretation here suggested is opposed by no positive evidence in the text of Chaucer.

GEORGE P. FAUST

Princeton University

TWO NOTES ON WIDSITH

1. *Amopingas*

The tribal name *Amopingas* occurs in *Widsith* in l. 86, as a dat. pl., *Amothingum*. The initial *a* of this name was presumably short, since there was no syncope of the vowel of the second syllable.¹ No satisfactory connexion for *Amopingas* has hitherto been found. An excellent summary of opinion before 1912 is given by R. W. Chambers.²

Names in *-ingas* are a very old type, derived either from personal names or from place-names, and they originally denoted the inhabitants of the areas involved, rather than the areas themselves.³ The particular name now under consideration has a Germanic look, by virtue of its *þ* no less than its suffix. In searching for a connexion, I turned first to the Scandinavian records, which, I hoped, might reveal, if not the tribal name itself, then at least the personal name or the place-name from which, by the addition of the suffix *-ing*, the tribal name was formed.

¹ K. Luick, *Hist. Gram. der engl. Sprache*, I (Leipzig, 1914), §306 (p. 284). But E. Sievers, *Festgabe für Felix Liebermann* (Halle, 1921), p. 6, marks the *a* long.

² *Widsith* (Cambridge, 1912), p. 215. For later conjectures, see J. Marquart, *Festschrift Vilhelm Thomsen* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 108, and G. Langenfelt, *Toponymics* (Upsala, 1920), p. 56.

³ E. Ekwall, *English Place-Names in -ing* (Lund, 1923), pp. 103 f., 120 ff.

If from OE *Amopingas* we take away the suffix, we have left a base *Amop* (earlier **Amuþ*) which, put into Old Norse, gives a form *Qmð*.⁴ And a place-name in just this form actually appears in the Scandinavian records. Thus, one may find three references for it in the index of F. Jónsson's four-volume edition of the *Heimskringla* of Snorri Sturluson (Copenhagen, 1893-1901). The name occurs in cap. 29 of the *Ynglingasaga*, cap. 79 of the *Ólafssaga Tryggv.*, and cap. 117 of the *Ólafssaga helga*. The editor records, alongside the reading *Qmð* (which he adopts in his normalized text), a variant reading *Qmd*. The sound-shift *mð > md* seems to have begun *circa* 1200.⁵ Other variant readings show a further sound-shift *mð > nd*, obviously of later date.⁶ Our name also appears, in the form *Qmd*, in a list of island-names preserved in two MSS of the *Snorra Edda*;⁷ more precisely, *Qmd* is listed as an island-heiti.

ON *Qmð* occurs in the nom., dat. and acc. sg.; I have not found an example of the gen. sg. In all three cases the form of the word is the same: *Qmð*. S. Bugge comments as follows on the form:

The reading *Qmð* with *ð* shows that formerly there was a vowel between *m* and *ð*.⁸

It may be added that the initial *q* of the name, which can be explained only as the result of *u*-umlaut of an original *a*, indicates that the lost vowel was an *u*. The uniformity of the case-forms reminds one of *ð*-stem inflexion, but here the need of supposing a double syncope makes trouble, although ON *fjöld* < **feluþu* might be brought forward as a parallel. It seems simpler on the whole to classify *Qmð* with ON *mjólk* < **meluk*-, reckoning it a fem. *t*-stem.⁹

From the three references to *Qmð* in the *Heimskringla* we learn that (1) it lay in the northern part of Hálógaland, and (2) it included Thrándarnes. Munch accordingly identified *Qmð* with the island of Hinn. He wrote:

⁴ For the *u*-umlaut, see A. Noreen, *Altisl. und Altnorw. Grammatik* (Halle, 1923), §77, 1 (p. 69); for the syncope, *ibid.*, §155 (p. 135).

⁵ *Ibid.*, §238, 1b (p. 175).

⁶ *Ibid.*, §258, 2 (p. 188).

⁷ This list is included by F. Jónsson in his *Den Norsk-Islandske Skjalde-digtning* (Copenhagen, 1912-1915), A1, p. 689 and B1, p. 678.

⁸ *Norske Gaardnavne*, ed. O. and K. Rygh, xvi (Kristiania, 1905), p. 411.

⁹ For such inflexions see A. Noreen, *op. cit.*, §417 (p. 285).

Ömd, the well known Hindø, the largest island in Norway, or at least the eastern part of that island, where Throndenes lies.¹⁰

This identification has been challenged, however, by O. Rygh, who points out that *Hinn* as well as *Qmð* is listed under *eyja-heiti* in the *Snorra Edda*, and argues that the two names refer to different islands. He prefers to identify *Qmð* with the modern Andø, an island to the north of Hinn.¹¹ To Rygh's arguments it may be objected, first of all, that the Eddic list is not so much a list of islands as of island-heitis, and since in the technic of variation a part may stand for the whole it is entirely possible that *Qmð* and *Hinn*, in strictness names for the eastern and western parts respectively of the same island, may each have been used by the skalds for the island as a whole or for the concept "island" as such. Moreover, the specific statement in the *Óláfssaga helga* that Thrándarnes lay in *Qmð* cannot lightly be set aside. Finally, the modern name *And* by virtue of its vocalism cannot plausibly be identified with ON *Qmð*. We must therefore hold fast to Munch's identification.

The passage in the *Ynglingasaga* in which the place-name *Qmð* occurs has a special interest. Snorri tells us that King Aðils of Sweden had a horse named Hrafn, which he sent to Hálögaland, as a present for King Goðgestr. The gift, however, proved fatal to Goðgestr, for Hrafn ran away with him and threw him, and that was the king's bane. This fatal fall from horseback took place *í Qmð á Hálögalandi*. In the sixth century, then, it would appear, *Qmð* was a place important enough to have a king whose name and manner of death are preserved to us in story.

Snorri no doubt got his information about Goðgestr from a famous tenth-century poem, the *Háleyggjatal* of Eyvindr skáldaspillir.¹² The name of Goðgestr also appears in the genealogy of the kings of Hálögaland, and from his position in the genealogy Snorri seems to have been right in making him a contemporary of

¹⁰ P. A. Munch, *Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1846, p. 88.

¹¹ *Norske Gaardnavne*, xvi, 404 f.; S. Bugge, on p. 411 of the same volume, records his agreement with Rygh.

¹² The fragments of this poem which have come down to us are included by F. Jónsson in his *Den Norsk-Islandske Skjaldedigtning*, Al, pp. 68 ff. and B1, pp. 60 ff. Unluckily the strophe devoted to Goðgestr is exceedingly fragmentary.

King Aðils of Sweden (the Eadgils of *Beowulf*).¹³ Belsheim comments as follows on the whole matter:

Goðgestr, according to story, is a king on the island of Qmð in Hálogaland, and one of the ancestors of the Hlaða-jarlar, later so famous. Heimgestr is his son. They are named in immediate sequence in the genealogy of the kings of Hálogaland. Behind these names we no doubt have a right to see historical persons, tribal chieftains of the Migration Period.¹⁴

We may conclude that the *Amoþingas* of *Widsith* were the inhabitants of the island of Qmð (modern Hinnø) in Hálogaland (modern Helgeland), Norway. If the ruling dynasty of Qmð in the sixth century held an overlordship of Hálogaland in general, as Snorri's way of speaking and the genealogy of the Hálogaland kings would seem to indicate, the English poet may have been referring to the inhabitants of Hálogaland as a whole.

2. *Geflegan*

The tribal name *Geflegan* occurs in l. 60, in the dat. pl., as *Gefflegum*.¹⁵ I analyze the name into an *epitheton ornans*, *Gefl-*, followed by the name proper, *Ēgan*. The latter shows the regular Anglian and Kentish phonetic development of a primitive **Aujaniz*, the Aviones (i. e. *Aujones*) of Tacitus.¹⁶ The epithetic *Gefl-* also shows Anglian and Kentish (as against West-Saxon) vocalism. It may be explained in either of two ways. We may take it as the adjective *gefol* (WS *giefol*) 'hospitable' with the syncope of the -o- which one would expect in composition with *Ēgan*; to be compared is the *Beorht-Dene* of *Beowulf*. On the other hand, we may have to do with an abstract noun **geflu* 'hospitality' derived from the adjective. Such a noun would of course lose its final vowel in composition.¹⁷ To be compared on this interpreta-

¹³ The genealogy was printed in 1880 in the *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*, ed. K. Gislason *et al.* (Copenhagen, 1848-1887), III, 459, note 1.

¹⁴ Einar Belsheim, *Norge og Vest-Europa i Gammal Tid* (Oslo, 1925-), p. 461.

¹⁵ For the doubling of the consonant before *l*, see K. Bülbring, *Alt-englisches Elementarbuch* (Heidelberg, 1902), § 546, c (p. 221).

¹⁶ For the initial vowel, see K. Luick, *op. cit.*, § 194 (p. 179); for the *g*, see K. Bülbring, *op. cit.*, § 458a (p. 181).

¹⁷ J. and E. M. Wright, *Old English Grammar*³ (London, 1925), § 618 (p. 321).

tion are such names as *Ar-Scyldingas*, *Hreð-Gotan*. The name *Gefl-Ēgan*, then, means 'the hospitable *Ēgan*' or 'the hospitality-*Ēgan*' and loses its enigmatic character.

KEMP MALONE

THE INFLUENCE OF LEGAL RESEARCH IN BROADENING ENGLISH VOCABULARY

In his instructive and interesting article "Words" (*Cornell Law Quarterly*, 14: 263-273), Professor T. F. T. Plucknett of the Harvard Law School showed how linguistic research has aided the study of legal origins and development by contributing facts about the sources and changing usage of legal terms. But he did not comment particularly on the fact that conversely legal research has had its influence on the field of linguistics. By re-establishing words long obsolete and by introducing words that were never current in English (or at least were not recorded in material that has survived), historians and students of medieval law are contributing to the enlargement of the English vocabulary.

A number of words have been reinstated in English after one or two centuries of obsolescence or even complete oblivion. The *New English Dictionary* records certain examples of these. For instance, *scotale*, a means of extortion in which foresters required the common people to gather and buy ale made from grain confiscated by the foresters, is unrepresented in *NED*. from 1660 until 1874, the date of the appearance of Stubbs' *Constitutional History*. Also from Stubbs comes the first nineteenth century quotation for *sac* (*sac and soc*, Old English rights of jurisdiction whose exact significance is still debatable) after a gap of two centuries, the last quotation in the continuous line being 1657.

In certain other cases of reappearance, although present-day readers of legal material are familiar with the words, there is no record of the recent usage in *NED*. Such is the case of the verb *mainprize*. Although the substantive *mainprize* is represented by a continuous series of quotations, the last illustration of the verb is dated 1681. The word, however, is used to-day,—for example, in Pollock and Maitland's *History of English Law* (1895), II, 582:

If a man was arrested he was usually replevied (*replegiatus*) or mainprised (*manucaptus*), that is to say, he was set free so soon as some sureties (*plegiu*) undertook (*manuceperunt*) or became bound for his appearance in court.

It is likewise found in modern translations of medieval documents, as in Miss Bateson's *Borough Customs* (Selden Soc.) (1904), I, 99:

if distress be delivered by pledge or mainprise of any one, if he who is replevied or mainprised does not come to justify himself as he ought to do, let his pledges or his mainperours be distrained to produce him. . . .

The phrase *in mercy*, meaning 'subject to an amercement,' last illustrated in *NED.* under the date 1768, is again current, being found with particular frequency in translations of medieval works.

1890. *Select Civil Pleas* (Selden Soc.), W. P. Baildon. I, 44. Judgment: Let them have their seisin thereof, and James is in mercy for the unjust detention. (translation)

1891. *The Court Baron* (Selden Soc.), F. W. Maitland and W. P. Baildon. 50. Out of thy mouth will I judge thee, William, thou wicked servant. Wherefore this court awardeth that thou be in mercy. (translation)

1895. *History of English Law*, Sir F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland. II, 512. We can hardly doubt that at first the declaration that a man is in the king's or the lord's mercy implies that the king or the lord may, if he pleases, take all his goods.

1914. *Year Books of Richard II.* 12 Richard II. (Ames Foundation), G. F. Deiser. 161. The judgment was that the plaintiffs take nothing by their writ, but be in the mercy for their false plaint. . . . (paraphrase)

Another instance of revival of usage brought about by legal research is *mulier*, which is used both as an adjective 'legitimate' and as a substantive 'a legitimate child.' Although the final quotation in *NED.* for the adjective is dated 1549, and for the substantive 1766, the following examples show nineteenth and twentieth century revived usage, in all cases selected from translations of the *Year Books*.

1. adjective

1866. *Year Books* 20 & 21 Edward I. (Rolls), A. J. Horwood. 192. *Tiltone* (for W.) They can not demand anything; for the reason that he was a bastard; ready &c.

Payn. He was mulier; ready &c.

1905. *Year Books* 18 & 19 Edward III. (Rolls), L. O. Pike. 36. he alleged bastardy in our person, whereupon, after we had come to issue,

it was sent to the Bishop of Lincoln, who afterwards certified that we are mulier. . . .

2. substantive

1873. *Year Books* 21 & 22 Edward I. (Rolls), A. J. Horwood. 306. since therefore the writ will not abate by reason of the later seisin of him who is the "mulier," consequently it does not abate by the seisin of him who was a bastard. . . .

1905. *Year Books* 18 & 19 Edward III. (Rolls), L. O. Pike. 40. Persons of Holy Church hold such persons (born before the marriage of their parents) to be muliers. . . .

Besides reintroducing words which were formerly a part of the English vocabulary, historio-legal activity has familiarized students of medieval law with certain words which were apparently not adopted in English at the time they were current in Anglo-Norman, but which have been more or less freely used by writers of the present day. The verb *afforce*, meaning 'to add members to a deadlocked jury in order to secure a decision,' and its derivative noun *afforcement* illustrate such an adoption. For *afforce* *NED.* cites Hallam's *Middle Ages* (1818) and Stubbs' *Select Charters* (1870). I might add a quotation dated 1865 from F. M. Nichols' translation of *Britton* (IV, xii, 4), "And if the attainors cannot agree in one opinion, let them be afforced by others." For *afforcement* *NED.* quotes Hallam (*op. cit.*) and Stubbs' *Constitutional History* (1874). The word is also found in Pollock and Maitland's *History of English Law* (1895), II, 671 (index).

Two other words, used perhaps oftener in translating medieval documents for modern readers than in independent writings, are unrepresented in *NED.* Because of this fact I treat them more fully than my other illustrations, giving their etymology and a series of quotations from Anglo-Norman as well as from English. In neither case, so far as I can discover, was the word borrowed into ME. The first of the two, *achieve* in the sense 'do homage, acknowledge as feudal lord,' is still rare in English; but the other, *mainpast*, is more widely used, and is noted in *Webster's New International Dictionary* (1931).¹

AN. *achever* (*se chever, achevir, chevir*) is apparently the same word as OF. *achever*, which, according to *NED.* is "formed from the phrase à chief (*venir*)."² The medieval L. equivalent is *accapi-*

¹ Webster gives no etymology and a single illustrative quotation.

tare, a form which has given the vernacular *achater*, occasionally found in England with the meaning 'do homage.'² Examples of *achever* follow.

1278. *Rotuli P.* 11, no. 50. les auncestres lavaunt dit Richard . . . unkes a luy ne chevrent, par nule manere de servise. (the ancestors of the aforesaid Richard . . . never achieved to him by any manner of service.)

ca. 1289. *Mirror of Justices* (Selden Soc.) 190. soit qe B. tiegne cent liveres de terre de A. par service de xx. li par an, e cil B. doigne ent sa moiete en pur aumoine ou en mariage ou pur le service de une rose a C., cil avient qe cest B. forface ou alliene quant qil ad, par cest estatut nest ordene nule remedie a C., qi estoit achever a A. (suppose that B. holds 100 librates of land of A. by the service of twenty pounds, and gives half of it to C. in frank almoign or in marriage, or by the service of a rose, if then it happens that this B. commits a forfeiture or alienates what he has, no remedy is ordained by this statute for C., who has to achieve to A.)

1292. *Britton* (Oxford, 1865) III. iv. 12. Et si teus tenauntz ne voilent a autre seignur achever, adounc soint il eydez par noster bref al viscounte del lu . . . (And if such tenants are not willing to achieve to another lord, let them be aided by our writ to the sheriff of the place . . .)

1293-4. *Percy Chartulary* (Surtees Soc.) 130. com je sui achevi a Henri de Perci des tenementz qe jeo tienk de lui en Foston . . . (that I have achieved to Henry Percy for the tenements which I hold of him in Foston. . . .)

The definition of *achever* given by F. M. Nichols in the glossary (II, 365) of his edition of *Britton* (Oxford, 1865) 'to transfer one's homage or that of his tenant' is incorrect in the use of the word *transfer*; for although the act of achieving usually occurred as the result of a breach of fealty with the old lord, it is not necessarily so, as the following quotation from *Britton* (III. iii. 2) shows.

Et de heirs femeles, ou heritage . . . descent a plusours filles, ou lour issue cum a un heir, voloms qe la eynzniece nous face homage pur totes ses parceners, et qe les autres achevent a la eynznesce. (in the case of

² An example may be given from *Britton* (Oxford, 1865) II. x. 1. 1292. Uncore i ad une manere de purchaz qe hom purchase par attornement de rente ou de autre service bon gre ou maugre les tenauntz, cum qi attornast soen tenaunt de achater a un autre estraunge persone de ses services issauntz de acun tenement. (There still remains another kind of purchase, which is made by attornment of rent or other service, with or without the consent of the tenants, as where one attorns his tenant to become subject to a stranger, as concerning his services issuing out of some tenement.)

heirs female, where a heritage descends to several daughters or their issue as one heir, we will that the eldest do homage to us for all her parceners, and that the others do homage to the eldest.)

In New English, *achieve* appears both in translations and in independent use by modern scholars.

1895. *Mirror of Justices* (Selden Soc.), W. J. Whittaker. 130. the tenants shall leave their mesne lords and achieve themselves immediately to the chief lords. (translation)

1895. *Mirror of Justices* (Selden Soc.), W. J. Whittaker. 130, footnote 1. If the mesne lord drops out of the tenure by forfeiting his rights, the sub-tenant must achieve himself (*se accapitare*) to the superior lord, whose immediate tenant he now becomes.

1895. *History of English Law*, Sir F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland. II, 274. her sisters will hold of her; they will 'achieve' (*accapitare*) to her, that is, will recognize her as their head.

The second of the two words I am discussing is *mainpast*. *AN. meynpast* < Med. L. *manupastus* (< Cl. L. *manu* + *pastus*, pa. pple. of *pasco* 'I feed') means literally 'one brought up or fed by hand,' and occurs in legal usage with two related meanings.

1. a dependent, a young person brought up in one's household

1292. *Britton* (Oxford, 1865) I. ix. 3. Et mesme le jugement deyvent encoure ceuz, qi par appels de felonies sunt atteyntz, qe il le seal lour seigneur, qi meynpast il sount, ou qi hommes par homage, countrefet ou autrement fause. . . . (The same judgment ought those to incur who in appeals of felony are attainted of counterfeiting or otherwise falsifying the seal of their lord whose dependent they are or whose man by homage. . . .)

ca. 1298. *The Court Baron* (Selden Soc.) 53. vostre fiz que est vostre meyn past entra le gardyn le seigneur . . . (your son who is your mainpast, entered the garden of the lord. . . .)

2. household

ca. 1275. *Ancient Usages of Winchester* (Oxford, 1927), Furley. § 63, 1. chescun homme de la franchise de la cite ke est enpleide pust auoir trois rennables sumunses auant aparance . . . e pur son meinpast autretant. (every man of the franchise of the city who is impleaded may have three reasonable summonses before appearance . . . and the same for his household.)³

³ K. W. Engeroff in his "Untersuchung des Verwandtschafts-verhältnisses der anglo-französischen und mittelenglischen Überlieferungen der 'Usages of Winchester'" (*Bonner Studien zur englische philologie*, Heft XII, Bonn, 1914, p. 85) translates *meinpast* in this passage 'servant.' The

ca. 1289. *Mirror of Justices* (Selden Soc.) 152. appent denqere qi les recetta en cel countie en qi meinpai il furent. (let it be enquired who received them in this county and in whose mainpast they were.)

1292. *Britton* (Oxford, 1865) I. ii. 9. de qi dixeyne ou de qi meynpast celi futif avera este. . . . (of whose tithing or of whose mainpast such fugitive was. . . .)

In New English *mainpast* has both of the meanings found in *AN.*, but 'household' is more frequent. The earliest example that I have noted occurs in 1865, but I have made no search of earlier sources.

1. a dependent

1891. *The Court Baron* (Selden Soc.), F. W. Maitland and W. P. Baildon. 53. thy son who is thy mainpast entered the lord's garden. . . . (translation)

1892. *Leet Jurisdiction in the City of Norwich* (Selden Soc.), Wm. Hudson. 52. Of John, the servant of Geoffrey the taverner and his mainpast. . . . (translation)

2. household

1865. *Britton* (Oxford, 1865), F. M. Nichols. I. ii. 9. let the coroner inquire of whose tithing or of whose mainpast such fugitive was. . . . (translation)

1888. *Select Pleas of the Crown* (Selden Soc.), F. W. Maitland. 77. Richard Coffin, and Richard, Botild's son, who were of the mainpast of the Prior of Taunton. . . . (translation)

1895. *History of English Law*, Sir F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland. I, 555. Again instead of being in frankpledge one may be in the mainpast of another. The head of a household answers for the appearance in court of the members of his household, his servants, his retainers, those whom his hand feeds, his *manupastus* or *mainpast*. . . .

1923. *History of English Law* (3rd ed. rewritten), W. S. Holdsworth. III, 383. We find, especially in the local courts, remembrances of old rules which made the master liable for the acts of his mainpast, or the father liable for the acts of his children.

ELSIE SHANKS

Carleton College

Middle English translation reads, "and for hym-selue may habbe as vele," showing, according to Dr. Engeroff's conjecture (*op. cit.* 11) that the translator, who frequently sets over word by word with little regard for the sense of the passage, read something like "*pur soi meme pust autretant.*"

A DICTIONARY CORRECTION

In a letter ¹ to John Murray, December 27, 1816, Lord Byron compares the English and Italian operas, and concludes by saying that the Italian theatres "beat *our* theatres all hollow."

Neither *Webster's* (1931) nor *Century* (1927) defines the figure "beat all hollow"; the *Standard* (1929) says it is a U. S. colloquialism; and the *NED.* under *beat* 10 only gives one quotation using it, and that from Lowell's works of 1879. Obviously the phrase is not a pure Americanism.

In this same letter Byron creates the participial form "recitativoed." No dictionary makes a note of the fact.

Marquette University

J. M. PURCELL

OLD-ENGLISH *GEBIDÆP*

The 2nd pl. imperative *gebidæp* (*gebidæs*) is recorded in three Old-English runic inscriptions; ¹ on the *Lancaster Cross* (*gibidæp* ² *foræ Cynibalp*), on the *Urswick Cross-slab* (*gebidæs* ³ *per saulæ*) and in the *Falstone* inscription (*gebidæd der saule* in the runes, *gebidaed der saule* in the Latin characters). Since the form with *æ* in the final syllable occurs in three independent cases it cannot well be dismissed as erroneous. It cannot be regarded as identical with the normal OE form of the 2nd pl. imperative in *-aþ* nor with the type represented by the Gothic 2nd pl. imperative (*bidjip*). It seems possible that the form in *-æþ* is by origin that of the 2nd pl. pres. optative and is thus to be equated to Goth. *bidjaiþ*.⁴

Hereford, England

ALAN S. C. ROSS

¹ Moore, Thomas: *The Life, Letters and Journals of Lord Byron* (London, 1920). P. 334.

² The readings of the runic inscriptions are taken from photographs kindly placed at my disposal by Professor Bruce Dickins of Leeds University.

³ The simplification of double consonants is common in OE runic inscriptions; compare the forms 3rd. sg. pret. ind. *setæ* on the *Urswick Cross-slab*; *setæfte* (i. e. **settæ æfter*) on the third cross at *Thornhill*.

⁴ For final *s* instead of *þ* see Holmquist, *On the history of the English present inflections, particularly -s and -th*.

⁵ The use of the optative in the function of the imperative is well-known; in the present connection it will suffice if we call attention to the Gothic usage (see Streitberg, *Gotisches Elementarbuch*, Par. 307) and to the fact that the Slavonic imperative is formally an old optative (see Vondrák, *Vergleichende slavische Grammatik*, II, 119).

ALDHELM AND THE COMITATUS-IDEAL

King Alfred's statement that Aldhelm (d. 709) was the chief of his country's poets¹ always has interested students of Old English literature. Some have fancied that Aldhelm may have been concerned in the writing of *Beowulf*, perhaps as adviser to the poet.²

That he at least was no stranger to a leading theme in Old English heroic poetry is evident from some words of his to the clergy of Bishop Wilfrid:

Ecce, saeculares divinae scientiae extorres si devotum dominum, quem in prosperitate dilexerunt, cessante felicitatis opulentia et ingruente calamitatis adversitate deseruerint ac secura dulcis patriae otia exulantis domini pressurae praetulerint, nonne execrabilis cachinni ridiculo et gannaturae strepitu ab omnibus [digni] ducuntur? Quid ergo de vobis dicetur, si pontificem, qui vos nutrit et extulit, in exilio solum dimiseritis?³

This precisely expresses the comitatus-ideal, and, it might be added, is quite in the spirit of Wiglaf's denunciation of Beowulf's craven followers.⁴

PUTNAM FENNELL JONES

University of Pittsburgh

THE STABBING OF A PORTRAIT IN ELIZABETHAN TRAGEDY

The Noble Spanish Soldier,¹ dated indefinitely before 1631, is generally supposed to be the revision by Day of the lost *Spanish Fig*, by Dekker and S. Rowley, for which Henslowe made a payment on behalf of the Admiral's men on January 6, 1602.²

¹ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. Hamilton, p. 336.

² A. S. Cook, "The Possible Begetter of the Old English *Beowulf* and *Widsith*," *Trans. Conn. Acad.*, xxv (1922), 335-339; cf. Klaeber, ed. of *Beowulf* (1928), pp. 439-440.

³ Aldh. *Ep.* 9 (12), ed. Ehwald, p. 502.

⁴ *Beowulf* 2864-91.

¹ A. H. Bullen, *Collection of Old English Plays*, I.

² Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama 1559-1642*, II, 308; Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*, II, 220; Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, III, 300.

I believe, however, that there is reason to date *The Noble Spanish Soldier* in 1610 or the few years immediately following.³ There occurs in this play a theatrically effective scene (I, ii). The King, who has made another woman his queen, visits Onaelia in order to recover the contract in which he had promised marriage to her. Onaelia has surrounded herself with the Kydian panoply of despair. The King asks in surprise:

What meane these Embleames of distresse?
My Picture so defac'd! oppos'd against
A holy Crosse! roome hung in blacke, and you
Drest like chiefe Mourner at a Funerall!

³ The actual date of the play as we have it has usually been considered doubtful, since the sole indication is the first entry for publication in *The Stationers' Register* (ed. Arber, iv, 253) on May 16, 1631. The title page of the first edition in 1634 does not mention a performance by any company. The printer's foreword speaks of the stage success of the play as though it were of recent date, but his inability to advertise the company and the general vagueness of his statements indicate that he had found an old play, long forgotten, and was endeavoring to palm it off as a new one. While on the subject of the foreword, it may be suggested that the printer's description of the work as posthumous (which has led E. K. Chambers to assert, "The printer tells us that the author was dead in 1634" [*Elizabethan Stage*, III, 300]), may actually be no more than a pleasant conceit on the printing of the drama after its successful production. The upper limit for the dating is therefore 1631, with a strong probability that the play was last produced some years earlier. The other limit coincides with the date of Day's *Parliament of Bees* (1608-16), from which *The Noble Spanish Soldier* drew several of its scenes. However, a piece of internal evidence, hitherto unnoticed, seems to connect *The Noble Spanish Soldier* with the child actors. The end of the stage direction for v, iv, reads, "King is very merry, hugging Medina very lovingly," after which the King opens the scene with: "For halfe Spaines weight in Ingots I'd not lose This little man to day." Similar references to the size of the child actors are a commonplace in the Elizabethan drama, although they are usually directed at the boys who took the female rôles in the adult companies (see Massinger's *Duke of Milan*, II, i). It seems incredible, however, that the important male part of Medina, the leader of Onaelia's faction, would be assigned in an adult company to a child. The other alternative, that the remark is a joking reference to the particularly small stature of a male actor, is extremely slight. I have been unable to discover any record of a play which might have been *The Noble Spanish Soldier* in the accounts of the children's companies; but since 1616 marked the last year of their London performances, *The Noble Spanish Soldier*, if it be accepted as a children's play, must have been

On Onaelia's passionate answer, the following dialogue takes place:

King. But who hath plaid the Tyrant with me thus,
And with such dangerous spite abus'd my picture?
Onae. The guilt of that layes claime, Sir, to your selfe;
For, being by you ransack'd of all my fame,
Rob'd of mine honour and deare chastity,
Made by you[r] act the shame of all my house,
The hate of good men and the scorne of bad,
The song of Broome-men and the murdering vulgar,
And left alone to beare up all these illls
By you begun, my breast was fill'd with fire
And wrap'd in just disdaine; and, like a woman,
On that dumb picture wreak'd I my passions.
King. And wish'd it had beene I?
Onae. Pardon me, Sir:
My wrongs were great and my revenge swell'd high.

There are several interesting analogues to this scene. In 1680 Zachary Babington wrote, "A King (an inferior god) would take it ill to have his Image, his Picture, wilfully stab'd through and cut in pieces by any, because it is his."⁴ The reference is only to spiteful desecration, such as Somerset's complaint to James I that someone had thrown dirt in the face of his picture. Comparison may also be made with the medieval stories of the stabbing of the Host by Jews. An example of the defacement of a portrait occurs in Shakespeare's *Rape of Lucrece* (1593-1594). Lucrece,

performed before that date. The children, of course, acted in the provinces up to the closing of the theatres; but Day's revision of the play would seem to connect it with his work for the Children of the Revels in London and to place it in the same general period. Day had written *Law Tricks* in 1604, *The Isle of Gulls* in 1606, and *Humour Out of Breath* in 1607-08, all for the Children of the Revels. Accepting Chambers' statement that *The Parliament of Bees* is subsequent to 1608 (since it describes an "antemaske," a term which came into use only about 1608 [III, 287-88]), the conjecture may be made that Day, at some time around 1610, the end of his period of greatest activity, took the material from his *Parliament of Bees* and reworked or finished *The Spanish Fig* for the Children of the Revels as *The Noble Spanish Soldier*. The printer, then, who in 1634 was endeavoring to pass *The Noble Spanish Soldier* off as a new and popular play, would not have dared to put on the title page, even if he were aware that the company had last produced the play, the name of the Children of the Revels, who had years before stopped acting.

⁴ *Advice to Grand Jurors in Cases of Blood* (1680), p. 29.

gazing on a painting of scenes from the Trojan War, sees a portrait of Sinon, whom she compares to Tarquin:

Here, all enrag'd, such passion her assails
That patience is quite beaten from her breast.
She tears the senseless Sinon with her nails,
Comparing him to that unhappy guest
Whose deed hath made herself herself detest.
At last she smilingly with this gives o'er;
"Fool! fool!" quoth she, "his wounds will not be sore."
(ll. 1562-1568)

Clearly Onaelia has stabbed the portrait to satisfy her frustrated rage: "and, like a woman, On that dumb picture wreak'd I my passions." The King's question, "And wish'd it had beene I?", and her answer indicate, however, a second motive. This enacting of one's bloody intentions on an inanimate object is mentioned in Cutwolfe's speech to Esdras in Nashe's *Unfortunate Traveller* (1594): "I haue neere spent my strength in imaginarie acting on stone wals, what I determined to execute on thee."⁵ Much closer to the incident in the play is a passage in Nashe's *Christs Teares over Jerusalem* (1593): "Who stabbeth or defaceth the picture of a King, but would doe the like to the King himselfe, if he might doe it as conueniently."⁶ The closest parallel, however, occurs in Camden under the year 1591:

That *Hacket* [a mad conspirator against Elizabeth's life] boiled with cruell hatred against the Queen appeareth even by this, That he had often given out that she had forfeited her title to the Crowne, and had furiously defaced her Armes and Picture drawne in a table, striking his dagger thorow her breast.⁷

In Shirley's *Traitor*⁸ (1631) the stabbing of a portrait appears again (v, ii), though in different circumstances, since here Lorenzo is merely accustoming himself to the idea of assassinating Alexander.

I have been
Practis'd already, and though no man see it,
Nor scarce the eye of heaven, yet every day

⁵ *Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. McKerrow, II, 324.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 24.

⁷ William Camden, *Annales or, The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princesse Elizabeth* (3rd. ed., London, 1635), p. 401.

⁸ *Dramatic Works and Poems*, ed. Gifford and Dyce, II.

I kill a prince.—Appear, thou tragic witness,
 [Brings forth the duke's picture, a poniard sticking in it.
 Which, though it bleed not, I may boast a murder.
 Here first the duke was painted to the life,
 But with this pencil to the death: I love
 My brain for the invention, and thus
 Confirm'd, dare trust my resolution.
 I did suspect his youth and beauty might
 Win some compassion when I came to kill him;
 Or the remembrance that he is my kinsman,
 Might thrill my blood; or something in his title
 Might give my blood repulse, and startle nature:
 But thus I have arm'd myself against all pity,
 That when I come to strike, my poniard may
 Through all his charms as confidently wound him,
 As thus I stab his picture, and stare on it.
 [Stabs the picture.

Lorenzo's act has been thought to be related to the belief that a person may be killed by stabbing or maltreating an image of wax or clay—a common practice of witchcraft.⁹ It is clear, however,

⁹ The only analogues to Shirley's lines given by R. S. Forsythe are associated with witchcraft: see *Relations of Shirley's Plays to the Elizabethan Drama*, p. 162. For an account of the witchcraft beliefs and methods, see G. L. Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England*, chap. III. McKerrow in his note (*Works of Nashe*, IV, 216) to the passage quoted from *Christes Teares* reads "picture" as "image," and so relates the passage to this form of witchcraft. The context, however, does not seem to admit such an interpretation without a complete loss of sense. Nashe is crying out against murder, and, by the analogy of the stoning of the prophets, has introduced the idea that we commit a deadly sin in slaying another man when that man may be considered as the "picture" of God: "At my [God's] head *Ierusalem* threw stones when she stoned my Heralds. Who stabbeth or defaceth the picture of a King, but would doe the like to the King himselfe, if he might doe it as conueniently? Euerie Prophet or messenger from the Lord representeth the person of the Lord, as a Herald representeth his Kings person and is the right picture of his royaltie" (*Works*, II, 24). It seems certain that "the right picture of his royaltie" clearly means "image," but that "the picture of a King" (as partially indicated by the modifying "defaceth") is no more than a concrete example, probably referring to Hacket in 1591, of such occurrences as are portrayed in the later plays and in Babington's warning. This concrete example is then related to the context by the parallels which Nashe draws of the heralds and messengers. The concrete meaning may possibly contain the subsidiary meaning of "picture" in the sense of "image," but only in the sense that a man is the image of God. The introduction of

that his object is merely to nerve himself by an imaginary assassination so that he may not be restrained by pity when the crucial moment comes. The witchcraft belief is introduced in the following lines merely because his act has naturally suggested such an allusion, and not because his motive in stabbing the portrait was to injure the Duke by occult means:

Methinks the duke should feel me now: is not
 His soul acquainted? can he less than tremble,
 When I lift up my arm to wound his counterfeit?
 Witches can persecute the lives of whom
 They hate, when they torment their senseless figures,
 And stick the waxen model full of pins.
 Can any stroke of mine carry less spell
 To wound his heart, sent with as great a malice?

For conclusive proof that Lorenzo's stabbing the portrait had no connection with witchcraft, we may appeal to the source, hitherto unnoticed, from which Shirley derived this incident. Lampugnano, one of the assassins of Galeas Maria Sforza of Milan in 1476, prepared himself for the deed by having a portrait of his victim painted and stabbing the picture in its various parts until he considered himself sufficiently prepared for the murder.¹⁰ Shirley has transferred this detail of the assassination of a Sforza to his stage account of the murder of a Medici.

The concluding lines of the passage seem to indicate a further stabbing, but this time from motives of fury such as had actuated Onaelia:

He smiles, he smiles upon me! I will dig
 Thy wanton eyes out, and supply the dark

the witchcraft belief into the interpretation of the passage would result, if the context is considered, in the impossible conception of a man making a waxen image of God and trying to kill Him by sticking pins in it. Furthermore, the addition of "deface" (with its meaning of "cut in pieces") to the stabbing of a picture, rather militates against the witchcraft meaning, particularly when no references can be found in Elizabethan times to show that stabbing a picture was considered the equivalent to sticking pins into a wax image. For the closest parallels see Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, pp. 92-93.

¹⁰ For accounts of this assassination, see C. M. Ady, *History of Milan under the Sforza*, p. 112; J. G. Milligan, *History of Duelling*, I, 312; Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy*, I, 97-98; Burckhardt, *Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. by Middlemore, pp. 56-58.

And hollow cells with two pitch-burning tapers;
Then place thee porter in some charnel-house,
To light the coffins in.—

The lines indicate the return from his musings on witchcraft.

Finally, in William Heminge's *Fatal Contract*¹¹ (acted 1637), Clodimir, the brother of Queen Fredigond, has been slain by the fathers of Dumaine and Lamot for seducing Crotilda, though the guilty man was actually Clotaire. The Queen has sworn revenge, and, to keep her vengeance fresh in her memory, has had painted a picture of the murder in which is included a representation of the horrible deaths which she hopes will, or which she has caused to (the text is very ambiguous), overtake the murderers and their kindred. By a trick she has just induced Dumaine and Lamot to return to court, and, exulting in her forthcoming revenge, she draws a curtain and shows the picture to Castrato, her supposed accomplice, who is really Crotilda in disguise.

Their parents waded in my Brothers blood,
For which i'l be reveng'd of all their kin,
Could they increase as oft as I would kill,
This picture drawn by an *Italian*
(Which I still keep to whet mine anger)
Does represent the murther of my brother. . . .
This old *Dumaine* and father to this maid,
With all his kindred, sociates and allies,
(These brace of wicked ones, and that ravisht whore,
The fair and fatal cause of these events
Only excepted) are here, here in this picture:
Is't not a brave sight, how doth the object like thee?

Nineteen lines follow, descriptive of the carnage she has imagined, or caused, in which she exults over the victims' agony and taunts them as though they were actually present as represented in the picture. She then continues:

Villains that kill'd my Brother; how does this like thee?

(*Stabs the Picture.*)

To execute men in picture, is't not rare? (I, ii)

The Fatal Contract is an extremely derivative work;¹² hence

¹¹ *The Fatal Contract, A French Tragedy*, London, 1661. I have not been able to consult the first edition, of 1653.

¹² For the borrowings from Shakespeare, see J. Q. Adams, "William Heminge and Shakespeare," *MP.*, xii (May, 1914), 51-64; and from

it is likely that Heminge borrowed the idea for his incident and expanded it as a vivid means of dramatizing part of the exposition of his play and linking it with the characterization of the Queen as a bloody villainess. Whether *The Traitor* or *The Noble Spanish Soldier* was his source cannot be determined. The greater prominence of *The Traitor* and the fury of the last lines in its stabbing scene would seem to indicate that Heminge drew from Shirley. The lengthy description of a detailed portrait is similar in form to pieces of epic description, and may have been suggested by Shakespeare's description of the portrait which Lucrece assaults with her nails. The comments of both women are alike self-consciously ironic when their passion subsides to normality. Lorenzo in *The Traitor*, however, had been moved to equal fury by the painted image.

An examination of all the facts seems to indicate that the scene was a part of the oldest version of *The Noble Spanish Soldier*, as a dramatization, perhaps, of the act of Hacket, but certainly of the current ideas of the time as shown in Nashe's *Unfortunate Traveller* (1594), and in Shakespeare's *Lucrece* (1593-94), where a painting is definitely mentioned. If the literal interpretation of the passage in Nashe's *Christs Teares* (1593) be accepted, the idea had already been further crystallized. Shirley's *Traitor* must have been written long after the revision of *The Noble Spanish Soldier*. Shirley, therefore, may have received the first hint for his scene from the earlier play, although the peculiar form which it took in *The Traitor*, and its known source there, indicate rather that the two incidents were arrived at separately by the two dramatists. The more probable hypothesis is that Heminge in 1637 derived his scene from *The Traitor* and expanded it, possibly under the influence of Shakespeare's *Rape of Lucrece*.

FREDSON THAYER BOWERS

Harvard University

Fletcher as well as from Shakespeare, Otto Junge, *The Fatal Contract by William Hemings*, Louvain, 1912, pp. 33-51. Many parallels may also be traced in *The Revenger's Tragedy*.

A FEW NOTES ON SIDNEY'S *LADY OF MAY*

The following words in Sir Philip Sidney's *Lady of May* have been passed over by the *NED*. The form of spelling, the meaning, or the date of usage has not been recorded. The *Lady of May* was written in 1578.

1. *endoctrinated*: This form of the word *indoctrinated* is not recorded in the *NED*. before 1832. The earliest form of *indoctrinated* in the *NED*. is 1626.

2. *gravidated*:² The earliest use of this word recorded in the *NED*. is 1623.

3. *harlotrie*:³ This word occurs in the following passage of the *Lady of May*:

All the bells in the towne could not have sung better, if the proud heart of the harlotrie lie not down to thee now, the sheepes rot catch her, to teach her that a faire woman hath not her fairenesse to let it grow rustish.

Here *harlotrie* cannot mean "harlot" because Dorcas is referring to the heroine of the play whom he wishes a friend of his to win, and who does eventually win her. The meaning is nearly that of "coquette"; certainly no worse than that. Otherwise it would have been an uncomplimentary reference to the Lady of May, and it is possible that the Lady stands for Queen Elizabeth who was present and judged between the two lovers.

Shakespeare's use of the word *harlotrie* in *I Henry IV*, III, ii, 198, is not the same as Sidney's. In *Henry IV* Glendower is speaking contemptuously of his daughter's behavior of which he disapproves. In the *Lady of May* Dorcas dared imply no disrespect.

In fact, Sidney's use of *harlotrie* in the above passage is rather comparable to the use of the word "harlot" meaning "playfully 'good fellow'" as used by Chaucer (1386) in *Prol.* 647 and Chapman (1634) *Revenge Hon. Wks.* (1873) III, 325. The *NED*. records no sixteenth century example of this usage.

4. *subdivisioned*:⁴ The earliest *NED*. record of this word is 1599. No example of the preterit is given.

5. *temptation*:⁵ This word is not recorded in the *NED*. It means that which is practised by the members of the temples, that

¹ *Sidney's Words*, ed. by Feuillerat, Vol. II, p. 335.

² *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 335.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 334.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 335.

is, by the members of the inns of court; but especially it refers to the practices of these members as courtiers, not as lawyers.

6. *templers*:⁶ This spelling is not recorded in the *NED.*, but it apparently means the same as "templars"; see *NED. templar* 2, Sidney's sense, however, is "courtier" rather than "barrister."

J. M. PURCELL

Marquette University

SOME SHAKESPEARE STUDIES OF 1930 AND 1931

The past two years in England and in America brought forth a rich harvest of new Shakespeare editions and new books about Shakespeare. Besides numerous texts such as those of Craig and of Adams, and the two epoch-making volumes of Sir Edmund K. Chambers, special studies of smaller scope throw light for the scholar on not a few vexing Shakespeare problems. No one survey could cover these adequately. The present article has to do with a few, selected almost at random.

Professor Lily B. Campbell¹ of California sets before herself the triple task of examining minutely the purpose and method of renaissance tragedy, determining the Elizabethan concept of moral philosophy, and applying the lessons thereby learned to *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Lear*, and *Macbeth*. The first section of the book traces the popular view of tragedy from Chaucer's well-known definition in the *Monk's Tale* and Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* to the often-printed *Mirror for Magistrates* and Reynolds's *Triumph of God's Revenge* (1621). "Tragedy started to picture the fall of princes. It came to seek an explanation that could justify the ways of God to man." Thus tragedy was by Elizabethans defined as an imitation of life, teaching morals by example. The analysis of moral philosophy in Shakespeare's day presents a more complex problem. Its chief purpose was to teach man to know himself. In the anatomy of his soul were recognized two powers rather than Aristotle's three, the spiritual opposing the sensual. Man's vices were held to be largely the result of one or another dominant passion. By applica-

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

¹ *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes: Slaves of Passion*. By Lily Bess Campbell. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930. Pp. xii + 248. \$5.50.

tion of these principles Miss Campbell finds *Hamlet* a mirror of the passion of grief, *Othello*, a mirror of jealousy, *Lear* of wrath in old age, and *Macbeth* of fear.

In plotting her ground plan, Professor Campbell seems to me to leave little room for argument. Her acquaintance especially with little-known philosophical treatises of fourteenth-, fifteenth-, and sixteenth-century England is wide and profound. Apparently she has laid the foundation for a new chapter in the history of English philosophy. That this has definite bearing on the interpretation of Shakespeare is obvious. For example, a by-product of this study, Dr. Campbell's paper² on sixteenth-century ideas of revenge, effectively answered an over-statement of Adams in his new edition of *Hamlet*.

But to go further, as Miss Campbell does, and consider each Shakespearian tragic hero as an example of one dominant passion, gives reason to pause. Was the dramatist so definitely of an age and not for all time? One readily grants that *Othello* is a tragedy of jealousy, and that this passion motivates both villain and hero. That Roderigo is similarly dominated is questionable. Likewise the passion of fear plays a large part in the lives of both *Macbeth* and his lady, but this does not reveal the entire secret of *Macbeth's* inner nature. Nor is *Lear* in my humble opinion altogether or primarily a study of wrath in old age. To make out her case against angry *Lear*, Miss Campbell ignores *Cordelia's* obstinacy in the face of *Lear's* repeated efforts to draw out some expression of her genuine affection, and his later checking himself in tender care for the supposed ill health of *Cornwall* and *Regan*. One key to *Lear's* character is authority in both home and state. He cannot tolerate disobedience. This trait seems to me to loom larger in him than senile wrath. Of *Hamlet* Miss Campbell states, "The fundamental problem that Shakespeare undertook to answer . . . is the problem of the way men accept sorrow when it comes to them."³ To such comment the only reply is that the children of this world, who for three centuries have enjoyed *Hamlet* on the stage, are wiser in their generation than the children of light.

Despite certain lapses in Professor Campbell's argument, as I have tried to point out, the book makes an actual contribution to

² L. B. Campbell, "Theories of Revenge in Renaissance England," *MP.*, xxviii, 281-296.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 110.

knowledge of the entire background of Elizabethan literature. It is well documented and indexed, beautifully printed, and embellished with a large number of illustrations from contemporary prints.

Professor T. W. Baldwin of Illinois undertakes another study⁴ by the historical method, in this case treating one of the earliest comedies. Dr. Baldwin had already in his excellent Arden edition of *The Comedy of Errors* pointed out a close resemblance between the topography set forth in the enveloping action to that drama and the actual topography of Holywell Priory in Shakespeare's day. This resemblance is the more significant in view of the close proximity of both *The Theatre* and *The Curtain* to Holywell about 1589.

In the present volume Professor Baldwin develops his thesis in more detail. After minutely examining the priory setting of the play, and defining the struggle over religious and political supremacy between Queen Elizabeth and some of her papal subjects, he dilates all circumstances attending the execution of six Jesuits in London in 1588. From this evidence he concludes that Shakespeare was present at the execution of Hartley on October 5, 1588, and adapted the situation to the plot of his play.

Professor Baldwin's patient and thorough search for the truth calls for genuine admiration. This single aim takes him through examination of many controversial pamphlets and not a few unsavory details, but he has pursued it faithfully to the end. Without bias he weighs arguments on both sides of the unhappy controversy, and finds both groups motivated by equally honest convictions. The result is a realistic picture of certain dark historical incidents in Shakespeare's lifetime. But is it ungracious to express the wish that this compact, erudite volume had been given a different title? The words chosen suggest a sensational discovery. The tone of the matter inside its covers is not sensational, nor does the scholarly author claim to have made a demonstration of his theory. He does make it plausible.

Another effort to apply the historical method to the solution of many Shakespeare problems, especially to the authorship of Elizabethan plays, is responsible for the posthumous publication of a new study by the late Arthur Acheson.⁵ In this charmingly printed

⁴ *William Shakespeare Adapts a Hanging*. By T. W. Baldwin. Princeton University Press, 1931. Pp. xii + 202. \$3.50.

⁵ *Shakespeare, Chapman, and Sir Thomas More*. By Arthur Acheson. New York: E. B. Hackett, 1931. Pp. vi + 280.

volume Mr. Acheson reads into various writings of Greene and Nashe bitter personal attacks on Shakespeare. And then he finds the cause of a supposed enmity of George Chapman for Shakespeare in the latter's revision of Chapman's original lines in the play of *Sir Thomas More*. This bold speculation proves only a starting point. In the latter part of the book plays are credited to Greene, Peele, Kyd, Lodge, and Chapman with astounding assurance. Peele is given the mysterious Hand C of *Sir Thomas More*, and Chapman's writing is found to be the "base" of *All's Well*, the *Second Part of Henry IV*, *Pericles*, and other plays too numerous to mention. To such unhappy results have vocabulary tests for authorship of anonymous plays brought enthusiastic Elizabethan scholars.

Strongly in contrast with the method of the three books just discussed, Professor Mackail's *Approach to Shakespeare*⁶ follows a clue literary rather than historical. The author is a classicist and a critic in the full Matthew Arnold tradition. "It is in this handling of life as a whole," Mr. Mackail insists "that the art of Shakespeare culminates; by virtue of this he takes his place as a supreme artist." Again, he urges us "to read Shakespeare, then; to read largely, deeply, freely, incessantly; to read in a receptive, not a critical attitude." Carrying out this injunction he essays to treat the entire corpus of Shakespeare's writing without regard to questions of source, textual authenticity, or disputed chronology. All such worries he waves away in his opening chapter.

Much may be gained by holding such a focus. Professor Mackail wisely characterizes *Romeo and Juliet* as a tragic romance rather than a tragedy, and *Lear* as "less a series of happenings than a crowded turmoil of overlapping rolls of thunder and interlacing flashes of lightning." Shakespeare's day, he states in another connection, "stretched from the fiery dawn of Marlowe to the silver twilight of Massinger. Then night soon fell." Contemporary prose is seldom so happily imaged. Yet the entire book assumes certain facts as the basis for attributing doubtful plays, such as the *Titus Andronicus*, to Shakespeare's sole authorship. It also assumes the establishment of a fixed chronology of composition for the plays though the order is doubtful, for example, with *A Midsummer*

⁶ *The Approach to Shakespeare*. By J. W. Mackail. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930. Pp. vi + 144. \$2.50.

Night's Dream. Thus intelligent criticism in the end must lean on historical facts established by minute research.

The literary approach is likewise the method of Professor Charlton in the two lectures⁷ delivered by him in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. In the first of these lectures Professor Charlton takes *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* to illustrate the sway of conventional romanticism as illustrated by all the characters except Julia and Launce, and points out their remoteness from men of flesh and blood. The second lecture treats *The Comedy of Errors* as an offspring of classicism, a recoil from the earlier fashion, "but a recoil which amply indicates that the recoiler will soon be turned again towards romance." Each lecture does much to place the play in a proper setting with a long literary tradition in its rear. Apparently we may look for more such lucid studies to follow.

Finally, Professor Fulton's *College Shakespeare*⁸ is one of a number of Shakespearian texts prepared especially for American classrooms. This volume includes five representative plays: *Richard III*, *1 Henry IV*, *As You Like It*, *Hamlet*, and *King Lear*. Neilson's text is followed, and the volume, though compact, carries a printer's type surprisingly large and attractive to the eye. Introductions and notes are at a minimum, but stage directions and marginal divisions are sometimes too conspicuous. An example is in the scene of the blinding of Gloucester in *Lear*, where a twentieth-century stage direction informs us; "*The Servants hold him back in his chair while CORNWALL stamps on his eye.*" Such barbarity exceeds the Elizabethan at his worst.

ROBERT ADGER LAW

The University of Texas

⁷ *Romanticism in Shakespearian Comedy*. By H. B. Charlton. Manchester: The University Press, 1930. Pp. 23.

Shakespeare's Recoil from Romanticism. By H. B. Charlton. Manchester: The University Press, 1931. Pp. 27.

⁸ *The College Shakespeare*. Edited Maurice G. Fulton. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. x + 641. \$1.80.

ROTROU'S *DOM BERNARD DE CABRÈRE* AND ITS
SOURCE *LA PRÓSPERA FORTUNA DE DON*
BERNARDO DE CABRERA

Puibusque¹ suggested, as a source of Jean Rotrou's *Dom Bernard de Cabrère*,² the *Adversa fortuna de Don Bernardo de Cabrera*, a comedy attributed both to Lope and to Mira de Amescua. Although this suggestion has been repeated by most authors who have concerned themselves with the subject, an examination of the Spanish play reveals few points of resemblance to the French beyond the title and the cast of characters. The real source is *la Próspera fortuna de Don Bernardo de Cabrera*, of which *la Adversa fortuna* is the sequel. Both of these Spanish plays, falsely attributed to Lope de Vega, were published in the same volume in 1634.³ Their authorship is not yet definitely known.⁴

In Rotrou's play and the *Próspera fortuna* the hero meets with good fortune at every turn and Don Lope in both plays suffers a series of misfortunes. In the *Adversa fortuna*, which Rotrou did not use, the situation is reversed in regard to the hero and Don Lope.

With the exception of Inés, *suivante*, and Pérez, *secrétaire*, the names of Rotrou's characters are taken from the Spanish play.⁵ The theme of both plays is the same, for both deal with two men, Don Bernard and Don Lope, who come to the court of the king to seek their fortunes. Don Bernard immediately receives the royal favor and steadily grows in the grace of the king, until at

¹ *Histoire comparée des littératures espagnole et française*, 1843, II, 414.

² Paris, Sommaille, 1647. Citations will be from this edition.

³ See Hugo A. Rennert, *Life of Lope de Vega*, Philadelphia, Campion, 1904, p. 355.

⁴ In his revision of Rennert's work, Castro says that neither of the two Spanish plays is by Lope and suggests that they may be by Amescua (*Vida de Lope de Vega*, por Rennert y Castro, Madrid, 1919, pp. 458, 511).

⁵ In Rotrou's *Dom Bernard*, Dom Bernard de Cabrère, *fauory du Roy*, Dom Lope de Lune, *amy de Dom Bernard*, Dom Pedre, *Roy d'Aragon*, L'Infante (whose name in the play is Violante), Leonor, Le Comte, Lazarille, Le Gouverneur de Saragosse, and Dorothee (an elderly woman), correspond respectively in *la Próspera fortuna* to: Don Bernardo de Cabrera, Don Lope de Luna, El Rey (who in the play is known as Pedro of Aragon), Doña Violante, *Infanta*; Leonor, El Conde de Ribagorza, Lázaro, Un Gobernador, and Dorotea, *vieja*.

the end he is promised the Infanta as his wife. On the other hand, Don Lope, who is just as deserving as Don Bernard, is time and again the victim of misfortune. Finally, when he has despaired of ever gaining the good will of the king, he leaves court. Then in both plays, after Don Lope has left, the king realizes that he has been unwittingly unjust to this man, and the audience may hope that he will make amends for his error.

Furthermore, practically all of the situations in the French play are derived from the Spanish. Indeed, of the forty-one scenes appearing in Rotrou's play, there are only ten not traceable to the source, whereas there are nineteen that are very clearly inspired by the Spanish play and the remaining twelve may, also, come from this source.

In the first act, Don Lope tries to gain the attention of the king, but each time is hindered and fails through no fault of his own. The same obstacles arise in both the French and the Spanish plays: the arrival of the governor with a message for the king, the king's receiving a letter from his mistress so that he does not hear what D. Lope is saying, and finally, when D. Lope presents his request in written form, the arrival of the king's mistress herself, who stumbles as she enters the room, causing the king to drop the request as he helps her. The main resemblance in the second act is D. Bernard's account of the battle with Sardinia. The accounts of this engagement in the two plays are practically identical and the king falls asleep just when D. Lope's name is mentioned as the hero of the day. This is the main theme in the second act of the French play and occupies a position of prominence in the Spanish play as well. In the third act the king discovers his secretary writing a love note to the woman whom he, the king, loves. He is very angry with the secretary and has him thrown into prison. When D. Bernard arrives with the count to beg the king again to recognize D. Lope, the king thinks they are interceding for the secretary and tells them of a great crime committed by the person they wish to help. This time as well, Rotrou has borrowed another of D. Lope's misfortunes from the Spanish play. In the fourth act we find the account of another battle. Here the battle itself is not the same in the two plays, but D. Bernard in both refers to the distinguished deeds of D. Lope as those of a "soldier." The king thinks that D. Bernard is referring to him-

self in this way, through modesty, and rewards everyone except D. Lope. Finally, in the fifth act, D. Bernard is questioned as to whom he loves, but he hesitates to answer, saying that the important thing is to be loved rather than to love. This incident is drawn from the Spanish play. Then D. Lope approaches the king's sister, who he thinks has been sending him love notes, and speaks to her about them. She believes him crazy, as does the king, when D. Lope asks him of what crime he is guilty. This situation occurs, too, in the source. Then at the end, D. Lope leaves court in both plays, after he is disillusioned in regard to the woman who loves him, and the king discovers only after he has gone how he has been unwittingly unjust to this man.

The verbal similarities between the two plays are worthy of notice, as well as the resemblances in situation. In the second act particularly there are many similarities in the account of the battle. When the soldiers arrived in Sardinia, they were much impressed by the cunning of the enemy, who had strewn hidden obstacles in their path:

Mais pour estre deserts, les champs n'estoient pas seurs.
Car cette ingrante ville en ruses trop experte,
Auoit d'arbres couchez la campagne couuerte,
Et parsemé de clouds les chemins d'alentour, . . .

Don Bernard de Cabrère, II, 3; 472-475.

Sin gente estaban los campos,
y aunque solos, no seguros,
que receloso el contrario,
se previno, como astuto.
Arboles atravesados
en todo el camino puso,
y en otras partes del campo,
clavos secretos y agudos.

La Próspera fortuna, II, p. 652, I.^o

Then the deed by which D. Lope saved the day, is the same in both plays:

On ouure, à sa requeste; il obtient audience,
Et sur l'esprit de tous, gaigne tant de creance,
Qu'à la teste souuent de cinq ou six d'entre-eux,
Nous venant faire au camp des deffis genereux,
En diferentes fois, il se feist des plus braues,

^o *La Próspera fortuna de Don Bernardo de Cabrera*, in *Obras de Lope de Vega*, Madrid, 1930, VIII, pp. 637-673.

Par nostre intelligence, vn tel nombre d'esclaues,
 Qu'enfin tous ioinets ensemble, & s'estant par moyens,
 Pratiqué le secours de quelques Cytoyens,
 Par qui de ce secret ie receus le message,
 Dans les murs ennemis, ils se firent passage,
 Et Dom Lope, s'acquist vn renom glorieux, . . .

Dom Bernard de Cabrère, II, 3; 529-539.

Abrieron, entró, y a todos
 a crédito los redujo,
 y otro día salió al campo
 desafiando los tuyos.
 Dos a dos y tres a tres
 cautivos llevaba, y juntos
 éstos después nos abrieron
 una puerta por el muro.
 Entró el ejército entonces,
 y, gozando deste triunfo,
 rindió don Lope a Cerdeña . . .

Próspera fortuna, II, p. 652, II.

Finally, in the fifth act, when D. Lope leaves court, D. Bernard
 tries to call him back in the same way in both plays:

Si vous vous esloignez, vous ostez à l'Estat,
 Sa plus noble deffense & son meilleur soldat;
 (*D. Lope s'en va.*)

Ecoutez, attendez.

Dom Bernard de Cabrère, V, 7; 1697-1699.

Si ansí, don Lope, te vas,
 se pierde el mejor soldado
 que tuvo España jamás.
 Oye, espera.

Próspera fortuna, III, p. 672, I.

In studying the source of the play, we find that the changes
 made by Rotrou, often as significant as the borrowings, are made
 principally in order to accomplish two ends: to preserve the
 unities and to put more emphasis on the psychological element
 in character portrayal. In the Spanish play two battles with
 Sardinia take place and several days would be required to go from
 Spain to Sardinia. Rotrou changes these battles so that the first
 has already taken place before the play begins and the second
 occurs at Saragossa, the scene of the play, which thus requires only
 one night. As a result, although the play may represent slightly
 more than twenty-four hours, it does not require more than two
 days. Rotrou eliminates the garden scenes and has all the action

take place within the palace. In order more nearly to observe the unity of action, he has eliminated much of subordinate interest in the Spanish play, particularly in connection with the love element which, in the earlier work, occupies a place out of proportion to its importance. Rotrou has all of the action support the theme of the play, the undeserved misfortunes of D. Lope and the contrasting good fortune of D. Bernard.

In the Spanish play we know practically nothing of what passes in the king's mind, but Rotrou introduces whole scenes for this purpose. He portrays the king as a person who thinks a great deal of his duty to the state and, at the same time, is capable of a strong passion for a woman. As a consequence we find a conflict within him between his duty as a king and his love, which is by necessity opposed to it. This conflict is first, and, perhaps, best expressed in Act I, scene 5:

Ma plus sensible peine, en ce que ie propose,
Est que mon dessein mesme, à mon dessein s'oppose,
Et que pouuant vser d'un pouuoir absolu,
Ie cesse de vouloir, si tost que i'ay voulu;
Que dans la mesme cause, & criminel, & iuge,
De l'obiet offensé ie deuens le refuge,
Et de quelques efforts que ie sois combatu,
N'ay pas assez d'amour pour manquer de vertu.
Ainsi mon cœur pressé par l'un & l'autre extrême,
Est le champ d'un combat de moy contre moy-même,
Qui lasche, ou genereux, foible, ou fort que ie suis,
Protege en même temps, l'honneur que ie poursuis.

Dom Bernard de Cabrère, I, 5; 209-220.

In short, by centering attention on a single problem, the rôle of fate in the career of two men, by observing the unities of time and place and stressing the psychological struggle, Rotrou produced a play of more finished form than the Spanish original, which depended for its interest upon a series of exciting incidents.

MARY HELEN JESSUP

University of Southern California

DANTE AND THE *VISIO PAULI*

As the eleventh canto of the *Inferno* opens, Dante and Vergil arrive at the brink of the foul-smelling abyss that leads down to the seventh circle of Hell, and there, before descending to view the greater torments, they pause near the tomb of the heretical Pope Anastasius:

venimmo sopra più crudele stipa;
 e quivi per l'orribile soperchio
 del puzzo che'l profondo abisso gitta,
 ci raccostammo, in dietro, ad un coperchio
 d'un grand'avello, ov'io vidi una scritta
 che dicea: "Anastasio papa guardo,
 lo qual trasse Fotin de la via dritta."
 "Lo nostro scender conviene esser tardo,
 sì che s'ausi un poco in prima il senso
 al tristo fiato; e poi no i fia riguardo."
 Così'l maestro; . . . (ll. 3-13)

It seems never to have been noticed that Dante could have found a striking suggestion for these lines in the *Visio Pauli*, the late medieval versions of which—both in Latin and in the vernaculars—were widely current in his day. There St. Paul, weeping for the suffering of the sinners in torment, is admonished by his guide, the Archangel Michael, and then taken to see the greater punishments:

"Quare ploras, Paule? Nondum vidisti maiores penas inferni." Et ostendit illi puteum signatum .vij. sigillis et ait illi: "Sta longe, ut possis sustinere fetorem hunc." Et aperto ore putei surrexit fetor malus et durus superans omnes penas inferni. Et dixit angelus: "Si quis mittatur in hoc puteo, non fiet commemoracio eius in conspectu domini." Et dixit Paulus: "Qui sunt hi, domine, qui mittuntur in eo?" Et dixit angelus: "Qui non credunt, filium dei Christum venisse in carnem nec nasci ex Maria virgine et non baptizati sunt nec communicati corpore et sanguine Christi."¹

In addition to the general similarity of this and the Dante passage, there are two details in which they are especially reminiscent of one

¹ Herman Brandes, *Visio S. Pauli* (Halle, 1885), pp. 77-78. For the passage as it appears in the vernacular versions, cf., for example, A. F. Ozanam, *Dante et la philosophie catholique au treizième siècle* (Paris, 1839), p. 350, ll. 190-208, and P. Villari, *Antiche leggende e tradizioni che illustrano la Divina Commedia*, p. 79.

another. First, Michael's words, "Nondum vidisti maiores penas inferni," when Paul weeps, suggest Dante's "venimmo sopra più crudele stipa." And the Archangel's warning about the stench of the pit, "Sta longe, ut possis sustinere fetorem hunc," recall in Dante both the words,

e quivi per l'orribile soperchio
del puzzo che'l profondo abisso gitta,
ci raccostammo, in dietro, ad un coperchio
d'un grand'avello, . . .

and Vergil's remark,

"Lo nostro scender conviene esser tardo,
sì che s'ausi un poco in prima il senso
al tristo fiato; . . ."

Nor does it seem merely a coincidence, since the pit in the *Visio Pauli* is the torture-place of unbelievers, that Dante's pause before entering the seventh circle brings to his notice the most shocking example of unbelief, a heretical pope.

Now, among the large body of other-world visions that Dante might have known, descriptions of a foul-smelling abyss are frequent;² but only two such visions—*St. Patrick's Purgatory* and the *Vision of Tundale*—contain accounts of a pit like that in the *Visio Pauli*.³ But in *St. Patrick's Purgatory* the description has no trace of the two details that in the *Visio Pauli* recall the *Divina Commedia*. And as for Tundale, it is chiefly fear, and not the stench with which he must contend.⁴

² Cf., among others, Bede's "Vision of Drihthelm," *Historia ecclesiastica*, v, xii (Migne, xciv, 248D-249A); the "Vision of Alberic," F. Cancellieri, *Osservazioni intorno alla questione promossa sopra l'originalità della Divina Commedia* (Rome, 1814), p. 162; and the "Vision of Thurchill," Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum* (Rolls Series), II, 30 f., and Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora* (Rolls Series), II, 507 f.

³ T. A. Jenkins, *L'Espurgatoire Seint Patriz of Marie de France* (Philadelphia, 1894), p. 102, l. 1263—p. 103, l. 1296; and Villari, p. 64. For *Tundale*, Villari, p. 39. It should be noted that not all the versions of even these two visions describe the pit in a manner significant for the present discussion. Cf., for example, John Colgan, *Triadis thaumaturgae seu divorum Patricii Columbae et Brigidae . . . Acta* (Louvain, 1647), p. 277, sec. 14; and A. Wagner, *Visio Tnugdali* (Erlangen, 1882), pp. 33 f., and 156-157.

⁴ "Allora mi venne sì grande ambastio, e sì grande tremore e tribulazione,

That Dante knew the *Visio Pauli* many scholars ever since Ozanam have assumed, generally on the basis of Dante's reference to St. Paul as one who had preceded him to the other world.⁵ But they have never pointed out, so far as I am aware, any details common to Dante and the *Visio Pauli* which cannot also be found elsewhere in the current vision literature.⁶ The pit passage in the *Visio Pauli*, if its striking similarity to the lines in the *Divina Commedia* is not merely a coincidence, seems thus to offer the only clear evidence that we have of Dante's use of that vision.

H. T. SILVERSTEIN

Cambridge, Massachusetts

REVIEWS

Shakespeare and Shallow. By LESLIE HOTSON. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1931. Pp. xiv + 375. \$4.00.

When an archer hits the clout, in so to speak his maiden shot, Detraction may exclaim, "Perhaps it was an accident!" When he reaches the mark again, "accident" will not explain it. When the third shot once more goes straight and true, it is time to dub him

Adam Bell or Clim o' the Clough
Or William of Cloudesleigh.

Dr. Hotson is cordially to be congratulated, for his good fortune in the discovery of a new contemporary allusion to Shakespeare, for

che'l mi pareva che tutta la terra si scorlasse fortemente. . . ." (Villari, p. 39.)

⁵ *Inf.*, II, 28-33. Cf. Ozanam, pp. 331 f., note 3; and Alessandro d'Ancona, "I Precursori di Dante," *Scritti Danteschi* (Florence, 1913), p. 39. On the contrary, F. d'Ovidio, "Dante e San Paolo," *Studi sulla Divina Commedia* (Caserta, 1931), II, 66, denies that this passage in the *Inferno* gives any clue to Dante's knowledge of the vision.

⁶ The guide through hell, the bridges (*Inf.*, XXI, 1-3), the monster Cerberus (*Inf.*, VI, 13-33), the immersion of sinners in a fiery stream to depths varying according to their sins (*Inf.*, XII, 103-126)—all features of the *Visio Pauli* (cf. Brandes, pp. 65-68, 75-80, *et passim*)—are likewise to be found in many of the other visions. Cf. E. J. Becker, *A Contribution to the Comparative Study of the Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell* (Baltimore, 1899), pp. 31, 18, 46, 47; *Divina Commedia*, ed. C. H. Grandgent (1911), p. 97; and d'Ovidio, II, 78-82.

the determination and success with which he has pursued his inquiries, and for his clever exploitation of the results. Dr. Hotson's researches in this case took him to the rolls of the Queen's Bench, where his attention was arrested by a set of entries described as "petitions for sureties of the peace", and among them he found one, under date of November 29, 1596, which, Englished, reads: "Be it known that William Wayte craves sureties of the peace again William Shakespeare, Francis Langley, Dorothy Soer wife of John Soer and Anne Lee for fear of death and so forth." Dr. Hotson immediately dug deeper to find that this was in a sense a retaliatory "petition" and that, while Shakespeare's name does not therein appear, an earlier writ of Francis Langley had already issued as against this William Wayte and one William Gardiner. An examination into the identity of these people discloses in Langley the well known builder of the Swan theater on the Bankside. His association in any wise with Shakespeare had not been heretofore suspected. Wayte, the complainant, is described as "a loose person of no reckoning whatever," and Gardiner emerges as Justice of the Peace in Southwark, home of the old playhouses, notorious for his extortions and crookedness in dealing, the avowed enemy of the theatre, if we are to accept implicitly the legal documents against him. Shakespeare had not been identified with the Bankside at so early a date heretofore, and the inference that he had removed thence from St. Helens Bishopgate because his company had dealings with Langley and the Swan is natural. That he should have been thus bound over to keep the peace need not surprise those who recall the lively quarrel of the Burbages about their Theater in Holywell. As Dr. Hotson reminds us, the age was not only litigious, but quarrelsome. Jonson killed his man; two or three of the other dramatists were less successful duellists. Shakespeare as well as Marlowe "carried steel by his side," though, happily for us, he did not perish by it, as did Day and Porter.

So much for the facts. But in our modern game of historical and biographical research, inference is lawful—though some seem not to think so—and the aim of the game is to carry conviction as to such inference to as many minds as possible, to the end that the findings of this particular case shall be accepted as of the body of truth. Dr. Hotson's major inference is that Justice Robert Shallow, host of Falstaff in *2 Henry IV* and a minor personage in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, is Shakespeare's representation on the stage of Justice William Gardiner of Southwark, a caricature of course and intended as such. To support this identification, Dr. Hotson notes among others the following similarities, to quote:

Robert Shallow, esquire, in the county of Gloucester justice of peace and *coram (quorum)*, bears a coat of arms in which white lutes "agreea well, *passant*." He owns a park with a keeper's lodge. He boasts of his youthful prowess with the sword. He endeavours to marry his nephew Slender to a young heiress, Anne Page.

William Gardiner, esquire, in the county of Surrey justice of peace and *quorum*, bears a coat of arms in which white lucas are blazoned beside a griffin *passant*. He owns a park with a gatehouse. In his youth he was fined for drawing blood in a fight. He married his stepson Wayte to a young heiress, Joan Tayler.

Into these coincidences we cannot go further here. This quotation sufficiently establishes the premises.

Let us look at the two men: Gardiner was notorious, to use Professor Hotson's own words, for his "greed, usury, fraud, cruelty, and perjury"; though it is fair to remember that this portrait is drawn from the legal documents of his opponents in the many law suits in which he was involved. A gentleman by birth, Gardiner was sometime a warden of the Company of Grey Tawyers or dressers of leather, he was distinctly a townsman and, besides his Justiceship, three times elected Sheriff, a churchwarden, a moneyed man, avaricious no doubt and litigious to the degree that made him feared, even hated, by his neighbors. Whether Gardiner was of the overbearing bulk and stature of Massinger's Sir Giles Overreach, or a ferret-like personage of diminutive size and puny build, we do not know. He had some neighbors who testified well of him as of "good and honest conversation and to be a just and true man of his word"; and when he died he had a magnificent heraldic funeral and was buried in state. As I carefully once more reread Shakespeare's Shallow, I find him a genial, hospitable, if puny and doddering old country squire, easily flustered by business, boasting of his prowess in the old days of revelry; an out-and-out rustic, not notoriously dishonest and not quite completely, though almost, a fool. I do not gather that Dr. Hotson infers that Shallow in his completeness is Gardiner. It is conceivable that the initial scene of *The Merry Wives* may have been suggested to Shakespeare by the accident of Gardiner's quartering of the three lucas of his former wife with his own coat of arms; but it seems to me at least as probable, considering disparities as well as likenesses, that Shakespeare might have seen the same quartering, described by Dugdale—perhaps incorrectly—as "a dozen white lucas" in the chancel of Warwick Church which he may very well have known as a boy. The luce was commonly employed in heraldry, and, as a matter of fact, twelve "lucas hauriant argent" are displayed in one of the quarterings of the contemporary Earl of Northampton. (J. Q. Adams' *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 84). I am not defending the old identification of Shallow, a bachelor, a rustic, a "starveling", with Shakespeare's dignified, portly, gentleman, Sir Thomas Lucy, the head of an aristocratic county family; but I am wondering whether this new suggestion is, in reality, so very much more likely than the older discredited story.

An important inference follows Dr. Hotson's identification of Shallow with Gardiner; but I am by no means prepared to say that it must fall with it. As Gardiner died in November 1597 and we

cannot think of Shakespeare lampooning a dead man, it follows that the usual dates assigned to the composition of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 1598 to 1601, and the two parts of *Henry IV*, which must have preceded them, are in need of revision. Professor Hotson assigns, it would seem to me with great cogency, "The Feast of the Garter on April 23, 1597, as the obvious occasion for the first production of *The Merry Wives*," and thus brings into harmony the satirical hits of that play—in the quarto especially—at the reported misconduct of Frederick, "Duke de Jarmany", and his followers on his visit to England sometime earlier in abusing the right to impress horses for their travel. Frederick was elected to the Order of the Garter on that occasion, but, as Dr. Caius says in allusion to his absence, "dere is no duke that de court is know to come." (*Merry Wives*, IV, iii, 1-14; v, 64-94.)

One of Professor Hotson's reviewers opens his article with the declaration that the discovery has "left me quite cold," and he tells of the things which he would rather have discovered about Shakespeare. There are a plenty of such things, and most of us spend our time guessing about them. I am grateful to Dr. Hotson for what he gives us, I have praise for his industry, his argument and his zeal; and if we cannot follow him all the way, we can none the less applaud the points that he has made and admire his vigorous and skillful playing of the game.

FELIX E. SCHELLING

University of Pennsylvania

Shakespeare's Problem Comedies. By WILLIAM WITHERLE LAWRENCE. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. xi + 259. \$3.00.

Professor Lawrence gives us one of the sanest of recent books about Shakespeare. Though his concern is chiefly to illuminate *All's Well that Ends Well*, *Measure for Measure*, *Troilus and Cressida*, and the wager plot in *Cymbeline*, his discussion of method in his first chapter forms a valuable supplement to the work of Professor Stoll and should be read by all who find themselves perplexed by the notorious irreconcilability of the critics and commentators. After distinguishing the problem comedy from tragedy, tragi-comedy, and romantic comedy, Mr. Lawrence makes a cogent argument for the primacy of the narrative element in Shakespeare's dramaturgy, pointing out that, although the poet sometimes wrote over the heads of the groundlings, such material was never at variance with the simpler meaning of the play but always an extension of it. Where "the basis of his story-telling" was a medieval tale, the critic's point of departure should be to inquire

what the theme of the drama meant to its Elizabethan audience, familiar, whether lettered or not, with the "unit of narrative" from its appearance in such literary forms as Boccaccio's or Bandello's, in popular narrative, or in an old play. Such an approach, Mr. Lawrence rightly insists, is more comprehensive and more significant than the usual sort of source study.

Sometimes the key to the meaning will lie in the retention of archaic plot-material, or of conceptions of life and manners characteristic of folk-tales. Sometimes guidance must be sought rather in aristocratic conventions, which, like those of the peasantry, developed a logic of their own, often equally at variance with common-sense. . . . Curious and outworn customs and modes of thought, whether aristocratic or popular, are often quite inseparable from the plot, because they alone explain it properly, and make clear how its apparent irrationalities could still have been accepted as story-telling, although in actual practice in real life their validity had long since departed. So with characterization, which is often greatly influenced in a similar way.

To the examination of such conventions, implicit in Shakespeare's plays, Mr. Lawrence applies his medieval learning. In the case of *All's Well*, for example, the dramatist's intentions are clarified by establishing, through summaries of analogues, what the conventions were. By this method, he reaches his convictions

that Helena was meant by Shakespeare to be wholly noble and heroic, and fully justified in her conduct, both in the winning of Bertram and in the manner of fulfilling his conditions for their union after their marriage; that the Elizabethan audience would have accepted these "tricks" as valid without question; that Bertram's sudden change of heart was a convention of mediaeval and Elizabethan story, which must be expected to follow Helena's triumph; that there is no implication that their after life would be anything but happy; and that the blackening of the character of Bertram and the disagreeable qualities of the Clown and Parolles are explainable for reasons of dramatic contrast and dramatic motivation.

While, Mr. Lawrence concludes, one need not maintain that the play seemed a pleasant one to Shakespeare's audience, "it is far more unsavory to us than it was to them, and . . . the effect which it was intended to create has been generally misunderstood."

The total effect of this study is to place the problem comedies somewhat closer to the rest of Shakespeare's work than they are usually taken to stand. Technically, the dramatist is shown proceeding along familiar lines. In Mr. Lawrence's last chapter the influence of contemporary plays and especially the vogue of Jonsonian realism is recognized. The specialized approach naturally fails to allow for those hidden springs of creation which rise within the inner life of the artist. Though closely related to it, they are not precisely the same thing as the mere reaction of his mind to the impact of external experience, which Dowden made so much of, and against which Mr. Lawrence argues stoutly. His book answers well such questions as, "What did Shakespeare intend us to think of Helena?" "Is the Duke of Vienna a consistent and psychological

portrait, or is he constructed to subserve the interests of plot?" But to know the solution of such problems of interpretation, or to learn that Cressida had become a wanton before Shakespeare, does not tell us why the poet of happy love in the romantic comedies chose to sneer at beauty in the *Troilus*. Surely something had happened to Shakespeare, something more serious even than a bereavement, disappointed ambition, or the pangs of middle age; the tone of the problem comedies is not wholly explicable in terms of conventions and vogues.

But Shakespeare scholarship was at its worst when it was occupied chiefly in trying to pluck the heart out of that mystery. Save for a suggestion that the disillusion of middle life may have prompted the poet, Mr. Lawrence wisely sticks to his last. His book is a notable example of what can yet be done in Shakespeare criticism by the union of an attractive style, a sound method, special knowledge, and common sense.

HAZELTON SPENCER

A Study of Patriotism in the Elizabethan Drama. By RICHARD VLIET LINDABURY. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1931. Pp. viii + 218. Cloth, \$3.00; paper, \$2.00.

Mr. Lindabury's book, apparently a dissertation, presents in catalogue form a collection of patriotic expressions from the plays of Elizabeth's reign. His list of plays is based on that of E. K. Chambers, in *The Elizabethan Stage*. All of Shakespeare's great tragedies, most of which discuss in some form the question of loyalty, are, therefore, excluded. *King Lear*, for example, presents a searching analysis of the very nature of kingship and the basis of authority in general, but because Elizabeth died in 1603, it finds no place in this book. Mr. Lindabury's study would have been much more interesting and far more significant if he had extended his limit through the lifetime of Shakespeare.

But more serious is the failure to include in this work plays which, though not published until after 1603, give evidence of having been written during Elizabeth's reign. Dekker's *Whore of Babylon* is a case in point. This play is one of the most important patriotic expressions of the time, presenting, as it does, Elizabeth's struggle with her Catholic enemies both at home and abroad. Mr. Lindabury, moreover, has not included masques and pageants—most certainly dramatic forms. A casual glance at Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth* will indicate the patriotic character of a large body of dramatic material which has been entirely neglected in this study. Likewise, I find no evidence that the author is acquainted with T. S. Graves' article, "Some Allusions to Religious

and Political Plays" (*MP*, ix, 545-554.) No attention, therefore, is given to such casual things as the farces performed on Elizabeth's coming to the throne, about which Philip made a vigorous protest.

Even for the plays included, the author has failed to realize the full significance of many. I find, for example, six references to Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, but there is no indication that Mr. Lindabury is conscious of Ulysses' famous speech on "degree," usually referred to as Shakespeare's "ripest political wisdom." Here we have a defense of the very basis of loyalty to a sovereign, the very nature of constituted authority; but no attention is paid to it in this "study of patriotism in the Elizabethan drama." The Trojan "camp scene" in the same play is a discussion of national policy, a question of peace or war, strikingly similar to the debates over peace with Spain which occurred again and again in the Council; but it finds no place in his chapter on "The Attitude to War."

Mr. Lindabury fails to see the full significance of Shakespeare's *Troilus* largely because he neglects non-dramatic sources and limits himself to the drama. "Patriotism" is not closely enough related to the drama to make it a profitable subject for investigation in that field exclusively. It is not, in other words, "a drama subject." There is a great need for a study of Elizabethan patriotism, but it must be a comprehensive study, embracing both the literary and historical documents of the period.

Even with the above defects, the study would still be of value if it were presented in some usable form. It is arranged by topics, without any classification of authors or of time. One of the things we would like to see cleared up through a study of this kind is Shakespeare's attitude toward the political and social questions of his time, but Mr. Lindabury gives us very little light. Instead we seem to get a series of notes arranged under such heads as "English Character," "The Education of Englishmen," "Rome," "The Soldier," "Elizabeth," and lacking any apparent order within the chapters. Elizabethan patriotism was not constant, but was influenced by national and international events. Elizabeth's popularity, for example, reached a peak with the Armada and declined rapidly in the closing years of her reign, especially after Essex's fall. The blind devotion and unquestioning loyalty of 1588 gave way to a general feeling of discontent and a literature of disillusion and cynicism from 1599 on. The Queen herself sensed this decline, and every historian from Camden to Cheney has noted it. But Mr. Lindabury is oblivious to it all. Had he used the historical method he could not have escaped it.

In general the book represents such material as is usually gathered on three-by-five cards by candidates for the Ph. D., but seldom printed without further study and digestion. Even as a disserta-

tion it should give more evidence that the writer is aware of the relation of his notes to the problems which are being discussed by scholars in his field. The work does illustrate, however, the fact that there is a wide difference between dissertation form and book form.

RAY HEFFNER

The Johns Hopkins University

Dialogues Curieux entre l'Auteur et un Sauvage de Bon Sens qui a Voyagé, et Mémoires de l'Amérique Septentrionale. Par BARON DE LAHONTAN. Edited by GILBERT CHINARD. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1931. Pp. 271.

The 1703 English translation of Baron de Lahontan's *Voyages* has been easily accessible in our libraries in the edition by Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, published in Chicago in 1905. But the complete French version of this important work is not available to most students, and Professor Chinard has satisfied a real need by editing the *Mémoires* and the *Dialogues Curieux*, which are the sections of particular value for the study of literature and of the history of ideas. Professor Chinard has printed from the 1703 edition, but he has also given the variants from the more "polished" version of 1705, presumably by Gueudeville, including the entire *rifacimento* of the third conversation of the *Dialogues*. The tendencies of Lahontan's work, though not modified in essentials, are even more explicit in the revised version, which must therefore be regarded as an important supplement to the 1703 editions in French and English. Professor Chinard has also reprinted the *Prefaces* of 1703 and 1705, as well as a brochure by Lahontan which exists in a unique copy in the library of the Maryland Historical Society. Thus we have collected in one beautifully printed volume the essential documents for the study of Lahontan's primitivism.

A comprehensive introduction gives us a judicious survey of the work and influence of Lahontan. Since Professor Chinard last touched on this subject he has accumulated considerable new information, especially on Lahontan's vogue in England. He presents some interesting parallels from *Gulliver's Travels*, although, as was to be expected, there is no evidence that Swift felt any sympathy with the primitivistic tendencies of Lahontan. But there were many eminent men of the century, from Leibnitz to Lord Monboddo and Chateaubriand, who were seriously influenced by the ideas of the *Voyages*, and there can be no doubt of the considerable vogue and authority enjoyed by Lahontan's work both in England and France.

It is of some importance in the history of English thought that

the *Dialogues Curieux* owe their existence, according to their author's own account, to the encouragement from some English gentlemen who read them in translation in 1703. Among these, if we may hazard a guess from an allusion in Lahontan's French preface of 1703, was Dr. Hans Sloane. But even though precise details are lacking, the fact that such bold primitivism received a hospitable reception in London at that date, is worthy of more than passing notice.

As Professor Chinard points out, the study of the influence of voyage literature on English thought has not as yet been done with the thoroughness of parallel studies for France. I should like, therefore, to call attention to a passage bearing on this general subject from *Hibernicus's Letters*, No. 89, first printed in *The Dublin Journal* for December 10, 1726. I quote from the second edition of the reprint of the *Letters* (London, 1734), II, 306-7:

The Inhabitants of *Europe*, who boast themselves the politest and most civilized part of Mankind, are, upon all occasions, exceedingly facetious on the Manners and Customs of the poor *Barbarians*, who possess the other three great Continents. Yet these latter seem, for the most part, to follow Nature much more closely than we do. The many Volumes of *Voyages* and *Adventures*, of *Itineraries* and *Pilgrimages*, which have been published among us, to display their Rudeness and Barbarity, give us indeed a fair Occasion to pity them for their want of many Advantages which we enjoy, by the means of Letters and Commerce; but afford us very little ground of triumphing over them, either as to the natural Superiority of our Understanding, or the Purity of our Virtue. Their Piety, however mistaken they are, as to the Object or Expression of it, is generally fervent and unaffected; and their Commerce with Mankind fair and honest without any Art or Disguise, except what they have acquired from some Refinements the polite *Europeans* have imparted to them.

As for other Matters, I do not find that we greatly excel them, unless in this one Point, that we have a great many Inventions for supplying Wants of our own making, concerning which these *Savages* have not the least notion. Their Habits indeed, their Forms of Salutation, their Methods of Gallantry and Courtship, and their Pastimes and Recreations, appear extremely uncouth and ridiculous to us. But they are more than even with us; for ours appear much more so to them. The Question then is, Whether we or they have reasons to laugh? Indeed neither. For while such Customs are so regulated, as to do no body hurt, and to answer the several innocent Ends of those who use them, there is nothing in any of them either unreasonable or ridiculous; and to despise and condemn Men on account of them, is the effect only of Prejudice and Ignorance.

University of Michigan

LOUIS I. BREDVOLD

The Tradition of the Homeric Simile in Eighteenth Century French Poetry. By HARRY VINCENT WANN. Terre Haute: Indiana State Teachers College Press, 1931. Pp. xxii + 105. \$3.00.

What was the fate of the Homeric simile in the two centuries intervening between the Renaissance and Romanticism, between the

Pléiade whose use of the poetic comparison was apt, but not particularly original, and the Romantic poets who owed some of their most striking effects to that ornament? We all know that none of the poets or prose poets of the period who are commonly read, Corneille, Racine, La Fontaine, Fénelon, are particularly noteworthy for the use of the simile, but what was the practice of the minor poets of the seventeenth century or of those who claimed the title of poet in the eighteenth? A study revealing the history of the simile throughout these periods should, in view of its culmination in the Romantic Era, be of great value and such a study is afforded us by Mr. Wann, incidentally for the seventeenth century and with great detail for the eighteenth. For by the "Homeric" simile he means the poetic comparison in general, "Homeric" only in that Homer was its father.

Mr. Wann's work shows extraordinary documentation. He has read all the soi-disant "poets" of the least poetical of eras in French literature and to do that was a heroic task. The works of above thirty poets were examined and from these Mr. Wann lists over twenty pages of similes, classified under four heads according as they allude to (1) human occupation, (2) nature, (3) classical literature, mythology, or the Bible, or (4) contemporary events and literature. We are surprised to learn that comparisons with nature are most common even in an age that preferred town to country. The simile is used more commonly in non-narrative than in narrative works, but, as regards an individual genre, is encountered, as would be expected, most frequently in epic poetry. Descriptive poems (those of *Délille* but not those of *Roucher* or *Saint Lambert*) come next in order, and the ode third.

In critical opinion *La Motte* was the chief opponent of the simile, chiefly on grounds of digression, and *Mme Dacier* its chief defender. *W.* derives some amusement from his theme in citing a half-page simile from *Scarron's "Virgile Travesti"* that burlesques the tendency to digress. *W.'s* most interesting chapter is the ninth, devoted to *Chénier*, the one genuine poet of the period he treats. We there learn the *Chénier*, in planning a new poem, left gaps to be filled with comparisons, sometimes even though he had yet to supply an object or sentiment which the comparison should illustrate. Thus a fragment of an ode reads:

Comme
 Tel
 Sous le joug du mépris (et cetera)

But though *Chénier* thought so highly of the simile, he resembles his contemporaries and immediate predecessors in that ideas, rather than emotions, dominate his use of it.

A comprehensive study of the simile in nineteenth century poetry and poetic prose has yet to be made. Perhaps Mr. Wann

will have the courage to attempt it in this more congenial field. He has laid solid foundations for such a task in the work already accomplished.

CHARLES R. HART

Emory University

The Northern Passion (Supplement). Cambridge University MS. Gg. 1. 1., Oxford MS. Rawlinson Poetry 175. Edited by WILHELM HEUSER and FRANCES A. FOSTER. London, 1930. [Early English Text Society, Original Series, 183.]

Lydgate's Siege of Thebes. Edited from all the Known Manuscripts and the Two Oldest Editions. Part II.—Introduction, Notes, Rhyme-Lists, and a Glossary, with an Appendix. By AXEL ERDMANN and EILERT EKWALL. London, 1930. [Early English Text Society, Extra Series cxxv.]

The Dance of Death. Edited from MSS. Ellesmere 26/A.13 and B. M. Lansdowne 699, Collated with the Other Extant MSS. By FLORENCE WARREN, with Introduction, Notes, etc. by Beatrice White. London, 1931. [Early English Text Society, Original Series, 181.]

This supplement to the *Northern Passion* will be of interest chiefly to students familiar with Miss Foster's excellent edition (EETS. OS. 145, 147, 1913, 1916) of four MSS of the poem. The work of Dr. Wilhelm Heuser, who had edited and printed page proofs of two additional MSS, was unknown to Miss Foster while she was working on her own edition. This work of Dr. Heuser on the Cambridge MS of the original version and the Oxford MS of the expanded version furnishes the basis of the present volume. Miss Foster has checked Dr. Heuser's proofs by the manuscripts, has revised his punctuation and side-notes, and has supplied side notes from page 105 on. "The volume thus brings together the earliest text of the original poem and the earliest of the expanded version. Neither has previously been printed *in extenso*." (p. v.)

The two manuscripts have been treated differently. The unamended Cambridge MS will be interesting to "scholars who wish to study what a French scribe, familiar with Southern English, made of a Northern poem in the early fourteenth century . . . In the case of the Oxford MS., on the other hand, its closeness to Harley 4196 enables us to check errors fairly easily. . . ." (pp. v-vi.)

Since the publication of Miss Foster's edition new light has been thrown on two matters discussed in her introduction to the poem.

The first deals with the sources of the English poem, especially the text of the Old French *Passion* from which the *Northern Passion* was translated. It is still impossible to tell, however, which of the numerous texts of the *Passion* the English translator used. The second matter concerns the significance of the many borrowings from the *Northern Passion* in the cycle plays. A satisfactory solution of this problem, Miss Foster concludes, must await "more detailed knowledge than we now possess of the vicissitudes undergone by the various crafts in York and Wakefield." (p. viii.)

The text of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*, edited by Professor Axel Erdmann, appeared in 1911 as Volume CVIII of the Extra Series of the EETS and Volume 46, Sec. Series, of the Chaucer Society (reviewed by J. Koch, *Eng. Stud.*, 46, 102-3). The present volume is Part II of this edition.

It was completed and organized by Professor Eilert Ekwall, who was requested by Professor Erdmann to carry the edition to completion. The general plan, the notes and glossary, and Chapters I, II, and V are Professor Erdmann's; Chapters III, section 1, IV, and VI are chiefly Professor Ekwall's, who also discovered a manuscript overlooked by Professor Erdmann, MS. Christchurch Library 152. This he collates in an appendix. He also contributes a memoir of Professor Erdmann.

Chapter I deals with the title, the framework, the contents, the sources, and the date of the poem. Lydgate's source is not extant, but must have resembled rather closely the prose version of the poem printed in Paris at the beginning of the sixteenth century under the title *le Roman de edipus*.

Internal references fix the date of composition, with a great degree of certainty, as about 1421.

Chapter II, dealing with Lydgate's treatment of his sources, his independent additions, and his composition and style, stresses the poet's originality and attempts to defend his style.

Chapter III deals inadequately with Lydgate's language. Chapter IV contains a brief discussion of Lydgate's metre and rhymes.

Chapter V, the longest in the book, contains detailed descriptions of the twenty-one MSS and the two earliest printed editions. Arundel MS 119, described on pp. 37-42, was used as the basis of Erdmann's text of the poem.

Chapter VI deals with the complicated genealogy of the MSS and the first two printed editions, both of which were printed from MSS no longer extant. Then follow forty-one pages of excellent notes, which form the most interesting and useful part of the volume. It is interesting to observe that Lydgate either did not know or momentarily forgot many details of Chaucer's General Prologue. It seems highly probable, as the editors think, that Lydgate did not procure a copy of the *Canterbury Tales* until he composed the last part of his poem. At any rate, his ignorance of

details in the portraits of Chaucer's pilgrims is surprising in the face of his extravagant praise of Chaucer and his continuation of the *Canterbury Tales* in his own *Siege of Thebes*. The notes to lines 32, 34, 35, 39-57, are interesting in this connection.

This edition of the English *Dance of Death*, begun by Miss Florence Warren, and completed by Miss Beatrice White, suggests many new problems for investigation.

One important phase of the medieval "preoccupation, or rather familiarity with death was the Macabré dance . . . or, as it should be written, 'Danse Macabrée.'" The term "is used to describe certain mural paintings with appropriate moral verses, and later printed editions of these, which had for subject the inevitability of death." (pp. ix-x.)

This gruesome idea of a death dance, which found expression in paintings, poems, and plays, probably arose in France, from the dramatization of a medieval sermon on death. Whether the transformation of the sermon into a mimed dance is due to the morbid ecclesiastical imagination, as has been conjectured, or to the influence of folk games is a problem for the future investigator. The influence of the custom of dancing in churchyards, the effect of the Black Death in furthering the idea of a Dance of Death, the origin of the chorisants, a fantastic sect who regarded dancing as a cure for many ills and the children's game of the Black Man are other matters on which it is impossible now to speak with certainty.

In order to explain the close similarity of the French and the German versions of the dance, modern scholars incline toward the theory that the first *Danse Macabré* was written in Latin, probably by an ecclesiastic, and that pictures accompanied copies of the verses. Gaston Paris has suggested that Macabré was the name of the first painter of the dance and that the name is derived from the Biblical Macchabaeus. Both Lydgate and the Latin translator of the French *Danse Macabré* regard Macabré as the name of the author.

It is difficult to determine when and how Lydgate came to translate the verses inscribed on the paintings at the church of the Holy Innocents in Paris. It is known, however, that he was in Paris in 1426, two years after the dance at the Holy Innocents was painted. Lydgate's poem was inscribed under the picture of the Dance of Death at St. Paul's. Sir Thomas More, who described the mural, beautifully expresses the impression such pictures made on a thoughtful observer (see p. xxiv).

There are twelve MSS and one early printed version (Tottel's of 1554) of the English poem. The manuscripts fall into two groups, differentiated by the number and order of the persons in the procession. The Ellesmere MS is representative of Group A, the Lansdowne of Group B, which contains women characters. The exact relation of these MSS is not clearly explained.

The appendices contain the French text of the *Dance of Death*, a list of mural paintings of the dance, a discussion of the word *Macabré* and of the degeneration of the 'Danse Macabré,' and a list of the English printed versions of the poem. There are five pages of notes and a brief glossary. *Clipsen*, l. 13 and *Monialis*, p. 43, should have been entered in the glossary.

J. M. STEADMAN, JR.

Emory University

"Edward" and "Sven i Rosengård": A Study in the Dissemination of the Ballad. By ARCHER TAYLOR. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931.

Folkways in Thomas Hardy. By RUTH A. FIROR. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931.

Altho there has been great activity in America in recent years in the collection of folk poetry, little or no effort has been made to analyze it or ascertain the principles that govern it. Scandinavian scholars—Finnish scholars especially—have made such efforts, but they have been mostly unknown, or unheeded, by us. Professor Taylor's study is an attempt, by geographical, chronological, and stylistic analysis of a single ballad, to work out a method by which the relation of versions to one another may be ascertained, the history of a ballad established, and the unitary original ballad as nearly as may be arrived at. As such it is of great interest to all students of folk poetry. The ballad chosen is *Edward*, with its Scandinavian counterpart *Sven i Rosengård*. Tho but slightly represented in Child and Grundtvig, it is of frequent record in Sweden, Finland, and America, and the English texts are increased by including the latter part of four versions of *The Twa Brothers* and of two versions of *Lizie Wan* in Child which pretty clearly belong to the *Edward* tradition. This appears to be the extent of its distribution geographically, neither Child nor Olrik alleging versions in other languages. Curiously enough, none of the versions we now have is of record earlier than the *Reliques*, and most of them were taken down in the nineteenth century; but the cultural remoteness of Finland from modern Scotland and from English America is sufficient guarantee of the antiquity of the ballad.

The versions fall into two groups, the English and the Scandinavian. The English open with a questioning about the blood on the protagonist's coat or sword; the Scandinavian with questioning as to where he has been, proceeding thence to the question about the blood. Professor Taylor, recalling Olrik's law of the beginning and the ending, the up-slope and the down-slope of

folk narrative, believes the Scandinavian opening to represent the structure of the original. A second stanza found in many of the Scandinavian versions, in which the hero says he has been watering or currying the horses, he rejects, both because it is lacking in the peripheral (East Finnish and West Scandinavian) versions and because of "the menial duties described in it." That the social setting of the story was originally aristocratic, as in the English versions, he says "need scarcely be argued." The gradual revelation of the crime by incremental repetition appears in both the Scandinavian and the English versions, but the series are different. In the English it is a series of animals, as hawk—steed—father in Percy's version or hawk—greyhound—brother in Motherwell's. In Scandinavia the series is commonly made up of blood on the clothes or person, blood on the sword, and the confession. One English version, the last seven stanzas of Child's E version of *The Two Brothers*, has both series: there is blood on his brow, cheek, hand, dirk, which he explains as that respectively of his steed, greyhound, goss-hawk, brother; and Professor Taylor believes that the structure of this version "resembles that of the hypothetical original" except in having series of four instead of three, since "incremental repetition occurs in triplicate."

The remainder of the ballad, in both Scandinavian and English tradition, deals with the punishment meted out to the murderer and his nuncupative bequests. In Scandinavia the punishment is exile or flight, from which he can never return. In the English versions he says he will set his foot in a ship or boat, often a "bottomless boat," suggesting the old punishment of murderers by setting them adrift in a leaking boat. There is no mention of a boat in any of the Scandinavian versions. Professor Taylor here again believes that the English tradition preserves an original trait the significance of which has faded out in the Scandinavian (and American) versions. The bequests—the murderer's disposal of his wife, his children, and his property—he assembles in a table, and by analysis and comparison reaches the conclusion that the original order was wife, children, property, not as in Percy's version property and then bairns and wife. And that feature which for many readers constitutes the special effectiveness of Percy's version, the closing malison on the mother as the cause of the tragedy, he rejects, for several reasons: because it is found only in English A and B, because it is found also in *The Cruel Brother* and *Lord Randall* and "the trait cannot belong indiscriminately to all these ballads," and because in English A it has crowded out the property item in the list of bequests and "we cannot for a moment concede" that in the original ballad "no disposition was made of the property." The main result of the investigation is expressed as follows:

The courtly background of the older English versions (Percy, Herd,

Motherwell) 'implies customs and manners quite foreign to the world in which the modern traditional forms move: the murderer has a sword, a horse, and a hawk; he has property, even a towered hall, to dispose of; although he has children, he still lives with his mother; and he suffers an ancient punishment. But in the modern tradition he is a farmer who curries or waters horses, quarrels meanly with his brother, gives thought to the farm animals he will leave behind, and takes refuge in cowardly flight. The theme is debased and vulgarized. Clearly the development can have taken place in but one direction: the older form has degenerated in the mouths of the modern ballad singers. This downward progress has taken place independently in Scandinavia and Great Britain. Since no trace of the ballad's earlier courtly form has been found in Scandinavia, and since the ballad seems relatively well established in English tradition, we must conclude that it passed from England or Scotland to Scandinavia.

It is not possible in a brief review to present adequately the varied, intricate, interdependent arguments by which these results are reached. The book itself must be studied. But perhaps what I have written will suggest the chief defect of method in it, namely a confusion of objective and subjective criteria. Tables are drawn up of the paraphrases for "never," of the items of the bequests, of the question and answer series at the opening of the Scandinavian versions, as objective data for determining the originality of the several forms, and then items are accepted or rejected by subjective tests. To illustrate from the last mentioned: the second stanza in the series (implying "menial duties") is explained as having been invented to fill a "gap . . . felt to exist at this place" and therefore unoriginal, but the third (introducing the idea of bloodshed) is retained because, among other reasons, its presence "alone awakens no feeling of incompleteness and is in keeping with the ballad's spirit." Or from the treatment of the paraphrases for "never." These are tabulated for all the Scandinavian versions, and the findings discussed. But in most surprising fashion. Forms that occur once or at most twice are declared to be "exactly" those paraphrases "which are most firmly associated with our ballad," while others, that occur in from thirteen to twenty of the versions, are rejected as "paraphrases that enter and leave our texts at will." Two of them are characterized as "obviously inventions belonging to Sweden or Finland" which have "not yet firmly established themselves in the ballad," being found only in Swedish or Finnish texts. By the same line of reasoning two of the paraphrases which are declared (p. 44) to be "firmly associated with our ballad" could be shown to be "obviously inventions" of Denmark, since they are found only in Danish A. The reason for this cavalier handling of the evidence appears to be that the former group refer more or less definitely to the Day of Judgment, which Professor Taylor believes to have been the original idea.

There are several misprints or slips which, in an argument as intricate as this, are especially vexatious. Of two of the expressions

for "never" he says (p. 44): "Just these paraphrases . . . are found in GS A, the ballad text of 1690." But GS A is (or rather *was*, for we have it not) of 1640, Olrik says, not 1690; and on examination it is found that only one of the two paraphrases occurs in it. In footnote 1 on page 17 GN should be GD A; and in footnote 2 on the same page GSF B should be GSF D. On page 23 it is said that the variant "sister" for "brother" has "not extended itself beyond Southern Sweden," whereas it appears also in two English versions, H and I. On page 38 "The Twa Brothers" should be "The Cruel Brother." On page 39 it is said that the "ill wish for the mother is firmly established in 'Lord Randall'" and in the footnote: "We have it in Italian, English, Swedish, and German versions and elsewhere; see Child I 152 ff." But Child shows no English or Swedish versions of *Lord Randall* in which the mother is cursed; only German and Italian. What is said of the refrain on p. 54 is pretty completely unintelligible. First "the older form" is said to be "represented by the compounded refrain"; then "the older form, i. e., the uncompounded refrain," is said to predominate in the eastern and western extremities of the Scandinavian field (and as examples are listed two versions one of which has double and the other triple refrain); and finally we are told that "the new form, i. e., the compounded refrain," has "arisen in the center." All this in one short paragraph. The confusion has presumably arisen from the fact that the refrain is compounded in two ways, one of mother and son and one in which to these is added a refrain of the sort familiar in Danish ballads, "Look for me late or never." But even so it is impossible to see just what the paragraph means.

If I seem to have dwelt upon defects and confusions in the conduct of the argument, it is because I am so convinced of the value for the study of balladry of the general idea on which Professor Taylor's work is based. He is to be congratulated upon having broken ground in this country for a new and unquestionably valuable method in the study of the history of traditional ballads—the most hopeful method, it seems to me, for the resolution of the vexed question of ballad origins.

Miss Firor has read extensively in the standard books on mythology and folk-lore and in the publications of the Folk-Lore Society with the purpose of illuminating the background of rustic custom and belief which Hardy so freely used for the filling in, the woof, of his stories. It may safely be said that for the general reader she has in a measurable degree succeeded. The book makes a very enjoyable commentary on Hardy's work. At the same time it shows how far folk-lore, at least as she has employed it, is from being properly speaking a science. It lacks the basis of all science, accurate classification. She divides her treatment into fourteen heads: Omens, Premonitions, and Fatality, Divination, Ghost and

Fairy Lore, Magic and Witchcraft, Folk-Medicine, and so on. And the same item appears in two, three, or more of the chapters. The story of 'The Withered Arm' is told at length in Chapter IV, Magic and Witchcraft (pp. 86-9), and again in Chapter V, Folk-Medicine (pp. 110-11); the shepherd's account of the Cross-in-Hand in *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* is quoted twice (and differently), once in the chapter on Magic and Witchcraft (pp. 102-3) and again under Medieval Legends (p. 294), both times as evidence of belief in pacts with the devil; the dialog between Johnny Nunsuch and Diggory Venn in *The Return of the Native* is introduced into the chapter on Weather Lore (p. 130) and again into that on Folk Law (p. 253), in neither case quite pertinently; and so on thru the book. This would be less objectionable if there were any indication, by cross-reference, that the item had already been treated in another connection, but there is none. There is evidence also of a somewhat uncritical acceptance of authorities. Of the words *ladybird*, *lady-cow*, it is said (p. 54) that "philologists have no satisfactory derivation," and the footnote cites divers authorities of which the latest is the 14th volume of *Folk-Lore*; but the Oxford Dictionary, later than any of these and at least equally authoritative in matters of etymology, has no doubt as to the derivation from "Our Lady." The derivation of *mummer* from a Danish *momme* "mask" is likewise unsupported by the Oxford Dictionary. We do not "know" that chess "was a favorite game with the Greeks and Romans" (p. 169); certainly not from the passage in Pliny's *Natural History* cited in the footnote, which merely shows that the Romans played with dice. The most satisfactory chapter from the critical point of view is that on Prehistory and Survivals of Ancient Religions—especially the part dealing with the Druids. The writer has here consulted recent and competent authorities, and has learned that the old easy assumptions and guesses are only assumptions and guesses.

It is however unfair to judge the book as a contribution to folk-lore. It is rather a study of Hardy's use of folk-lore and of its value in his art; and as such it will be found useful to readers and a delight to Hardy devotees.

H. M. BELDEN

University of Missouri

BRIEF MENTION

Anthologie littéraire de la Renaissance française. Textes et études par LOUIS CONS. 1 vol. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 318 p. Tous ceux qui s'intéressent à la littérature française du XVI ème siècle ne manqueront pas d'apprécier la valeur de

l'excellente anthologie que M. Louis Cons vient de publier. La Renaissance française avait été jusqu'alors trop négligée par les éditeurs américains. Le présent ouvrage comble une lacune et la comble fort bien. Nous voici désormais en mesure d'offrir à nos étudiants des textes judicieusement choisis, précédés d'érudites introductions. M. Cons présente successivement Villon, Lemaire de Belges, Marot, Rabelais, Calvin, Montaigne, Ronsard, du Bellay, Remy Belleau, Baif, d'Aubigné et Régnier. Certains regretteront peut-être que les femmes ne figurent pas dans cette liste et que l'Ecole de Lyon ne soit mentionnée que dans la notice de Ronsard. A cela M. Cons pourra répondre que les poèmes de Villon sont meilleurs que la *Délie*, et que Lemaire de Belges a eu plus d'importance sur le mouvement des idées que Marguerite de Navarre. De plus, dans une anthologie de format raisonnable, on ne saurait tout mettre et, comme M. Cons l'explique dans son avant-propos, "des textes bien suivis et bien étoffés conviennent mieux que de petites découpures à une époque littéraire dont un des grands traits est la large teneur et la verve soutenue." Nous l'approuvons donc de s'en être tenu aux plus grandes figures, sans chercher à embrasser un terrain trop vaste. Nous l'approuvons également d'avoir adopté une orthographe aussi moderne que possible. Libéré de toute difficulté de lecture, l'étudiant n'en appréciera que mieux la qualité littéraire des extraits. Et cette qualité est fort grande, car M. Cons est non seulement un érudit mais aussi un homme de goût. La beauté de la Renaissance française se dégage de toutes les pages qu'il a choisies et pour lesquelles il a rédigé des notes aussi copieuses que bien documentées. Bref, un excellent petit volume que termine une conclusion pleine d'ingénieux aperçus.

MAURICE EDGAR COINDREAU

Princeton University

Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company, 1576 to 1602. Edited by W. W. GREG and E. BOSWELL. London: The Bibliographical Society, 1930. Pp. lxxxi + 144. This is one of the most useful additions in recent years to the external history of Elizabethan literature. It gives the records in that portion of Register B of the Stationers' Company, which Arber was not permitted to include in his Transcript, and the records prove to be of great interest both for the history of the company and the lives of Elizabethan printers and publishers. There is an admirable index and an introduction, of seventy-five pages, that gives a great deal of valuable information about the book-trade in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

TUCKER BROOKE

Yale University

Plutarch's Quyetē of Mynde. Translated by THOMAS WYAT. (Facsimile of copy in Henry E. Huntington Library). Introduction by CHARLES READ BASKERVILL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931. \$2.50. This modest little volume, of very unusual importance to Renaissance scholars, is all the more important because introduced by Baskervill. It is the first English translation of a formal Greek treatise on philosophy and reveals Wyatt as early as 1527 translating from both Petrarch and Plutarch, in other words a "much more typical humanist" than hitherto supposed. Henry VIII's Queen Catherine asking Wyatt for a translation of the Christian Petrarch's *De remediis utriusque fortunae* and being presented instead with the pagan Plutarch's *Quyetē of Mynde* to lean on in dark hours, illuminates startlingly certain obscure corners of the Renaissance mind.

GEORGE COFFIN TAYLOR

University of North Carolina

Seven Contemporary Plays. Edited by CHARLES H. WHITMAN. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931. Pp. viii + 565. \$1.40. Plays by Ibsen, Hauptmann, Tchekov, Rostand, Galsworthy, Synge, and O'Neill, intended for supplementary reading in the freshman English course. The selection is good, the format bad, the notes on the dramatists somewhat diffuse but well calculated to interest younger readers.

The Contemporary Drama of England. By THOMAS H. DICKINSON. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1931. Pp. 355. \$2.50. A revision and expansion of this useful manual, first published in 1917. Separate chapters are now included on Barrie and Galsworthy, and on the English theatre after the War. There is a full index as well as forty-eight pages of bibliography.

Hamlet: A Study in Critical Method. By A. J. A. WALDOCK. Cambridge, England: At the University Press; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. 99. \$2.00. This well-written little book is in the main soundly historical. Mr. Waldox gives a useful summary of the history of ideas about Hamlet, and a sharp critique of the erroneous methodology in vogue from Mackenzie to Bradley. I think he exaggerates the difficulties of the play; but he is well aware of the work of Stoll and Schuecking, and offers a number of highly acute observations of his own.

H. S.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

ENGLISH

[The *English* list includes only books received.]

Aiken, Pauline.—The Influence of the Latin Elegists on English Lyric Poetry, 1600-1650, with Particular Reference to the Works of Robert Herrick. *Orono, Maine*: Univ. Press, 1932. Pp. 115. \$0.50. (Univ. of Maine Studies, second series, 22.)

Babbitt, Irving.—On Being Creative, and Other Essays. *Boston*: Houghton Mifflin, 1932. Pp. xlv + 266. \$2.50.

Beddoes, Thomas Lovell.—An Anthology. Chosen by F. L. Lucas. *Cambridge*: Univ. Press, 1932. Pp. xl + 172. \$2.00. (Poets in Brief, a series of Anthologies chosen by F. L. Lucas.)

Carrol, Lewis.—Catalogue of an Exhibition at Columbia University to Commemorate the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Lewis Carrol (Charles Lutwidge Dodgson) 1832-1898. *New York*: Columbia Univ. Press, 1932. Pp. 153. \$0.35.

Crittenden, Walter Marion.—The Life and Writings of Mrs. Sarah Scott, Novelist (1723-1795). *Philadelphia*: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1932. Pp. 99.

English Department of the University of Michigan.—Essays and Studies in English and Comparative Literature. *Ann Arbor*: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1932. Pp. viii + 231. \$2.50. (Univ. of Michigan Publications, Lang. and Lit., VIII.)

Evans, E. D. Priestley.—Two Papers, entitled "The Severn and other Wye Rivers" and "The Meaning of Minster in Place-Names." Printed for the Author, 53 Middleway, London, 1931. Pp. viii + 90. 3 s. 6 d.

Fuhrken, G. E.—Standard English Speech, a Compendium of English Phonetics for Foreign Students. *Cambridge*: University Press, 1932. Pp. viii + 121. \$1.75.

Greenough, Chester N., Hersey, Frank W. C., and Bruce, Harold L.—Writing Well. *New York*: Macmillan, 1932. Pp. xvii + 470. \$2.00.

Hickson, Elizabeth Cathcart.—The Versification of Thomas Hardy. *Philadelphia*: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1931. Pp. 129.

Humbert, Gabriele.—Literarische Einflüsse in Schotteschen Volksballaden. *Halle* (Saale): Niemeyer, 1932. Pp. viii + 117. M. 4.50. (Studien zur Englischen Philologie, LXXIV.)

Jespersen, Otto.—A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles. Part IV. Syntax. Third Volume. Time and Tense.

Heidelberg: Winters, 1931. Pp. xxxi + 400. M. 11.50.

Krapp, George Philip.—The Vercelli Book. *New York*: Columbia Univ. Press, 1932. Pp. 152. \$3.50. (Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, II.)

Loiseau, Jean.—Abraham Cowley, Sa Vie, Son Oeuvre. *Paris*: Didier, 1931. Pp. xvii + 715.

—Abraham Cowley's Reputation in England. *Paris*: Didier, 1931. Pp. x + 221.

MacDougall, Curtis D.—A College Course in Reporting for Beginners. *New York*: Macmillan, 1932. Pp. x + 536. \$3.00.

—A Teachers' Manual of Exercises and Suggestions to be used in connection with Reporting for Beginners. *New York*: Macmillan, 1932. Pp. 135. \$2.50.

Marburg, Clara.—Sir William Temple. A Seventeenth Century "Libertin." *New Haven*: Yale Univ. Press, 1932. Pp. xviii + 128. \$2.00.

Marlowe, Christopher.—Doctor Faustus. Edited by F. S. Boas. *New York*: Dial Press, 1932. Pp. xii + 221. \$4.00. (The Works and Life of Christopher Marlowe. Edited by R. H. Case.)

Millican, Charles Bowie.—Spenser and the Table Round. *Cambridge*: Harvard Univ. Press, 1932. Pp. xv + 236. (Harvard Studies in Comp. Lit., VIII.) \$2.50.

Milton, John.—Private Correspondence and Academic Exercises. Translated from the Latin by Phyllis B. Tillyard. Edited by E. M. W. Tillyard. *Cambridge*: Univ. Press, 1932. Pp. xxxix + 143. \$3.50.

Neff, Emery.—Carlyle. *New York*: Morton, 1932. Pp. 282.

Pearce, Ernest H. and Whibley, Leonard.—The Correspondence of Richard Hurd and William Mason, and Letters of Richard Hurd to Thomas Gray. *Cambridge*: Univ. Press, 1932. Pp. xxxiii + 178. \$2.75.

Rawlinson, H. G. (ed.).—Narratives from Purchas His Pilgrimes. *Cambridge*: Univ. Press, 1931. Pp. xv + 215. 5 s.

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Schöffler, Herbert.—Die Anfänge Des Puritanismus, Versuch Einer Deutung der Englischen Reformation. *Leipzig*: Tauchnitz, 1932. Pp. 177. 5 M.

Snyder, Franklyn B. and Martin, Robert G.—A Book of English Literature. Third edition revised by Franklyn B. Snyder. *New York*: Macmillan, 1932. 2 vols. Pp. xx + 831. xviii + 780. \$3.00 each.

Willis, Leota Snider.—Francis Lenton, Queen's Poet. *Philadelphia*: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1931. Pp. 98.

Wycherley, William.—The Country Wife. Edited by Ursula Todd-Naylor. *Northampton*: Smith College, 1930, 1931. (Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, XII, 1, 2, 3.)

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Arnim, Sophie von.—Goethe und Fürst Pückler. *Dresden*: v. Zahn & Jaensch, 1932. 46 pp. M. 1.60.

Baeseke, Georg.—Die Sprache der Lutherbibel und wir. Rede, geh. am 31. Okt. 1931. [Hallische Universitätsreden, 53]. *Halle*: Niemeyer, 1932. 18 pp. M. 1.

Bauer, Willy.—Christian Ludwig Neuffer. Diss. Heidelberg. *Stuttgart*: Cannstatter Zeitung, 1931. 112 pp.

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THE FIRST GOTHIC REVIVAL AND THE RETURN TO NATURE

It is one of the commonplaces of the history of taste that in the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth century Gothic architecture was generally regarded by well-bred persons with contempt. Its very name was a term of disparagement; for the adjective "gothic" was a word which it was fashionable to apply to all manner of objects in a sense equivalent to "barbarous and tasteless." A typical virtuoso of the early seventeen-forties, just returned from the *grand tour*, is described as "perpetually railing at the climate and manners of his native country, and pronouncing the word gothic fifty times an hour."¹ It performed much the same necessary function that, in certain circles, the adjective "Victorian" performs today. Tight-lacing was, to those who disapproved of it, a "gothic ligament";² and duelling was denounced by Bishop Berkeley as a "Gothic crime."³ A received opinion from which one dissented was a *préjugé gothique*.⁴ The term also took on a certain political coloring; since it not only vaguely suggested "the old-fashioned" in general, but, more specifically, the political and social system of the Middle Ages, *i. e.*, feudalism, it sometimes served the progressives of the period as an unpleasant way of referring to anything the Tories approved—as in a couplet in Akenside's *Odes* (1745):

And now that England spurns her Gothic chain,
And equal laws and social science reign.⁵

¹ In the prose satire *Ranelagh House*, 1747. It is attributed by Halkett and Laing to "Joseph Wharton."

² Mason, *English Garden*, I, note 1.

⁴ Rousseau, *Dialogues*, I.

³ *Alciphron*, V, 13.

⁵ Book I, Ode I.

In Thomas Warton's juvenile poem *The Triumph of Isis*:

'Twas theirs new plans of liberty to frame:
And on the Gothic gloom of slavish sway
To shed the dawn of intellectual day.

At the very end of the century a French writer observed that "encore aujourd'hui, par la force d'un long usage, le mot *gothique* exprime tout ce qui dans les arts et dans les mœurs rappelle les siècles d'ignorance."⁶ Other examples of the depreciative use of the term may be found in abundance in the historical dictionaries and manuals of literary history.

While this general connotation of the word helped to give the architectural style literally a bad name, to link it verbally in the thought of the period with a number of other things in ill repute, it is necessary, in order to understand the more significant motives, or ostensible motives, of the dislike of Gothic buildings, to note what aesthetic qualities were supposed to be characteristic of such buildings. And to this end we must first ask what edifices, or what specific style, eighteenth-century writers had in mind when they applied the adjective to architecture. The word had in fact—as has not, I believe, been generally noted—three distinct denotations; and with each of these different grounds of disapproval were associated. (1) It frequently signifies any structure not in the classical style; examples of this may be found in the Oxford Dictionary; *e. g.*, 1693, Dryden's translation of Du Fresnoy: "All that is not in the ancient gust is called a barbarous or Gothic manner"; 1742 Langley's *Ancient Architecture*, Diss. I.: "Every ancient building which is not in the Grecian mode is called a Gothic building." (Langley himself, however, thought the style, at least in its English manifestations, should more properly be called "Saxon"). In the *Encyclopédie* we are told that "cette manière barbare a infesté les beaux arts depuis 611 jusqu'en 1450." But (2) in many cases it is clearly of the Romanesque (in England the Saxon or the Norman) style that those who write of "the Gothic" are thinking—a style which many supposed to have been actually introduced by the Goths or other Northern barbarian invaders of the Roman empire. This Nordic theory of the origin of Gothic goes back at least to Vasari (1550), who refers to *una specie di*

⁶ *Encycl. méthodique: Architecture: II*, 457.

lavori che si chiamano Tedeschi, the style of which "was invented by the Goths."⁷ (3) In John Evelyn's *Account of Architects and Architecture*, 1697, we find a two-fold origin, and two incongruous aberrations, attributed to the "Gothic" style.⁸

It is the ancient *Greek* and *Roman Architecture* which is here intended, as most entirely answering those Perfections required in a faultless and accomplished Building; such as for so many Ages were so renowned and reputed by the universal Suffrages of the civilized World, and would doubtless have still subsisted, and made good their claim, and what is recorded of them, had not the *Goths*, *Vandals* and other barbarous Nations subverted and demolished them, together with that glorious Empire, where those stately and pompous Monuments stood; introducing in their stead, a certain fantastical and licentious Manner of Building, which we have since called *Modern* (or *Gothic* rather), Congestions of heavy, dark, melancholy and *Monkish Piles*, without any just Proportion, Use or Beauty, compared with the truly *Ancient*. So as when we meet with the greatest Industry, and expensive *Carving*, full of fret and lamentable *Imagery*, sparing neither of Pains nor Cost, a judicious Spectator is rather distracted and quite confounded, than touched with that admiration which results from the true and just *Symmetry*, regular Proportion, Union and Disposition, great and noble Manner, which those *August* and *Glorious Fabricks* of the Ancients still produce.

It was after the Irruption and Swarms of those truculent People from the *North*, the *Moors* and *Arabs* from the *South* and *East*, over-running the Civilized World, that wherever they fixed themselves, they soon began to debauch this noble and useful Art; when instead of those beautiful *Orders*, so majesticall and proper for their Stations, becoming Variety, and other ornamental accessories, they set up those slender and misquine *Pillars*, or rather Bundles of *Staves*, and other incongruous Props to support incumbent Weights, and pondrous arched Roofs, without Entablature; and though not without great Industry, as M. D'Aviler well observes, nor altogether naked of gaudy *Sculpture*, trite and busy Carvings, it is such as rather gluts the Eye than gratifies and pleases it with any reasonable Satisfaction. [For example, let any Man of Judgment look] awhile upon *King Henry* the Seventh's *Chappel* at Westminster, . . . on its sharp *Angles*, *Jetties*, narrow *Lights*, lame *Statues*, *Lace*, and other *Cut-work* and *Crinkle-Crankle*. . . [In] the *Modern Architecture*, the universal and unreasonable Thickness of the Walls, clumsy Buttresses, Towers, sharp-pointed Arches, Doors and other Apertures, without proportion; non sensical Insertions of various Marbles impertinently placed; Turrets and Pinacles thick set with *Monkies* and *Chymaeras* (and abundance of busy

⁷ *Vite*, 1807 ed., I, 254.

⁸ Prefixed to his edition of Roland Fréart's *A Parallel of the Ancient Architecture with the Modern*. The passage is cited from the fourth edition, 1733, pp. 9 ff.

Work and other Incongruities) dissipate and break the Angles of the sight, and so confound it, that one cannot consider it with any Steadiness, where to begin or end; taking off from that noble *Air* and *Grandure*, bold and graceful Manner, which the Ancients had so well and so judiciously established.

The confusion of architectural ideas here is manifest. Evelyn, while assuming that both the "Goths" and the "Arabs" were responsible for the introduction of the "fantastical and licentious manner of building," gives the same name to the productions of both, and speaks as if the qualities which he condemns with such breathless vehemence were to be found together in the same structures. But it was plain to any eye that they were not. It is hard to conceive how anyone who had ever seen such churches as Salisbury Cathedral, the choir of Lincoln, the Sainte Chapelle, St. Ouen in Rouen, or King's College Chapel could possibly call them "congestions of heavy, dark, melancholy, monkish piles"; while it was equally inappropriate to describe such Norman buildings as Durham Cathedral or St. Bartholomew's the Great as "supported on slender and misquene pillars or bundles of staves," or as full of "lace and other cut-work." The essential difference, not merely in technical details but in spirit, between (at least) early Romanesque and what we call Gothic was evident, and the need for a distinction in terminology to express this difference began to be felt. The term usually adopted was determined by another erroneous historical hypothesis concerning the origin of true Gothic (in our sense). Thus Wren wrote in 1713, with reference to Henry III's additions to Westminster Abbey, that what "we now call the Gothick manner of architecture . . . should with more reason be called the Saracen style."⁹ Similarly the article "Architecture" in the *Encyclopédie* distinguishes "Gothic" style from that of the later Middle Ages. The former lasted only until the time of Charlemagne. Thereafter "France applied herself to the art with some success, . . . so that by degrees architecture, changing its aspect, fell into the opposite excess, by becoming too light (*légère*); the architects of this period made the beauties of the architecture consist in a delicacy and a profusion of ornament hitherto unknown; an excess into which they doubtless fell through opposition to the Gothic which had preceded them, or through a taste which they

⁹ *Parentalia*, 297.

had received from the Arabs and Moors, who had introduced this style into France from the Southern countries, as the Vandals and Goths had brought in from the Northern countries *le goût pesant et gothique*." In the middle and late eighteenth century this distinction became familiar, and the style which we call Gothic was commonly designated "Saracenic," "Arabic," or "Arabesque." So in J. F. Sobry's *De l'architecture*, 1776 (p. 201):

Les Arabes . . . nous apportèrent une nouvelle architecture. Cette architecture plus légère, plus ornée, plus simple, aussi solide et aussi facile à exécuter que la Gothique, fut reçue universellement; . . . et ces édifices, quoique rejetés aujourd'hui par le plus grand nombre, trouvent encore des admirateurs.

As a much later historian of architecture, Quatremère de Quincy, in the *Encyclopédie méthodique*, 1800, put it, "it has seemed to some critics that the bizarre style of this architecture in its ornaments and in the employment of its diverse forms, would lead one to regard it as an emanation of those countries in which *le goût irrégulier* has at all times fixed its empire—I mean Asia."¹⁰

Nevertheless, the same writers who, on occasion, distinguish "the Gothic" from "the Saracenic," sometimes continue to apply the former adjective to the latter style also, with or without the qualification "modern." Wren says of a part of old St. Paul's that it "was apparently of a more modern Gothick-stile, not with round (as in the old church) but sharp-headed arches,"¹¹ and the same nomenclature appears in the *Encyclopédie* (Art. "Gothique," vol. VII): there is an "ancient" and a "modern Gothic"; the latter is exemplified by Westminster Abbey and "la cathédrale de Litchfield." Fénelon had, however, called the style supposedly invented by the Arabs "l'architecture gothique" without qualification.

Let us, with these facts concerning the then current terminology in mind, try to determine the grounds on which Gothic was so generally condemned by late seventeenth and eighteenth century taste. The faults found in the "Gothic" (or "ancient Gothic") and the "Saracenic" (or "modern Gothic") styles, were, it is already

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, *Architecture*, vol. II, 455 ff.

¹¹ *Parentalia*, 1750, p. 272. In France the same distinction of "ancient and modern Gothic" had been made by J. F. Félibien des Avaux, *Recueil historique* . . . , 1687, préf.

evident, in the main precisely opposite faults. The former was rude, ponderous, stiff, sombre, depressing: "Gothic gloom" was one of the conventional descriptive phrases for characterizing its effect upon the mind. The latter was condemned as wanting in solidity, as too "light", and too soaring, as "frivolous" and "fanciful" and over-refined, as overladen with ornament, as confusing the eye with an excessive multiplicity of separate parts and obtrusive details. Perhaps the most reiterated charge, obviously directed against the "modern" rather than the "ancient Gothic," was that of over-ornateness; the glorifiers of the classic mode never tired of referring to "le fade goût des ornements gothiques" (Molière: *La Gloire du dôme du Val-de-Grâce*).¹² Fénelon writes in the *Lettre sur les occupations de l'Académie française* (chap. X):

Les inventeurs de l'architecture qu'on nomme *gothique*, et qui est, dit-on, celle des Arabes, crurent sans doute avoir surpassé les architectes grecs. Un édifice grec n'a aucun ornement qui ne serve qu'à orner l'ouvrage; . . . tout est simple, tout est mesuré, tout est borné à l'usage; on n'y voit ni hardiesse ni caprice qui impose aux yeux; les proportions sont si justes, que rien ne paraît fort grand, quoique tout le soit; tout est borné à contenter la vraie raison. Au contraire, l'architecte gothique élève sur des piliers très minces une voûte immense qui monte jusqu'aux nues; on croit que tout va tomber, mais tout dure pendant bien des siècles; tout est plein de fenêtres, de roses et de pointes; la pierre semble découpée comme du carton; tout est à jour, tout est en l'air. N'est-il pas naturel que les premiers architectes gothiques se soient flattés d'avoir surpassé, par leur raffinement, à la simplicité grecque?

The passage was stolen bodily by the writer of the article "Gothique" in the *Encyclopédie*, who added that "the principal characteristic" of this style is that of being "chargé d'ornements qui n'ont ni goût ni justesse." It is evident from these and other passages that the ill repute of Gothic (*i. e.*, "Saracenic") in general was in part due to a valid aesthetic reaction against the excesses of the English Late Perpendicular and the French Flamboyant styles; but the attributes found in an extreme form in these were commonly ascribed to "modern Gothic" as a whole.

1. The gravest indictment in eighteenth century eyes was thus, apparently, that brought against the "modern Gothic" of the thir-

¹² Cf. Félibien des Avaux, *Recueil historique*, préf.: The "modern Gothic" architects "ont passé dans un aussi grand excès de délicatesse, que les autres avoient fait dans une extrême pesanteur et grossièreté."

teenth to the fifteenth centuries. Its chief offenses, by classical standards, were those indicated in the passages just cited: its want of a rational "simplicity and plainness" and the introduction of ornament without use or structural necessity. The beauty of a Grecian temple, said Berkeley in *Alciphron* (I, 3), "ariseth from the appearance of use, or the imitation of natural things whose beauty is originally founded in the same principle. Which is, indeed, the grand distinction between Grecian and Gothic architecture: the latter being fantastical, and for the most part being founded neither in nature nor reason, neither necessity nor use."¹³ It was, it is clear, the lack of an effect of simplicity, resulting from the multiplication of members, profusion of small details, absence of unbroken surfaces, that Addison had in mind when he spoke of the "meanness of manner" of a Gothic cathedral, in the passage in *Spectator*, No. 415, which seems, by our standards of taste, so astonishing.

Let anyone reflect on the disposition of mind in which he finds himself at his first entrance into the Pantheon at Rome . . . and consider how little in proportion he is affected with the inside of a Gothic Cathedral, though it be five times larger than the other; which can arise from nothing else but the Greatness of Manner in the one and the Meanness of Manner in the other.

The psychological explanation of this he finds in "*Monsieur Fréart's* Parallel of the Ancient and Modern Architecture,"¹⁴ which explains how "the same quantity of superficies" may seem "great and magnificent" or "poor and trifling"—the former if "the Division of the Principal Members of the Order consist of but few Parts," but all of these "great, and of a bold and ample Relievo"; the latter if "there is a Redundancy of these smaller Ornaments, which divide and scatter the Angels of the sight into a multitude of Rays, so pressed together that the whole will appear but a confusion."

Partly the same, partly a different attempt to explain psychologically what in Gothic is displeasing is offered by Montesquieu in his *Essai sur le goût*. This writing manifests some of the elements of the dawning 'romantic' taste; Montesquieu insists that—along with "order" and "symmetry"—"surprise," "variety," "con-

¹³ *Alciphron*, I, Dialogue 3.

¹⁴ Addison is, as his editors have noted, quoting from Evelyn's translation of Fréart's work.

trast" are among the chief sources of aesthetic enjoyment. But he is unwilling to grant that Gothic really possesses these excellences.

Gothic architecture appears to be very full of variety, but the confusion of the ornaments fatigues us by reason of their smallness, which prevents us from distinguishing one from another, and by reason of their number, of which the effect is that there is none upon which the eye can come to rest. Thus this architecture is displeasing in the very features of it which were designed to render it agreeable. A building in the Gothic order is a sort of enigma for the eye that looks upon it; and the mind is embarrassed, as when one puts before it an obscure poem.

But aside from any psychological theories of the aesthetics of architecture, the relative lack of "simplicity" regarded—on the whole justly—as characteristic of Gothic was bound to be condemned by an early eighteenth-century classicist for another reason; it was in conflict with his most sacred catchword. To want simplicity was to fail in "conformity to nature." This was, of course, the supreme criterion of excellence applied then, as in the two preceding centuries, to everything from religion to the construction of cowsheds; and it was on the ground of its greater "naturalness" (in certain of the senses of that protean term) that classical architecture had been extolled by its orthodox eulogists. La Bruyère in *Les Caractères* ("Des Ouvrages de l'esprit") not only illustrates the identification of "classic" with "natural," but also argues that the architects had first set the example which ought to be followed in literary style:

On a dû faire du style ce qu'on a fait de l'architecture: on a entièrement abandonné l'ordre gothique que la barbarie avait introduit pour les palais et pour les temples; on a rappelé le dorique, l'ionique et le corinthien, . . . Combien de siècles se sont écoulés avant que les hommes, dans les sciences et les arts, aient pu revenir au goût des anciens et reprendre enfin le simple et le naturel.

The same equation—natural = simple = classic—with the same parallel between architectural and poetic style appears again in *Spectator*, No. 62, where Addison likens Gothic designers to poets who seek to manifest their "wit" by introducing conceits—elaborate and far-fetched metaphors—or other ingenuities and complexities, instead of making "a thought shine in its own natural beauties. Poets who want this Strength of Genius to give that majestic simplicity to Nature, which we so much admire in the Works of the Ancients, are forced to hunt after foreign Orna-

ments, and not to let any piece of Wit of what kind soever escape them. I look upon these writers as Goths in Poetry, who like those in Architecture, not being able to come up to the beautiful Simplicity of the old Greeks and Romans, have endeavored to supply its place with all the extravagances of an irregular fancy." And having the support of "so great an authority as Mr. Dryden," Addison "ventures to observe, That the taste of most of our English poets, as well as readers, is extremely Gothick." So, later in the century, in some aesthetic observations of Shenstone's. We value things, he says, because of their "natural production," or the appearance of it, and this is why we do not "view with pleasure the labored carvings and futile diligence of Gothic artists. We view with much more satisfaction some plain Grecian fabric, where art, indeed, has been equally but less visibly industrious."¹⁵ William Whitehead in *The World*, 1753, damned the Gothic on similar grounds. Writing satirically of "the reigning follies of this various island" which have arisen "under the name of our approaches to nature," he continues:

TASTE in my opinion, ought to be applied to nothing but what has as strict rules annexed to it, though perhaps imperceptible to the vulgar, as Aristotle, among the critics, or Domenichino, among the painters, would require. People may have whims, freaks, caprices, persuasions, and even second-sights, if they please; but they can have no TASTE which has not its foundation in nature, and which, consequently, may be accounted for. From a thousand instances of our imitative inclinations I shall select one or two, which have been, and still are, notorious and general. A few years ago everything was Gothic; our houses, our beds, our book-cases, and our couches were all copied from some parts or other of our old cathedrals. The Grecian architecture, . . . that architecture which was taught by nature and polished by the Graces, was totally neglected. Tricks and conceits got possession everywhere. Clumsy buttresses were to shock you with disproportion; or little pillars were to support vast weights; ignorant people, who knew nothing of gravity, were to tremble at their entrance to every building, lest the roofs should fall upon their heads. This, however odd it might seem, and however unworthy the name of TASTE, was cultivated, was admired, and still has its professors in different parts of England. There is something in it, they say, congenial to our old Gothic constitution; I should rather think, to our modern idea of liberty, which allows everyone the privilege of playing the fool, and of making himself ridiculous in whatever way he pleases.¹⁶

¹⁵ *Unconnected Thoughts on Gardening*, in *Works*, 1764, II, 143.

¹⁶ *The World*, No. 12. The passage is of special interest, not only as testimony as to the currency of the new Gothic mode before 1753, but as

Thus the classicist revolt against Gothic architecture was itself, as interpreted by eighteenth-century theorists, a "return to Nature." The error of the Gothic architects was that they had deviated too widely from "Nature's simple plan"; while, in the words of the *Encyclopédie* (art. "Architecture"), the architects of the Renaissance in France and Italy "applied themselves to recapturing *la première simplicité, la beauté et la proportion, de l'ancienne architecture.*"¹⁷

2. If the "modern Gothic" erred perhaps even more than the "ancient" in its departure from the simplicity of Nature, both styles stood indicted on another count: lack of symmetry. And in this also they were held to fail to "imitate nature." "Architecture," said D'Alembert in the *Discours préliminaire de l'Encyclopédie*, "is limited to imitating, by the grouping and combination of the different bodies which it employs, the symmetrical arrangement which nature more or less sensibly observes in each individual, and which contrasts so well with the beautiful variety of every whole." It should be observed, however, that the term "symmetry" did not necessarily mean for eighteenth-century critics merely bilateral uniformity. It is defined by Montesquieu in the *Encyclopédie* (art. "Goût"), after Vitruvius, as "the relations, proportions and regularity of parts necessary to produce a beautiful whole"; and its nature, and a psychological theory as to why it is indispensable, are suggested in the same article. The "general rule" is laid down that "any object which we are to see *d'un coup d'oeil*" should have "symmetry," should be "simple and single and have all its parts related to the principal object." "Symmetry," in short, was a kind of simplicity; and the theory of it was that anything that militates against unity of effect, that produces upon the eye or the mind a distracting multiplicity of impressions which cannot be immediately recognized as forming a single well-defined pattern, is inconsistent with beauty and fails to give properly aesthetic pleasure. The demand for symmetry in architecture thus expressed the same fundamental psychological theory as the insistence upon the unities in the drama and the dis-

illustrating the connection, in some minds, between "Gothic irregularity" and moral individualism or political liberalism—the reverse of the association of ideas earlier noted.

¹⁷ This idea was attacked by Goethe in *Von deutscher Baukunst*, 1773.

approval of the mixture of *genres*. Bilateral repetition of the same forms was merely one of the principal means of producing this singleness of effect, or immediately obvious unity of design.

Now "symmetry" in the ordinary sense was, of course, not really disregarded by the Gothic designers, especially of churches; and in interiors it was often actually manifest in a high degree.¹⁸ That a lack of it seemed to eighteenth-century virtuosi and critics to be characteristic of the style was partly due to the historical accident that few great Gothic buildings were completed in accordance with the original designs. But this fact was little known or considered at the time. The conception of the style was derived from the actual visible aspect of many of its principal monuments; and thus the notions of symmetry and irregularity came to be firmly associated with the term "Gothic" in its architectural use.

3. For strict neo-classical theorists, however, "regularity" meant more than sensibly apparent symmetry and repetition of identical members; it implied the observance of uniform and exact mathematical rules of proportion, such as had been laid down by Vitruvius. Illustrations of this conception are abundant throughout the century. And here too the Gothic architects were found wanting; they were usually supposed to have designed by rule of the thumb or spontaneous inspiration. Thus Thomas Warton when in 1782, under the influence of Reynolds, he repented his former Gothicism, compared the Gothic

Builder's model, richly rude
By no Vitruvian symmetry subdued

with

the chaste design,

The just proportion and the genuine line

of classic art.¹⁹

All of the foregoing grounds of disparagement of Gothic architecture are interestingly summed up in Goethe's account of the

¹⁸ This fact was recognized by Hutcheson, and he accordingly granted that Gothic has "real beauty," though not the highest—inasmuch as it has in a limited degree the same attributes as the classical. (*Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, 1725, § 6; cited from third ed., 1729, p. 76.)

¹⁹ *Verses on Sir Joshua Reynold's Painted Window at New College, Oxford*, 1782.

preconceptions with which he first approached the Cathedral of Strasbourg in 1770:

Auf Hörensagen ehrte ich die Harmonie der Massen, die Reinheit der Formen, war ein abgesagter Feind der verworrenen Willkürlichkeiten gotischen Verzierungen. Unter die Rubrik Gotisch, gleich dem Artikel eines Wörterbuches, häufte ich alle synonymische Misverständnisse, die mir von Unbestimmtem, Ungeordnetem, Unnatürlichem, Zusammengestopfeltem, Aufgeflicktem, Überladnem jemals durch den Kopf gezogen waren.²⁰

4. The neo-classic criterion of universal acceptability was sometimes invoked for the disparagement of the Gothic, as in the familiar lines addressed to Reynolds by Thomas Warton in the same poem:

Thy powerful hand has broke the Gothic chain,
And brought my bosom back to truth again.
To truth by no peculiar taste confined,
Whose universal pattern strikes mankind.

The criterion was obviously, in this case, even more illogically applied than in the case of literature; for, by the eighteenth-century reckoning, all European mankind had preferred for some eight hundred years or more to build "Gothic" structures, while the Greek and Roman modes, so far as was known, had prevailed only a few centuries longer. There was thus no historical support for the supposition that the one was "universal" while the other was not. The notion expressed in Warton's lines was not, I think, one which had much part in producing the disapproval of Gothic architecture, or even in the 'rationalization' of this attitude. There was a conventional association between the idea of "the classic" and the idea of that of which the validity and beauty is recognized by all men of all races and all types at all times; and since Gothic structures were *not* "classic"—in the sense of accordant with Greek or Roman models—it was, by a mere verbal confusion, assumed by Warton that they were less "classic," in the sense of "universally approved or enjoyed," than the creations of Palladio or his imitators.

Such were the four principal preconceptions which it was necessary to overcome before Gothic could gain the approval of those for whom the first rule of all art was that it should "imitate" or "conform to Nature."

²⁰ *Werke*, Jubiläumsausgabe, XXXIII, 7.

A renewal of Gothic building had begun in England upon a considerable scale before the dogma of the inferiority of Gothic was seriously challenged. This was the consequence of a new sense on the part of architects of what "harmony" of style required. Many builders since the sixteenth century had without compunction plastered classical orders, pediments and arcades upon Gothic structures. But before the end of the seventeenth century it began to be felt by connoisseurs and designers that this was an impropriety. It was better that a building should be all in one style, even though that was a bad style, than that it should be a mixture of incongruous modes. Wren was an influential preacher of this principle. It is true that, in his proposals for restoring old St. Paul's before the fire, he declared that "it will be as easy to perform it after a good Roman manner, as to follow the Gothic rudeness of the old design." He proposed to put over the cross of the transepts of this Gothic structure "a spacious *dome* or *rotundo*, with a *cupola* or hemispherical roof, and upon the *cupola* a *lantern* with a spring top." But in the Memorial giving his plan for restoring Westminster Abbey he wrote:

I have made a design . . . still in the Gothic form, and of a style with the rest of the structure, which I would strictly adhere to, throughout the whole intention; to deviate from the old form would be to run into a disagreeable mixture, which no person of good taste could relish.²¹

When, therefore, his pupil and collaborator, Hawksmoor, and Kent, a designer immensely in the fashion in the time of the first two Georges, were called upon to complete or enlarge Gothic buildings, they commonly tried—seldom, it must be said, with much success—to adhere in some degree to the style of the original structure. We find Hawksmoor, for example, almost simultaneously building two college quadrangles at Oxford. At All Souls' the old front quadrangle remained; and Hawksmoor designed (about 1721) for the new north court the dormitories with tall twin towers which latter-day critics have so much berated—the most conspicuous piece of eighteenth-century Gothic in Oxford. Hard by at Queen's, however, the college authorities, inopportunistly affluent, were willing to have their noble group of medieval buildings razed to the ground; and Hawksmoor showed in the present Italianate outer

²¹ *Parentalia*, p. 302.

court and façade of that college what he preferred to do when given a free hand.

It is of this preliminary episode in the history of the Gothic revival that we get an amusing glimpse in the third book of Mason's *The English Garden* (1779). The hero of the tale had inherited a Gothic castle from his ancestors—a mansion whose “turrets, spires and windows”

Bespoke its birth
Coëval with those rich Cathedral fanes
(Gothic ill-named).

But having a Gothic dwelling, he must also have a Gothic barn, cowyard, and dovecote, and an imitation ruined abbey to conceal the ice-house.²²

The fane conventual there is dimly seen,
The mitred windows and the cloister pale,
With many a wandering column; ivy soon
Round the rude chinks her net of foliage spreads.

Yet even Mason's hero, with all his zeal for the Gothic, could not, it must be admitted, refrain from mixing the styles. Mason himself, in a prose passage, carried the argument farther, and suggested that “harmony” generally required Gothic buildings in England, since so much of the existing architecture, especially in country places, was in that style.

Occasional expressions of an actual admiration, or even preference, for Gothic appear in the 1720s and 1730s; but the movement for the actual building of new structures in what was supposed to be this style apparently takes its start in the early forties. Batty Langley's *Ancient Architecture Restored and Improved by a Great Variety of Usefull Designs, Entirely New, in the Gothick Mode, for the Ornamenting of Buildings and Gardens* appeared in 1742 and his *Gothick Architecture Improved by Rules and Proportions* in 1747. To the former work is prefixed a list of 114 “Encouragers to the Restoring of the Saxon Architecture”—presumably the subscribers to the volume—ranging from a large company of dukes and earls to smiths and carpenters. Langley did not hesitate to declare that “the best Gothic buildings in *Magnificence* and *Beauty* greatly exceed all that have been done by both Greeks and Romans.” With all his errors of taste and understanding,

²² *The English Garden*, III (1779), 59 ff.

Langley must be accorded a place of some consequence in the history of aesthetic fashions and in the preparation for the Romantic medievalism, as the first professional architect, and perhaps the first English writer of his age, who boldly proclaimed, not merely the respectability of Gothic, but its actual superiority to classical architecture both "ancient" and "modern," and zealously endeavored to persuade his contemporaries to build in the Gothic style.

In this endeavor, however, he had a close second in Sanderson Miller. A country gentleman, a man of letters, and an antiquarian, Miller was a person of some importance in his day, whose name became all but forgotten until his correspondence with a pleasant circle of friends was resurrected in 1910.²³ Having first, in 1744, remodelled his own ancestral seat of Radway Grange into what he conceived to be a more truly Gothic character, he was thereafter induced by many of the nobility and gentry to make similar improvements on their estates. Between 1745 and 1750 we find him designing numerous houses, church-towers, stables, *etc.*, in the new-old style; and he seems to have been especially in demand as a designer of ruins. One of his admirers, Lord Dacre, writes him:

Your fame in Architecture grows greater and greater every day, and I hear of nothing else. . . . You'll soon eclipse Mr. Kent, especially in the Gothic way, in which to my mind he succeeds very ill.²⁴

By the late seventeen-forties, then, a Gothic revival—marked, it is true, by more enthusiasm than discrimination—was in full swing; as early as 1753 we have found it spoken of as an old story.²⁵ It was in domestic structures rather than in churches that the new enthusiasm oftenest found expression; and it seems to have raged especially in the construction of small outbuildings, forming a part rather of the landscape than of the architectural design. On the grounds of Envil, for example, there was a "Gothic billiard-room," designed by Miller; and we even hear of a "Gothic cock-pit." This limitation in the scope afforded the new Gothic builders was doubtless mainly due to the fact that the great official appointments were still usually held by architects of the older school. That the supreme examples of the possibilities of Gothic

²³ *An Eighteenth-Century Correspondence*, ed. by Lilian Dickins and Mary Stanton.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, 275.

²⁵ Cf. also Walpole's *Letters*, III, 187.

were to be found in the medieval churches seems, however, to have been clearly enough recognized.

It is true that this neo-Gothicism of the middle of the century apparently did not persist in full vigor, and that some of its most celebrated adherents afterwards wholly or partially abjured their early faith. Into the reasons for this I shall not here inquire. The fact remains that the break with the classical tradition in architecture had been made; and the reaction was destined to be but a temporary one.

The question which interests the student of the history of ideas concerns the reasons for this change of taste in architecture and kindred arts of design. All such changes, no doubt, owe much to the natural craving for variety and novelty, and to the need of feeling oneself superior in taste to one's immediate forebears, which has periodically characterized the passing generations of Occidental mankind. There is some truth, too, in the philosophy of the history of art which Professor Grierson has propounded—*viz.*, that the human mind inevitably goes through a recurrent alternation of "classical" and "romantic" phases (though I think this an unhappy use of the terms), the former being periods in which men for a time rest content—unquestioning, self-confident, and like-minded—in some established synthesis, while the latter are the periods in which it is discovered afresh that every "synthesis effected by the human mind involves exclusions and sacrifices," that "all balances in human life are precarious," and that an attempt to frame a new and more comprehensive synthesis has become imperative.²⁶ But (aside from other possible criticisms) no such general explanations help us to understand why *particular* innovating movements took the specific directions which they did, or occurred at the times at which they did occur. Even though it be assumed that in "the systole and diastole of the human heart" a revolutionary period in art was due to begin in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, why should this have had as one of its earliest manifestations a new appreciation of the qualities found in medieval architecture and a tendency to imitate (at first by no means successfully) medieval models.

²⁶ H. J. C. Grierson: *Classical and Romantic*, 1923. Mr. Grierson has merely invented a new and confusing terminology for Comte's antithesis of "organic" and "transitional" periods.

What I suggest as a partial answer to this question is that this new appreciation of Gothic—not merely in England in the 1740s and 50s but in its later eighteenth-century manifestations also—was made possible by the supposed discovery that this style in architecture was really more “natural,” more “in conformity with Nature,” than the classical—in other words, by certain changes in ideas which enabled the “Goths” to steal the classicists’ catchword. For the sacred though happily equivocal formula remained unchanged throughout; if it had not been possible plausibly to regard Gothic as a true “imitation of Nature” it could hardly have gained any wide acceptance in the eighteenth century. What may be called the necessary “naturalizing” of Gothic, however, took place chiefly in two ways, one of minor consequence, the other of great importance in the general history of aesthetic ideas and taste.

1. We find early in the century occasional suggestions that a Gothic interior is a sort of indoor equivalent of a much admired feature of an English garden or of a natural landscape. In his *Itinerarium Curiosum*, 1724, William Stukeley, a pioneer tourist, wrote, after visiting the cloisters of Gloucester Cathedral:

Nothing could have made me so much in love with Gothic Architecture (so-called), and I judge for a gallery, library, or the like, 'tis the best manner of building because the idea of it is taken from a walk of trees, whose touching heads are curiously imitated by the roof.²⁷

The idea was elaborated in a note to one of Pope's *Epistles* by Bishop Warburton:

When the Goths had conquered Spain, . . . they struck out a new species of architecture, unknown to Greece and Rome; upon original principles, and ideas much nobler than what had given birth to classical magnificence. For this northern people having been accustomed, during the gloom of Paganism, to worship the Deity in groves, . . . when their new religion required edifices they ingeniously projected to make them resemble groves as nearly as the distance of architecture would admit. . . . And with what skill and success they executed the project . . . appears from hence, that no attentive person ever viewed a regular avenue of well-grown trees, intermixing their branches overhead, but it presently put him in mind of the long vista through the Gothic cathedral. . . .

This became a widely accepted commonplace; Sobry writes (*op. cit.*, 1776, p. 28):

²⁷ Cited in *An Eighteenth-Century Correspondence*, p. 262.

La colonne Arabesque, et le pilier de cette Ordonnance, représentent plusieurs arbres liés ensemble et élancés, dont les branchages forment les arrêtes des voûtes . . . Les chambranles de cette ordre dérivent de la même idée. Ce sont les branchages qui accompagnent l'ouverture des portes et des fenêtres.

This idea that the Gothic style had actually originated in such a direct imitation of Nature was still among the hypotheses which Quatremère de Quincy thought it necessary to examine and refute in 1800. Some, he writes, "either repeating what Warburton said, or hitting upon the same idea themselves, have imagined Gothic architecture to be a fantastic system of imitation—i. e., of a forest or of an *allée de jardin*. These writers conceive that the Gothic architects proposed to themselves, in the interiors of their churches, *une aussi puérile singerie*." Such theorists had, of course, Quatremère points out, merely taken an accidental effect for a cause: "at all times and in all architectures there are to be found resemblances with objects which never had served as their models."²⁸ Schelling, however, a few years later, elaborating upon the theme that "die Architektur hat vorzugweise den Pflanzenorganismus zum Vorbild," still held to the Warburtonian theory, declaring a Gothic building to be essentially a "huge tree or row of trees," and elaborating the parallel in even greater detail.²⁹ Partly for this reason, Schelling rejected "the now customary opinion that the Saracens brought this architectural style with them into the Occident," and claimed for it a native German origin.

Wenn Deutschland in den ältesten Zeiten mit Wäldern bedeckt war, so lässt sich denken dass auch beim ersten Anfang der Zivilisation in der Bauart, vorzüglich der Tempel, die Deutschen das alte Vorbild ihre Wälder nachgeahmt haben, dass auf diese Weise die gotische Baukunst in Deutschland ursprünglich heimisch war, und von da aus sich vorzüglich nach Holland und England verpflanzte.

Thus "die gotische Baukunst ist ganz naturalistisch, roh, blosse unmittelbare Nachahmung der Natur."³⁰ Schelling did not himself, it is true, see in this a reason for preferring Gothic to classical architecture; for like most of the German Romanticists, he was not in the main a primitivist or a "naturalist" in matters of

²⁸ *Encyclopédie méthodique: Architecture*, II, 459.

²⁹ *Philosophie der Kunst*, first delivered as lectures in 1802-3; in *Schelling's Werke*, herausgegeben von O. Weiss, 1907, III, 232-3.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 234.

aesthetics—or of ethics.³¹ The (supposedly) more highly developed forms of this art he regarded as superior to its crudely “natural” forms; “harmony,” which is “the ruling part of architecture” depends upon “proportions or ratios”; and “the Ionic order has this attribute in the highest degree.”³² Nevertheless, in the passage cited he was expressing a conception of the nature and origin of Gothic still current in his time; and it was in this conception that some of his contemporaries and his eighteenth-century predecessors who *did* believe in the “unmittelbare Nachahmung der Natur” found an argument in justification of their enthusiasm for Gothic.

Another theory of the origin of Gothic (advanced by some of its admirers) which is mentioned by Quatremère brings it into accord with “Nature” by tracing it back to “the structure of the dwellings of primitive man.” “From the fact that it is agreed with respect to certain architectures that they had, in a certain type of primitive construction and in the characteristics of the dwellings which necessity suggested in the infancy of societies, a sort of model or type which imitation perfected in succeeding ages, it has been maintained that the Gothic architecture must in like manner have had in Nature its model and the type which it imitated.” This also Quatremère refutes at length, arriving at the opposite conclusion that *le gothique serait né non dans l'enfance mais dans la décrépitude de l'état social*.³³

2. Much more significant, however, than these simple parallels between Gothic forms and actual natural objects or primitive dwellings was the transfer of the aesthetic *principle of irregularity*—as a newly discovered implication of the rule of “imitating Nature”—from the art in which it had first manifested itself on a great scale—that of laying out gardens—to architecture. This transition Burke expressly remarked in 1757; and he added the interesting suggestion that the prior vogue of the formal garden had been due to an improper intrusion of architectural ideas into the designing of landscapes—that is to say, of man into Nature. For the idea that beauty results from certain proportions between the parts of objects, he declared, was never drawn from a study of nature.

³¹ On this cf. the writer's “On the Discrimination of Romanticisms,” *PMLA*, XXXIX (1924), 242-251.

³² *Op. cit.*, 242-3.

³³ *Encyclopédie méthodique: Architecture*, II, 459-460.

I am the more fully convinced that the patrons of proportion have transferred their artificial ideas to nature, and not borrowed from thence the proportions they use in works of art; because in any discussion of this subject they always quit as soon as possible the open field of natural beauties, the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and fortify themselves within the artificial lines and angles of architecture. . . . But nature has at last escaped from their discipline and their fetters; and our gardens, if nothing else, declare we begin to feel that mathematical ideas are not the true measure of beauty.³⁴

But if aesthetic principles derived from architecture had previously invaded gardening, in Burke's time the reverse process was going on; aesthetic ideas first developed and popularized in the latter art were being carried back into architecture. And in this, I suggest, lies a large part of the explanation of the first Gothic revival in actual architectural design, and of the new appreciation of England's glorious heritage of medieval Gothic buildings. For the qualities which had long been regarded as the characteristic deformities of Gothic art were, in great part, precisely those which it had now become the fashion to deem the highest virtues in garden design. What everybody was supposed to know was that Gothic architecture was characterized by a kind of wildness and irregularity. Horace Walpole in the *Anecdotes of Painting*, in a passage in which his earlier Gothic enthusiasm has diminished though by no means wholly evaporated, writes that "it is difficult for the noblest Grecian temple to convey half so many impressions to the mind as a cathedral does of the best Gothic taste." This he sets down to the credit not primarily of the architects but of the ecclesiastics, who "exhausted their knowledge of the passions in composing edifices whose pomp, mechanism, vaults, tombs, painted windows, gloom and perspectives, infused such sensations of romantic devotion; and they were happy in finding artists capable of executing such machinery. One must have taste to be sensible of the beauties of Grecian architecture; one only wants passions to feel Gothic." In a later note Walpole explains that he had intended to ascribe "more address to the architects of Gothic churches than to those of St. Peter's, not as architects but as politicians. . . . Gothic churches infuse superstition—Grecian, admiration. . . . I certainly do not mean by this little contrast to make any comparison between the rational beauties of regular architecture, and the unrestrained

³⁴ *Sublime and Beautiful*, Pt. III, § 4.

licentiousness of that which is called Gothic." "Yet," he cannot refrain from adding, "I am clear that the persons who executed the latter had much more knowledge of their art, more taste, more genius, and more propriety than we choose to imagine."³⁵

But in the art of the landscape-architect, we have seen, a kind of aesthetic licentiousness, a "lovely wildness" and irregularity had come to be a merit; and regularity, symmetry, proportion, passed for violations of the first and great commandment, to 'follow Nature.' And it seemed legitimate to assume that characteristics which are the supreme excellences of one art cannot be defects in another. It had, it is true, for a time been remarked that the principles of gardening and architecture are opposed. One of the earliest of English writers on architecture, Wotton, 1624, noted "a certain contrariety between buildings and gardening; for as fabrics should be regular, so gardens should be irregular, or at least cast into a very wild regularity."³⁶ This distinction was accepted by several eighteenth-century enthusiasts for the "natural garden."³⁷ But the cleavage between the two arts—however sound in principle—could not, in the actual movement of taste and opinion, be rigidly or lastingly maintained. Aesthetic ideas and, still more, aesthetic susceptibilities learned in one field inevitably passed over into the other. The transfusion might, of course, be in either direction: in which direction depended partly upon the relative position of the arts in the interest of theorists and connoisseurs, partly upon the natural sequence of stages in the working out of the implications of the aesthetic imperative *naturam sequere*. The influence in the seventeenth century, as we have seen, was from architecture to gardening—and hence unfavorable to Gothic. But when, through the example of the English garden and the enthusiastic preaching of its admirers, a whole generation had learned to find there a "beauty in irregularity," some were sure to better their instruction and seek for the same beauty elsewhere. Many, no doubt, had always in fact experienced pleasure in long-drawn aisles and fretted vaults and soaring pinnacles and broken sky-lines; but no man of taste could permit himself to give way to

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, 1849 ed., I, 117 f.

³⁶ *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, 4th ed., p. 64.

³⁷ *E. g.*, by Mason (*English Garden*, I, l. 395). his annotator Burgh, and Heely (*Beauties of Hagley*, I, 21).

this. Now, however, it could be argued upon accepted aesthetic principles that the recognized attributes of Gothic were legitimate sources of enjoyment. The doctrine of what may be called the primacy of irregularity was no longer limited to the theory of landscape-design, but was explicitly generalized.

Regularity and exactness [says a writer of the 1740s] excite no pleasure in the imagination unless they are made use of to contrast with something of an opposite kind. . . . Thus a regular building perhaps gives us little pleasure; and yet a fine rock, beautifully set off in *claro-obsuro*, and garnished with flourishing bushes, ivy, and dead branches, may afford us a great deal; and a ragged ruin, with venerable old oaks, and pines nodding over it, may perhaps please the fancy yet more.³⁸

Batty Langley, it is true—such errors are frequent with pioneers—had endeavored to commend Gothic by dwelling upon the “rules and proportions” to be found in some features of the style—*i. e.*, by assimilating it so far as possible to the older standards. But this notion was unconvincing and apparently made little impression. The effective way to vindicate the style was to declare, as did Mason, that in it “harmony results From disunited parts.” The merit of his hero’s Gothic dwelling was that in it

No modern art
Had marred with misplaced symmetry the pile.

The true spirit of the Gothic enthusiast, in short, was that expressed by a friend of Sanderson Miller’s who wrote in 1753 requesting a design for a new house:

I would by no means have my Front regular: . . . since the Beauty of Gothick architecture (in my opinion) consists, like that of a Pindarick Ode, in the Boldness and Irregularity of its Members.³⁹

The excellence of the so-called “Chinese sharawadgi”—the term being applied first to gardens but later to buildings also—as the eighteenth-century admirers of it held, was essentially the same; it was a beauty, or at least a pleasurable aesthetic quality, which did *not* depend upon the recognition, at all events at the first glance, of a single general scheme of arrangement in which the position of each part was “regular,” *i. e.*, manifestly determined

³⁸ W. Gilpin: *A Dialogue upon the Gardens . . . at Stow in Buckinghamshire*, 1748.

³⁹ *An Eighteenth-Century Correspondence*, p. 303.

by the recognizable nature of the scheme as a whole. *Sharawaggi* was beauty without regularity and without immediately apparent design.⁴⁰ It was for this reason that the Chinese and Gothic modes were so often associated in the eighteenth-century mind.

The customary parallel of architectural and poetic styles tended, as the revolt against the classical models grew, to promote the same identification of natural irregularity with aesthetic excellence in all the arts; and the three changes in taste which were developing at the same time gave one another mutual support. A taste for English or Chinese gardens, for Gothic buildings, and for Shakespeare, were often regarded as fundamentally the same taste; from the validity of any one a justification for either or both the others was sometimes deduced; and the ultimate theoretical ground for all three was the same assumption that art must have the attributes which distinguish the works of "Nature" and constitute a truly "natural" beauty—"Nature," however, being used, not in the classicist's sense but in the diametrically opposite sense. This is illustrated in the two most celebrated of English eighteenth-century characterizations of Shakespeare. Pope—who in theory though not in practice was something of a pioneer in all three of the new movements—begins his *Preface* (1725), it will be remembered, by a recital of the "characteristic excellencies for which (notwithstanding his defects) Shakespeare is justly and universally elevated above all other dramatic writers"; and the first and most fundamental of these is his closeness to nature.

Homer himself drew not his art so immediately from the fountains of Nature . . . [Shakespeare] is not so much an imitator as an instrument of Nature; and it is not so just to say that he speaks from her as that she speaks through him.⁴¹

And the *Preface* ends with a parallel between a Shakespearean play and a Gothic building: both have the same merits and the same defects.

I will conclude by saying of Shakespeare, that with all his faults, and with all the irregularity of his drama, one may look upon his works, in

⁴⁰ Cf. Sir William Temple: "Upon the Gardens of Epicurus; or of Gardening", 1685 (*Collected Works*, 1690, II, ii, 58); and Y. Z. Chang, "A Note on Sharawaggi", *MLN*, XLV (1930), 221-224.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, in *Works*, Elwin and Courthope ed., x, 535. Addison had said much the same thing in *Spectator*, No. 592.

comparison with those that are more finished and regular, as upon an ancient majestic piece of Gothic architecture compared with a neat modern building; the latter is more elegant and glaring, but the former is more strong and more solemn. It must be allowed, that in one of these there are materials enough to make many of the other. It has much the greater variety, and much the nobler apartments; though we are often conducted to them by dark, old, and uncouth passages. Nor does the whole fail to strike us with greater reverence, though many of the parts are childish, ill-placed, and unequal to its grandeur.⁴²

Forty years later Dr. Johnson in his *Preface to Shakespeare* condones and even extols Shakespeare's "irregularity" on the ground that Nature itself is irregular and "gratifies the mind with endless diversity," and is for just these reasons the more pleasing and the more sublime. In these passages the two most eminent English spokesmen of neo-classical aesthetic doctrine may be seen in the act of giving away the key to the classicists' position, by shifting the aesthetic connotation of "conformity to nature" from simplicity to complexity and from regularity to irregularity; and in doing so they at the same time assert, even though with reservations, the excellence, and even the superiority, of the recognized examples of the latter qualities in architecture, in landscape, and in the drama.

As the foregoing passages illustrate, the same reversal of valuation took place with respect to the attribute of "variety" as with respect to "irregularity." The classicists in architecture (examples have already been cited) had complained that there was too much variety in Gothic structures, that their ornament was too diverse and profuse, their carvings full of "fret and lamentable imagery." But when so respectable an aesthetic authority as Addison had declared the great beauty of natural landscapes to consist in the fact that in them "the eye is fed with an infinite variety of images without any certain stint or measure," the architectural corollary was certain sooner or later to be drawn. Walpole complained in 1750 of Grecian architecture that "the variety is little and admits no charming irregularities."⁴³ When Goethe in 1770 found his anti-Gothic prejudices falling from him at his first acquaintance with a great Gothic church, he gave as one of the principal causes of the impression thus made upon him,

die grossen harmonischen Massen, zu unzählig kleinen Teilen belebt, wie

⁴² *Ibid.*, 549.

⁴³ *Letters*, ed. Toynbee, II, 433.

*in Werken der ewigen Natur bis aufs geringste Zäferchen, alles Gestalt, und alles Zweckend zum Ganzen.*⁴⁴

But in his later, classicist phase, after his Italian journey, Goethe reverted to the sort of criticism of Gothic which we have seen in Fréart, Evelyn and Addison:

Leider suchten alle nordischen Kirchenverzierer ihre Grösse nur in der multiplizierten Kleinheit. Wenige verstanden diese kleinlichen Formen unter sich ein Verhältniß zu geben; und dadurch wurden solche Ungeheuer wie der Dom in Mailand, wo man einen ganzen Marmorberg mit ungeheuren Kosten versetzt und in die elendsten Formen gezwungen hat.⁴⁵

These two aspects of Gothic—"variety," consisting largely in the multiplication of divisions and of minute ornaments, and "irregularity"—were well summed up later in the century by a notable contributor to the diffusion in his own time of the taste both for naturalness in gardens and for medieval architecture:

In Gothic buildings the outline of the summit presents such a variety of forms, some open, some fretted and variously enriched, that even where there is an exact correspondence of parts, it is often disguised by an appearance of splendid confusion and irregularity. In the doors and windows of Gothic churches, the pointed arch has as much variety as any regular figure can well have, the eye is not so strongly conducted from the top of one to that of the other, as by the parallel lines of the Grecian; and every person must be struck with the extreme richness and intricacy of some of the principal windows of our cathedrals and ruined abbeys.⁴⁶

"Richness and intricacy" were precisely the qualities which the architectural classicists had professed most to disapprove. The same attributes were declared by Friedrich Schlegel to be the very essence of Gothic and its supreme merit; it is an art which is true to Nature because it produces the same impression of "inexhaustible fullness" and diversity of forms that Nature itself does: "Das Wesen der gotischen Baukunst besteht in der natürlichen Fülle und Unendlichkeit der innern Gestaltung und äussern blumenreichen Verzierungen."⁴⁷

⁴⁴ *Werke*, Jubiläumsausgabe, vol. 33, p. 9; italics mine.

⁴⁵ *Werke*, Jubiläumsausgabe, vol. 33, p. 47. Cf. the *Einleitung zum Pro pyläen*, 1798. "Dem deutschen Künstler, so wie überhaupt jedem neuern und nordischen, ist es schwer, ja beinahe unmöglich, von dem Formlosen zur Gestalt überzugehen" (*ibid.*),

⁴⁶ Uvedale Price: *An Essay on the Picturesque*, 1794, p. 51.

⁴⁷ *Grundzüge der gotischen Baukunst*, 1805, in *Sämmtl. Werke*, vi, 201.

Both these qualities were closely related to another attribute—the suggestion of infinity—which had likewise been much insisted upon by those who had set forth the theory of the English garden. This note also had been sounded by Addison; it was thus expanded by a later English writer, Gilpin:

There is nothing so distasteful to the eye as a confined prospect (where the reasonableness of it does not appear) . . . The eye naturally loves liberty, and when it is in quest of prospects will not rest content with the most beautiful dispositions of art, confined within a narrow compass, but (as soon as the novelty of the sight is over) will begin to grow dissatisfied, till the whole limits of the horizon be given it to range through.⁴⁸

The Abbé Delille was apparently paraphrasing these passages when he observed that "the eye loves an air of liberty":

Laissez donc des jardins la limite indécise . . .
Où l'œil n'espère plus, le charme disparaît.⁴⁹

The appreciation of this quality was strengthened by the vogue of Burke's Essay: "Nothing," he wrote, "can strike the mind with its greatness which does not make some sort of approach towards infinity; which nothing can do whilst we are able to perceive its bounds."⁵⁰ But it was observed—though not, perhaps, until somewhat later in the century—that in this, too, Gothic rather than classical architecture came nearer to producing the aesthetic impression given by English gardens and by "Nature" itself. It produced it partly by its variety and profusion of detail, but partly by a special peculiarity of Gothic design which Bernardin de St. Pierre, among others, pointed out. "L'architecture gothique de nos temples affectait le sentiment de l'infini":

Les voûtes élevées, supportées par des colonnes sveltes, présentaient, comme la cime des palmiers, une perspective aérienne et céleste qui nous remplit d'un sentiment religieux. L'architecture grecque, au contraire, malgré la régularité de ses ordres et la beauté de ses colonnes, offre souvent dans ses voûtes un aspect lourd et terrestre, parcequ'elles ne sont pas assez élevées par rapport à leur largeur.⁵¹

By the end of the century this had become one of the familiar

⁴⁸ Gilpin, *On the Gardens at Stow*, 1748.

⁴⁹ *Des jardins*, 5th ed., p. 23.

⁵⁰ *Sublime and Beautiful*, Pt. II, § 4.

⁵¹ *Harmonies de la Nature*, written about 1793, published in 1814; in *Oeuvres posthumes*, 1833, p. 66.

themes of the enthusiasts for Gothic. "It is well known," wrote John Milner in 1800—quoting Burke as an authority—"that height and length are amongst the primary sources of the sublime . . . [Now in Gothic] the aspiring form of the pointed arches, the lofty pediments, the tapering pinnacles, the perspective of uniform columns, ribs and arches repeated at equal distances, produce an artificial infinite in the mind of the spectator, when the same extent of plain surface would perhaps hardly affect it at all."⁵² This, it will be observed, precisely contradicts the theory of Fréart adopted by Addison about the psychological effect of multiplicity of detail and broken surfaces.

The late Professor W. P. Ker has observed that "the Middle Ages have influenced modern literature more strongly through their architecture than through their poems. Gothic churches and old castles have exerted a medieval literary influence on many authors who have had no close acquaintance with old French and German poets and not much curiosity about their style. . . . The thrill of mystery and wonder came much more from Gothic buildings than from the *Morte d'Arthur*."⁵³ The truth of this is doubtless now generally recognized. Less familiar is the fact for which I have here presented some of the evidence—that the revival of an appreciation of medieval architecture, with its manifold consequences, was itself in great part an aspect of the eighteenth-century "return to Nature." But this "return" was in truth, as we have seen, rather a substitution of one for another way of conceiving of "Nature" as the norm and model of art.⁵⁴ The fundamental aesthetic formula of the neo-classicist was the fundamental formula of the gothicist; but the crucial word had reversed its meaning. This shift in the dominant connotation of "Nature" was partly, of course, the effect of a change in taste due to other causes; but it was also itself one of the apparent causes of that change, and it was pretty certainly a *conditio sine qua non*. Until very near the close of the century, hardly any reputable aesthetic

⁵² From Preface to *Essays on Gothic Architecture* by Warton, Bentham and Grose.

⁵³ *Cambridge History of English Literature*, x, p. 217.

⁵⁴ Cf. the writer's "On the Discrimination of Romanticisms": *PMLA*, xxxix, 242-251, and "Nature as Aesthetic Norm," *MLN*, xlii (1927), 444 ff.

theorist or connoisseur of the arts had the hardihood to blaspheme the sacred word; if the merits of Gothic were, in that age, to be vindicated, it must be by showing that type of art to be more faithful than its rival to the universally accepted standard. And the change in the conception of "naturalness" in art began, it is important to remember, before and independently of the beginning of medievalism in architecture. It began in the art in which it was most glaringly apparent that "conformity to Nature" is *not* consistent with formal and regular design, symmetry, simplicity, and the rest of the classical attributes. The earliest Gothic revival, that which took place in England, had for its herald and precursor the new fashion in the designing of artificial landscapes and the new liking for wildness, boldness, broken contours and boundless prospects in natural landscape. It was no accident that the principal early partisans of the *goût anglo-chinois* were among the principal early partisans of Gothic architecture. The one movement prepared the way for the other because it released the inhibitions which the neo-classic principles imposed, or were generally understood to impose, upon certain latent capacities for aesthetic enjoyment; and it did this the more effectively, because the more insidiously, by simply giving to the first and great commandment of the neo-classic code a profoundly different, yet a seemingly obvious and unavoidable, interpretation. Clad in the mantle of "Nature" the great art of the Middle Ages first regained aesthetic respectability; when it had done so, many other modes of medievalism followed in its train.

ARTHUR O. LOVEJOY

The Johns Hopkins University

SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS ON THE PICTURESQUE

In his edition of Sir Joshua Reynolds' letters, Dr. Hilles quotes the Rev. William Gilpin's note that Sir Joshua had seen the essay "On Picturesque Beauty" in manuscript and had made some objections to it.¹ These objections Taylor printed in 1865, but not as a letter; and he implied that Reynolds wrote them after 1791.²

¹ Frederick Whaley Hilles, ed., *Letters of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1929, pp. 217-219.

² Charles Robert Leslie and Tom Taylor, *Life and Times of Sir Joshua*

William Mason, enthusiastic about Gilpin's writings on picturesque beauty, submitted one of Gilpin's essays to his good friend Sir Joshua. Reynolds, much interested, in the course of a single evening read the essay and wrote a lengthy criticism. Mason then wrote to Gilpin: ³

Curzon Street July 20th 1776

Dear Sr

I return you with this the three Essays; the first of wch I had an opportunity of leaving with Sr Joshua Reynolds at Richmond last Sunday evning, (without the Authors name) and on Monday morning he sent me his critique upon it, wch I also send you; it will prove, if it does nothing more, that he is certainly the Author of his own Academy-discourses, wch you know has been doubted. . . .

. . . should you be vext to find Sr Joshua not quite a friend to your systematical prose let it console you that he is still less a friend to my systematical verse, for you will find from his Paper that my principle of modern Gardening meets with no quarter from him. . . .

Gilpin years later sent Sir Joshua a revision of the essay, which, however, remained in essence as before. The artist replied very favorably. Gilpin announced to Mason, on June 29, 1791:

I have given ye Essays a thorough correction. As ye first was on a subject rather novel, I wished sir Joshua Reynolds to see it. A dozen years ago, if you remember, he saw it through yr means; & made objections to it. The general idea of it is still ye same. He now with great candour retracts his objections; & only points out to me an enlargement of my idea. However, as that supposes me to be acquainted with ye works of Raphael, & Michael Angelo, wh I am not, I must stop where I am. I intend to print sir Joshua's letter, as I hinted to him, & my answer, at ye end of ye essay.

Gilpin's *Three Essays* printed the new letter (which Hilles reprints), and also Gilpin's answer. But the death of Reynolds early in 1792 probably caused Gilpin to think again of the earlier, longer criticism in his possession: on March 21, 1792, he wrote to Mason:

Some years ago, when you shewed ye *first essay* to sir Joshua Reynolds, he wrote 8 or 9 quarto pages upon it These papers I have by me; & tho

Reynolds, London, 1865, II, 606-608. The letter, though of considerable interest, seems to be very little known. It is given over to a discussion of the picturesque which, Reynolds maintains, is properly applicable "solely to the works of nature."

³ This and other quotations from Mason-Gilpin correspondence are taken from the manuscript letters, by permission of Mr. W. Lockwood M. Benson, a great-great-grandson of Gilpin.

he found fault with it in some parts, (wh^h fault you see he has now retracted,) yet there are several good things in it; & I think it might not be amiss to print it at ye end of ye essays—not in y^s edition, as it is too late—but in a future one. Do you see any objection?

Gilpin never printed Reynolds' early comments. The above-quoted correspondence shows them to be the body of a letter to William Mason in July, 1776; reveals that Reynolds was ready to consider at length the new artistic ideas of a theorist unknown to him; and indicates that he was able to write in a short time his own keen art-criticism,—or, in Mason's words, "that he is certainly the Author of his own Academy-discourses." This entire matter furthermore shows that Sir Joshua was a man willing to modify his ideas in the light of new thought, and to acknowledge his modifications; and this, together with passages in the Thirteenth Discourse,⁴ points to the conclusion that he, as other Englishmen, was as early as 1776 well aware of the new theories about landscape beauty set forth by William Gilpin.

WILLIAM D. TEMPLEMAN

University of Illinois

SWIFT'S BELIEF IN IMMORTALITY

Swift's belief in immortality has been specifically questioned by two of his biographers. Leslie Stephen writes: "But for Swift this state of mind carried with it the necessity of clinging to some religious creed, not because the creed held out promises of a better hereafter, for Swift was too much absorbed in the present to dwell much upon such beliefs."¹ And Churton Collins says: "Assuming as a Churchman the truth of Christianity he was bound also as a Churchman to assume the existence of a future state. But the evidence for supposing that it formed any article of his personal belief is slight."²

On the contrary, the promise of a better life beyond the grave was for Swift the solution of the troublesome problem of the unequal dispensations of blessings and discomforts in this existence.

⁴ *Discourses*, ed. Edmund Gosse, London, 1884, p. 243.

¹ *Life of Swift*, New York, 1882, E. M. L. series, p. 58.

² *Jonathan Swift*, London, 1893, p. 247.

To Mrs. Whiteway, who had lost a son by death, he wrote: "Some degree of wisdom is required in the greatest calamity; because God requires it; because He knows what is best for us; because He never intended anything like perfect happiness in the present life."³ In a prayer, also, offered at the death-bed of Stella he petitions: "Give her a true conception of the vanity, folly, and insignificancy of all human things."⁴ To Gay he wrote: "Mr. Pope complains of seldom seeing you, but the evil is unavoidable, for different circumstances in life have always separated those whom friendship would join. God hath taken care of this to prevent any progress towards real happiness here, which would make life more desirable and death too dreadful."⁵ Writing to Stella from London about the death of Lady Ashburnham, who had died in child-birth, he said: "I hate life when I think it exposed to such accidents; and to see so many thousand wretches burdening the earth while such as she die, makes me think God did never intend life for a blessing."⁶

This view of life is dark, indeed, but it is illumined by the star of hope for a better hereafter. Praying by the dying Stella he said: "And if Thou wilt soon take her to Thyself, turn our thoughts rather upon that felicity which we hope she shall enjoy, than upon that unspeakable loss we shall endure."⁷ When Dr. Arbuthnot had written to him about his ill state of health, Swift replied: "You tear my heart with the ill state of your health; yet if it should please God to call you away before me, I should not pity you in the least, except on the account of what pains you might feel before you passed into a better life."⁸ When Mrs. Moore lost a daughter Swift offers her this comfort: "The dear person you lament is by no means an object of pity, either in a moral or religious sense. Philosophy always taught men to despise life as a most contemptible thing in itself; and religion regards it only as a preparation for a better, which you are taught to be certain that so innocent a person is now in possession of; so that she is an immense gainer, and you and her friends, the only losers."⁹ To Pope when his mother was ill he wrote: "As to poor Mrs. Pope, if she be still

³ *Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. F. Elrington Ball, London, 1914, v, 309-310.

⁴ *Prose Works*, Bohn Edition, ed. Temple Scott, 1914, III, 314.

⁵ *Correspondence*, IV, 176.

⁶ *Prose Works*, II, 410.

⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 313.

⁸ *Correspondence*, v, 106.

⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 436.

alive, I heartily pity you and pity her. Her great piety and virtue will infallibly make her happy in a better life, and her great age has made her fully ripe for Heaven and the grave; and her best friends will most wish her eased of her labors, when she has so many good works to follow them."¹⁰ Writing to Pope at another time he said: "Pray God preserve Mrs. Pope for your sake and ease; I love and esteem her too much to wish it for her own. If I were five and twenty I would wish to be of her age to be as secure as she is of a better life."¹¹ To the Earl of Oxford whose daughter had died, he wrote: "My Lord, both religion and reason forbid me to have the least concern for that lady's death upon her own account, and he must be an ill Christian or a perfect stranger to her virtues who would not wish himself, with all submission to God Almighty's will, in her condition."¹²

These passages concerning immortality in general are supplemented by numerous ones bearing on the specific belief in rewards and punishments. He writes, for example, to Lady Masham: "Although you have not been rewarded suitably to your merits, I doubt not but God will make it up to you in another life, and to your children and posterity in this."¹³ In another prayer offered with heart-broken sincerity when Stella was dying occur these words: "O most merciful Father, Who never afflictest Thy children but for their own good, and with justice over which Thy mercy always prevaleth, either to turn them to repentance, or to punish them in the present life in order to reward them in a better, . . ."¹⁴ In the sermon on the *Testimony of Conscience*, answering possible objectors who say if conscience be so sure a director to us Christians in the conduct of our lives, how comes it to pass that the ancient heathen, who had no other lights but those of nature and reason, should so far excel us in all manner of virtue, he replies that they were extremely strict in their education of children, that they instilled love of country, and lastly, "the most considerable among the heathens did generally believe in rewards and punishments in a life to come, which is the great principle for conscience to work upon: Whereas too many of those who would be thought the most considerable among us, do both by their practices and their discourses, plainly affirm, that they believe nothing

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, 90.¹² *Ibid.*, II, 87.¹¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 34.¹³ *Ibid.*, II, 222.¹⁴ *Prose Works*, III, 313.

at all of the matter.”¹⁵ In the sermon *On the Wisdom of This World*, in speaking of the inferiority of the ancient philosophy to Christianity, he says: “It was the want of assigning some happiness proportioned to the soul of man, that caused many of them, either, on the one hand, to be sour and morose, supercilious and untreatable; or, on the other, to fall into the vulgar pursuits of common man. . . . So impossible is it for a man who looks no further than the present world to fix himself long in a contemplation where the present world has no part; he has no sure hold, no firm footing; he can never expect to remove the earth he rests upon, while he has no support beside for his feet, but wants, like Archimedes, some other place whereon to stand. To talk of bearing pain and grief, without any sort of present or future hope, cannot be purely greatness of spirit; there must be a mixture in it of affectation, and an alloy of pride, or perhaps is wholly counterfeited.”¹⁶

F. M. DARNALL

West Texas State Teachers College

NOTES ON THE YAHOO

1. The Yahoos were not utterly vile; in fact, in one way they were better than some of the civilized people, for they had no unnatural vices.¹ Here Swift makes the Yahoo, for a moment only it is true, partake of the qualities of the Noble Savage.

By assembling the possible despicable traits the Yahoos might have had, and yet did not have, we find that they did not indulge in religious frenzies; had no organized warfare; apparently did not commit murder; had developed no philosophy or science, or Royal Society; and displayed very little servility, save in the case of the favorite of the chief, and this cringing Yahoo was despised

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, iv, 125-6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, iv, 175.

¹ “I expected every moment, that my master would accuse the Yahoos of those unnatural appetites in both sexes, so common among us. But nature, it seems, hath not been so expert a school-mistress; and these politer pleasures are entirely the productions of art and reason, on our side of the globe.”—*Prose Works of Jonathan Swift* (ed. Temple Scott), viii, 275.

by the rest of the tribe. Some degree of sensitiveness in the Yahoos is shown by the fact that they hated each other more than any other animal, presumably because they were so odious in appearance.² All these are purely negative virtues. For instance, the Yahoos did not seriously hurt each other in their fights because they lacked the proper weapons for murder. But the fact that they did not possess those characteristics which Swift so often mocked in man; e. g. religious zeal, makes me believe that they were not intended to represent degenerated man, for they would certainly have carried down with them some still more ignoble vestiges of former despicable characteristics. This evidence tends to confirm the belief that Swift, at times at least, thought of the Yahoo as a savage who had not come in contact with a "higher" civilization.

2. But the discussion of the Yahoos by the Houyhnhnms themselves seems to refute the conclusions just proposed. The horses had a tradition that the Yahoos had not been always in their country, "but, that many ages ago, two of these brutes appeared together upon a mountain."³ The Houyhnhnms also definitely stated that the Yahoos were not aborigines.⁴ Another tradition was that the original Yahoos had been driven to the land of the horses from across the seas. Forsaken by their companions, they degenerated and "became in process of time much more savage than those of their own species in the country whence these two originals came."⁵ In these two passages Swift himself refutes the idea proposed by some critics; namely, that the Yahoos were low-type natives, perhaps the Hottentots seen by the early explorers.⁶ And it must be admitted that he ruins the theory I proposed in an earlier passage where I doubted that the Yahoo had degenerated from a higher state. It is barely possible that Swift placed appropriate observations in the mouths of the horses, observations of a

² *Ibid.*, 271.

³ *Ibid.*, 282.

⁴ "That there seemed to be much truth in this tradition, and that those creatures could not be Ylnhniamsky (or aborigines of the land), because of the violent hatred the Houyhnhnms, as well as all other animals, bore them; which although their evil disposition sufficiently deserved, could never have arrived at so high a degree, if they had been aborigines, or else they would have long since been rooted out."—*Ibid.*, 283.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 283.

⁶ See R. W. Frantz, "Swift's Yahoos and the Voyagers," *MP.*, xxix (1931), 49.

sort that he himself would not accept, but it is more reasonable to believe that the Houyhnhnms speak for him at all times.

3. The most vivid reaction Gulliver had to the Yahoos, and the one which lasted the longest and was most thoroughly transferred by him to his detestation of the English Yahoos, was his disgust with their stench.⁷ One wonders if part of Swift's disgust with mankind is not revealed here as being based on an almost pathological hatred of human uncleanness.

4. Not enough attention has been paid to Gulliver's final statement that he might become reconciled with "Yahoo-kind in general—if they would be content with those vices and follies only which nature hath entitled them to."⁸

I am not in the least provoked at the sight of a lawyer, a pickpocket, a colonel, a fool, a lord, a gamester, a politician, a whoremaster, a physician, an evidence, a suborner, an attorney, a traitor, or the like; this is all according to the due course of things: but when I behold a lump of deformity, and diseases both in body and mind, smitten with *pride* it immediately breaks all the measures of my patience; neither shall I be ever able to comprehend how such an animal and such a vice could tally together.⁹

This disgust with the pride of degenerate man reminds us of the famous passage in *A Discourse on the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*.

However, it is a sketch of human vanity, for every individual to imagine the whole universe is interested in his meanest concern. If he hath got cleanly over a kennel, some angel unseen hath descended on purpose to help him by the hand; if he hath knocked his head against a post, it was the devil, for his sins, let loose from hell, on purpose to buffet him. Who, that sees a little paltry mortal, droning, and dreaming, and drivelling to a multitude, can think it agreeable to common good sense, that either Heaven or Hell should be put to the trouble of influence or inspection, upon what he is about.¹⁰

This expression of disgust was more narrowly concerned with man's spiritual pride in his close relationship with Higher Powers; the passage from *Gulliver* was derisive of all his pretensions and pride.

⁷ After some time in England, Gulliver says: "Yet the smell of a Yahoo continuing very offensive, I always keep my nose well stopp'd with rue, lavender, or tobacco leaves."—*Prose Works of Jonathan Swift* (ed. Temple Scott), VIII, 307. See also pp. 300 and 301.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 307.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 307. The italics are Swift's.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 200.

I believe that we have in these passages the key to the mystery of why Swift scorned and ridiculed mankind. The stench of the Yahoos might be strong, but this was natural; man's despicable nature was perhaps not his fault, but his unawareness of it and his pride in what was really only Yahooism was unforgiveable.

I conclude that the Yahoos were never intended to represent any one specific type or kind of man or savage or beast. At one time they were degenerated men from a civilized land; at another time they were savages; at still another they were but the opposites of the nobler horses, who, in turn, existed only as models for ignoble but civilized mortals. Probably the truth is that Swift created no great unity in his pictures of the Yahoos, but allowed the demands of his satire of all men to dictate his treatment of our repulsive brothers and sisters. I am also of the opinion that there is a theme that links two great expressions of Swift's disgust with mankind. But perhaps the most important conclusion is that the text of Swift still demands very careful reading and interpretation.

University of Tennessee

C. M. WEBSTER

A CHECKLIST OF THE POEMS OF CHARLES SACKVILLE, SIXTH EARL OF DORSET AND MIDDLESEX

"Your lyric poems," said Dryden in a dedication to the Earl of Dorset, "are the delight and wonder of this age, and will be the envy of the next. . . . I have never attempted anything in Satyr, wherein I have not studied your writing as the most perfect model."¹ Some years later Matthew Prior wrote: "Every one of his pieces is an ingot of gold, intrinsically and solidly valuable . . . his thought was always new."² Such was the esteem in which Dorset's contemporaries professed to hold his verse,—those of them at least who had profited by his generosity or sought his patronage. At a later date Dr. Johnson, writing with more detachment, found less to admire. "Would it be imagined that, of this rival to antiquity, all his satires were little personal invectives?"³

¹ Dedication to his translation from Juvenal, *Miscellaneous Works*, London, 1760, iv, 159.

² Dedication to his *Poems on Several Occasions*, London, 1718.

³ *Lives of the Poets*, ed. by G. B. Hill, 1905, I, 307 (Dorset).

Certainly the student of seventeenth century poetry finds little to justify Dryden's praise in the scanty remains of Dorset's work that can be assembled to-day. Dorset wrote little and published less. "Your Lordship's only fault is, that you have not written more; unless I could add another, and yet a greater . . . that you have written, and out of vicious modesty will not publish."⁴ His poems appeared from time to time in miscellanies, and no attempt was made in his lifetime to collect them. One miscellany of which the second edition appeared in 1707 is entitled *The Works of the . . . Late Earls of Rochester and Roscommon, with a Collection of Originall Poems . . . by the Most Eminent Hands*. This contains poems attributed to Dorset, one of which (No. 11 in the following list) was not reprinted in a later edition which has his name on the title-page: *The Works of the Earls of Rochester, Roscomon, and Dorset . . . in Two Volumes . . .* London, 1752.⁵ In *The Works of the English Poets*⁶ (1779-1781) for which Johnson wrote the "Lives" fourteen of Dorset's poems were included. Subsequent collections, such as those of Anderson and Chalmers, are merely copies of this group.

Since no complete collection of Dorset's poems exists, and much uncertainty prevails as to what he really did write, it has seemed worth while to establish the brief canon of his productions. In the list which follows an attempt has been made to gather and arrange in chronological order the poems attributed to Dorset and to state briefly the grounds on which the attribution rests. The order is in some cases fixed by dates attached to the poems on their first appearance. In others it rests upon inference and internal evidence.

In this connection it is helpful to bear in mind a few facts of Dorset's life. He first came into prominence after the Restoration, when as Lord Buckhurst he figured in many unsavory escapades in the company of such as Sedley, Rochester, and the Merry Monarch himself. Much of the work attributed to him seems to belong to this period. His first wife, Mary Bagot, Countess of Falmouth,

⁴ Dryden, dedication to his Juvenal.

⁵ This later edition, which I consulted in the Huntington Library, is hereafter referred to as *The Works of Rochester and . . . Dorset*. A work with a similar title page but with the date 1721 was catalogued by the Library of the U. S. State Department, but the book could not be located in Washington in 1929. ⁶ The copy I have used was printed in 1800.

was of the same group and the marriage was not approved by his family. His love of satire won him the disfavor of James II when Dorset chose as its object Katharine Sedley, Countess of Dorchester, the King's mistress. About this time his wife died and he withdrew from the court. His second wife, Mary, daughter of the Earl of Northampton, was a beauty of a different stamp. Her influence was very strong, and in his retirement at Copt Hall, Essex, he seems to have steadied and changed under her companionship. Upon the accession of William of Orange he was made Lord Chamberlain, and was four times appointed among the Lords Justices with whom the government of the realm rested during that King's absences from the country. Dorset's health was broken by early excesses. It gave way after the death of his second wife, and though he returned to court occasionally, he was a semi-invalid for some years preceding his death in 1706.

1. *Pompey the Great, a Tragedy*. Translated out of the French by Certain Persons of Honour. London, 1664. The entry in the British Museum *Catalogue* supplies the information that the translators were Edmund Waller, C. Sackville, Sir C. Sedley and S. Godolphin, and the play is Pierre Corneille's *Mort de Pompée*.

In the dedication of Dryden's *Essay of Dramatick Poesy* (1668) he addresses Dorset in these words: "I am sure that my adversaries can bring no such arguments against verse, as those with which the fourth act of Pompey will furnish me in its defense." This has been construed to imply that the fourth act is the work of his patron. So Pepys (June 3, 1666): "Reading Pompey the Great (a play translated from the French by several noble persons: among others, my Lord Buckhurst) that to me is but a mean play, and the words and sense not very extraordinary."

2. *Song Written at Sea* ("To all you ladies now at land"). This is Dorset's most famous work, a ballad of eleven stanzas, supposed to have been written at sea the night before the battle of June 3, 1665, in which Buckhurst was a volunteer combatant. Johnson quotes this story, but doubts its veracity, for the reason that he was told by the Earl of Orrery, Dorset's son-in-law, that Lord Buckhurst had been a week upon it, and only finished or retouched it on the eve of the battle.⁷ Mr. Ault⁸ reprints it from

⁷ Johnson, *Lives of the Poets*, ed. Hill, 1905. I, 305.

⁸ Ault, Norman, *Seventeenth Century Lyrics*. N. Y., 1928, pp. 333, 486.

B. M. Harl. Ms. 3991, and suggests that it may have been written during the first cruise of the Duke of York against the Dutch in November, 1664. At that time the Dutch avoided an action by retiring into port, as described in the verse on "foggy Opdam". Pepys writes on January 2, 1664/65 of "a ballet I brought with me, made from the seamen at sea to their ladies in town; saying that Sir W. Pen, Sir G. Ascue, and Sir J. Lawson made them." If this is the same poem, his comment confirms the earlier date; but the assigned authorship makes the problem a bit difficult.

3. *A Song on Black Bess* ("Methinks the poor town has been troubled too long"). In the *Works* of Rochester . . . and Dorset, II, 45-46, in Johnson's list,⁹ and in *Poetical Miscellanies*, 1704, v, 285. It can be dated by internal evidence as early in 1668: "My Lord Craven's drums" mentioned therein, called soldiers to arms to subdue a mob of 'prentices (Pepys, March 24, 1667/68).

4. *To Sir Thos. St Serfe, on his Printing his Play called Tarugo's Wiles, Acted 1668* ("Tarugo gave us wonder and delight"). The British Museum *Catalogue* lists four copies of this play (1668) under the name Thomas Sydserf. The poem occurs in the *Works* of Rochester . . . and Dorset, II, 40, in Johnson's list, and in *Poetical Miscellanies*, 1704, v. 272. Genest¹⁰ reports that the play was acted in 1668 at Lincoln's Inn Fields.

5. *Song* ("Phyllis, for shame, let us improve"). In Johnson's list, but not in the *Works*. It is printed in *Westminster Drollery*, I, (1671) without attribution. Mr. Ault dates it, therefore, 1670.

6. *Epilogue, spoken by Tartuffe* ("Many have been the vain attempts of wit"). In the *Works* of Rochester . . . and Dorset, II, 41-42, and in Johnson's collection. Molière's *Tartuffe* was produced at the Theatre Royal in 1670 (Genest, I, 106-107).

7. *The Duel of the Crabs; by the Lord B——st, occasioned by Sir R. Howard His Duel of the Stags* ("In Milford-Lane, near to St. Clement's steeple"). Printed, headed as above, in *Poems on Affairs of State* (1697), I, 212; not in the *Works* or Johnson's list. The original *Duel of the Stags* was published, according to the

⁹ *The Works of the Poets of Great Britain, with Prefaces by Dr. Samuel Johnson*. London, 1800, II, 8th pagination.

¹⁰ Genest, John. *Some Account of the English Stage, 1660-1830*. Bath, 1832, I, 87.

British Museum *Catalogue*, in 1668. Buckhurst became Earl of Middlesex in 1674/75; probably the date of the parody is nearer the earlier year.

8. *To a Person of Honour (Mr. Edward Howard) on his Incomparable, Incomprehensible Poem called "The British Princes"* ("Come on, ye Criticks, find one fault who dares"). In the *Works* of Rochester . . . and Dorset, II, 38-39, in Johnson's list, and in *Poetical Miscellanies* (1704), v, 269-271. The British Museum *Catalogue* gives the date of *The Brittish Princes, an Heroick Poem*, as 1669. This poem and the next are mentioned in Mulgrave's *Essay on Satyr*, printed 1680, as follows:

Dorset . . .
Dull as Ned Howard, whom his brisker times
Have famed for dulness in malicious rhymes.

The poem also refers in uncomplimentary terms to the death of Dorset's wife, which occurred in 1679. One can only suggest a date between 1669 and 1679. The *Essay* was circulated in manuscript before printing, and may have been altered at the last moment.

9. *To the Same, on his Plays* ("Thou damn'd Antipodes to common sense"). Not in Dorset's *Works*; in Johnson's list and in Dryden's *Annual Miscellany* (1694), iv, 301.

10. *On Dolly Chamberlain, a Sempstress in the New Exchange* ("Dolly's beauty and art"). Found only in the *Works* of Rochester . . . and Dorset, II, 25. It consists of only six lines, hardly printable. For this reason I attribute it to his earlier period.

11. *On a Lady who Fancy'd Herself a Beauty* ("Dorinda's sparkling wit and eyes"). The first of the satires on Katharine Sedley, Countess of Dorchester, mistress of James II; she appeared at court about 1676/77.¹¹ It is in the *Works* of Rochester . . . (1707), II, 107-108, in Johnson's list, and in *A New Miscellany*, edited by Charles Gildon (1701). Ault reprints it from B. M. Harl. Ms. 7315.

12. *On the Countess of Dorchester . . . written 1680* ("Tell me, Dorinda, why so gay"). The name is sometimes given as Dormida. In the *Works* of Rochester . . . and Dorset, II, 24, in

¹¹ Pinto, V. de S., *Sir Charles Sedley*. London, 1927, p. 135.

Johnson's list, in *Poems on Affairs of State* (1703), II, 405, and in Dryden's *Miscellany Poems* (4th ed., 1716), II, 209.

13. *On the Same* ("Proud with the spoils of royal cully"). In the *Works of Rochester* . . . and Dorset, II, 25, in Johnson's list, and in *A New Collection of Poems Relating to Affairs of State* (1705), p. 562.

14. *Song* ("May the ambitious ever find"). Ault reprints this from B. M. Add. Ms. 19759 (circ. 1681). The tenor of the song suggests that it may have been written to his second wife before their marriage. In Johnson's collection.

15. *Epilogue on the Revival of Jonson's Play Called "Every Man in his Humour"* ("Entreaty shall not serve, nor violence"). In the *Works of Rochester* . . . and Dorset, II, 42-43, in Johnson's list, and in *Poetical Miscellanies* (1704), V, 277-280. Genest¹² gives *Every Man in his Humour* in a list of "21 old plays which were revived between 1663 and 1682." He states that it had "a good epilogue" and quotes two lines from Dorset's poem.

16. *A Faithful Catalogue of our Most Eminent Ninnies, A Satyr written in the year 1686, by the Earl of Dorset* ("Curs'd be these dull, unpointed, doggrel Rhimes"). The heading given above is taken from the *Works of Rochester* . . . and Roscommon (1707), II, 52-79. The 1752 edition and the *British Museum Catalogue* give the date as 1683. This is much longer than any of his other works. It is written in blank verse and is full of vulgar personal invective. It is mentioned in Jacob's *Poetical Register*, 1723, I, 173-175, where it is described as "a satyr upon King James' courtiers, wherein the fair Sex have also a large share of his Lordship's pointed reflections."

17. *Song* ("Corydon beneath a willow"). In Johnson's collection. This poem and the next three have nothing by which they may be dated, except that they are light satiric verse and may therefore be placed with those belonging to his earlier period.

18. *The Antiquated Coquet* ("Phyllis if you will not agree"). In Johnson's collection. A footnote reads "a satire on a lady of Ireland, supposed to be of the name of Clanbrazil." Dorset's cousin Anne, granddaughter of the first Earl of Middlesex, married in

¹² *Some Account of the English Stage*, I, 343.

1641 the Earl of Clanbrassil. She remarried after his death, in 1668, and lived twenty years longer. This gives us the identity of the lady, but does not assist much in dating the poem.

19. *A Song to Chloris, from "The Blind Archer"* ("Ah, Chloris, 'tis time to disarm your bright eyes"). In the *Works of Rochester . . . and Dorset*, II, 45, also in Johnson's group, and in *Poetical Miscellanies* (1704), v, 284.

20. *Song* ("Phyllis, the fairest of love's foes"). In Johnson's list, and appeared in *Poetical Miscellanies* (1704), v, 287, without attribution.

21. *Knotting* ("At noon, on a sunshiny day"). In the *Works of Rochester . . . and Dorset*, II, 44-45. A footnote says it was written in compliment to Queen Mary. The date is therefore 1689 or later. It is also mentioned in Jacob's *Poetical Register*, is included in Johnson's list, and in *Poetical Miscellanies*, v, 281-283.

22. *The Fire of Love* ("The fire of love in youthful blood"). Ault attributes this to Dorset. It was printed without attribution in Shadwell's *Amorous Bigot* (1690), and in *Examen Miscellaneum* (1702), p. 6, where it is "said to be by Earl D." Its subject and general style offer no obstacle to this belief.

23. *The Indulgent Whore; or, Madame Maintenon's Advice to the French King. Written by the Earl of Dorset, in 1697* ("In grey-hair'd Celia's wither'd arms"). This poem is thus entered in the *Works of Rochester . . . and Dorset*, II, 103. In Dryden's *Examen Poeticum*, being the third part of *Miscellany Poems* (1693), 418-421, it is printed opposite a French poem of which it is a paraphrase, beginning "La jeune Iris aux cheveux gris."

24. *Song* ("Sylvia, methinks you are unfit"). In Johnson's collection, and also in *A New Miscellany of Original Poems*, edited by Charles Gildon (1701), pp. 94-95.

25. *Poem, by a Person of Honour* ("Though, Phyllis, your prevailing charms"). An anonymous poem in *A Collection of Poems, viz., The Temple of Death*, by the Marquis of Normanby (1701), p. 106. It is similar to Dorset's other work, and is immediately followed by Dorset's *Epilogue to Every Man in his Humour*, "by the same author." The same poem, without attribution, is found in *Poetical Miscellanies*, v, 294.

26. Another work which may contain something from Dorset's hand is listed under his name in Arber's *Term Catalogues*, II, 542.

The New Academy of Complements; erected for Ladies, Gentlewomen, Courtiers, Gentlemen . . . compiled by L. B. [i. e. Charles Sackville, Lord Buckhurst] *Sir C*[harles] *S*[edley], *Sir W*[illiam] *D*[avenant], and others, *The most refined Wits of this Age*. London, 1681. The names in brackets are supplied by Arber. All poems, letters, etc., are anonymously printed, and the lyrics include several of Shakespeare's.

HELEN A. BAGLEY

Philadelphia

RÉPONSE A M. BAUDIN

Je ne puis passer sous silence le compte rendu de mon livre, *Conventions du Théâtre Bourgeois Contemporain en France, 1887-1914*, par M. Maurice Baudin, dans votre numéro de mars. Je veux bien admettre la justesse de sa critique sur l'omission, dans ma bibliographie, de l'ouvrage de S. M. Waxman. Il est vrai qu'une bonne partie du contenu de cet ouvrage, pour ce qui touche le sujet de mon étude, se trouve dans d'autres livres et articles cités par moi; néanmoins j'avais voulu mentionner Waxman, et la circonstance que son ouvrage n'était pas publié lorsque j'ai envoyé mon manuscrit au premier éditeur avec qui je suis entré en pourparlers, peut expliquer mon inadvertance sans la justifier. Mais le plus grand péché que j'ai commis (péché qui suffit à expliquer la critique partielle et sarcastique de M. Baudin), c'est de ne pas avoir mentionné trois articles par M. Baudin lui-même, qui, eux aussi, ont paru après l'achèvement de mon manuscrit. Je ne les mentionnerai pas maintenant, car M. Baudin l'a déjà fait, en expliquant que ma "discrète approbation" l'oblige à sortir de sa modestie d'auteur. M. Baudin voudrait-il laisser entendre par cette expression que j'ai fait des emprunts à ses articles sans en rendre témoignage? Si c'est le cas, il a tort; je ne lui ai rien emprunté.

M. Baudin ne critique pas sérieusement quelques-unes des parties les plus importantes de mon livre; il les effleure à peine. Ailleurs, il ne fait que chicaner sur les mots. Par exemple, il dit que j'ai commis un non-sens en écrivant, à propos du personnage décoré, qu'il est présenté sous l'un ou l'autre de deux aspects: "ou bien il veut une décoration à tout prix, ou bien la chose est traitée de façon frivole et satirique." D'après M. Baudin, cela revient à dire que, "sous l'un comme sous l'autre aspect," le personnage décoré n'a

pas de décoration. Ai-je besoin de faire observer que cette conclusion, même par l'interprétation la plus littérale, ne se justifie nullement sous le second aspect, et qu'en tout cas, le personnage qui veut une décoration au commencement de la pièce peut fort bien l'avoir à la fin, que l'on peut penser à soi comme à un personnage décoré *in posse*, etc.? M. Baudin renvoie aussi au passage où j'ai fait un classement des pièces selon le motif de l'amour. Dans ma première catégorie, j'avais compris celles où un adultère, passé, actuel, ou imminent, joue un rôle important, et M. Baudin s'en prend à moi pour y avoir mis *Révoltée*, de Lemaître; il dit qu'avant moi, personne n'avait soupçonné un adultère dans cette pièce. Cependant, cet adultère et ses conséquences sont discutés assez longuement dans Acte II, Scène VII; si Hélène avait été une fille légitime, elle n'aurait pas été la "révoltée" qu'elle est devenue; et la scène où elle reconnaît sa mère est une des plus importantes de la pièce. Mais parce que l'acte même de l'adultère a eu lieu avant le commencement de la pièce, M. Baudin prétend qu'aucun critique n'en a soupçonné l'existence! Dans *Mariage blanc*, où il m'accuse d'avoir inventé un adultère imminent, comment peut-on douter de la réalité de cette imminence, vu le caractère de Marthe? Que Simone ne sache pas en quoi consiste un adultère, peu importe; la crise qui la tue est quand même provoquée par la vue de son mari étreignant Marthe. Et si Grâce de Plessans, dans *La Marche nuptiale*, ne s'est tuée que pour ne pas survivre à son roman d'amour, pourquoi pas à la fin du troisième acte? Son roman d'amour était bien fini avec sa découverte du vol commis par Claude. Elle se suicide seulement après s'être rendu compte qu'elle va céder aux instances de Lechâtelier.

Reste l'accusation la plus sérieuse de toutes. M. Baudin dit que mon français est "surchargé d'incorrections" et qu'il contient des phrases "de pur charabia." Il n'en cite aucun exemple, et je trouve curieux que ces graves défauts soient passés inaperçus des professeurs français qui ont lu mon manuscrit, surtout d'un professeur agrégé qui l'a examiné expressément pour y relever les fautes qui pourraient s'y trouver. En tout cas, j'accepterais de meilleure grâce les remarques de M. Baudin si ce n'était pas le cas de la pelle qui se moque du fourgon. Et je ferai pour lui ce qu'il n'a pas fait pour moi: je citerai. Dans son compte rendu, il emploie l'expression tautologique "rouvre à nouveau." Dans ses trois articles dont il parle, je trouve les termes "intervallaires" et "traditionniste," que le Grand Larousse ignore; des mots désuets comme "dramatiste"; des incorrections comme "à de rares exceptions" (deux fois); un anglicisme, "non seulement nous dit-il"; des sujets

pluriels avec verbe au singulier, comme "Les entretiens de Mme Roucher avec M. Didier-Morel passe bientôt les bornes de la politique," et "Si ces géants se portent des coups si terribles, ce n'est pas que leur malice soit profonde, c'est qu'il ignore l'art de se garder"; une phrase sans tête (ou est-ce un abus de la préposition *dans*?) : "Dans *Paris New-York*, écrit en collaboration avec M. Paul Arène, 1907, ramena l'Américaine au Vaudeville." Et je défie M. Baudin de trouver dans mon livre un exemple d'incorrection ou de charabia égal aux deux suivants, tirés de ses articles, et dans lesquels son emploi de la conjonction *que*, non seulement superflu mais inadmissible par toutes les règles de la syntaxe, donne à la phrase une allure ridicule. "Tout s'arrangera, car Smith est patient et bon; et qu'il tient par-dessus tout à ce que l'Amérique et la France s'entendent." Et "Les enseignements du docteur Deborah portent bientôt leurs fruits, car le champ est fertile, et que l'éducation américaine ne perd rien à être transplantée." Je ne dirai rien de nombreuses autres fautes, parce qu'elles peuvent être des fautes d'impression. Mais à tout prendre, il me semble que M. Baudin a encore un stage à faire avant de s'ériger en défenseur si chatouilleux de la langue et du style.

CLIFFORD H. BISSELL

University of California

RÉPONSE A M. BISSELL

En ce qui concerne les adultères *imminents* il est évidemment inutile de contrarier Mr. Bissell. Il a le flair. Cependant s'il compare ce que j'ai dit à propos de *Révoltée* avec ce qu'il me fait dire il verra tout de suite que ce n'est plus la même chose. Pour ce qui regarde *la Marche nuptiale*, j'ai tenté d'indiquer que Mr. B. diminuait le personnage de l'héroïne. J'ai cité d'autres cas où Mr. B. simplifie un peu trop. Il n'analyse pas. Il rapetisse. Quant à cette *chose* d'homme décoré qui *veut* une décoration et *peut fort bien l'avoir à la fin*, me suis-je trompé en disant que "décoré" signifie "n'ayant pas de décoration" ?

Si je n'ai pas insisté davantage sur "les parties les plus importantes" du travail de Mr. B., c'est que pour en mesurer l'apport il eût fallu, encore une fois, en compléter la bibliographie. J'ai mentionné mes articles de détail à côté de l'ouvrage d'ensemble de Mr. Waxman pour marquer le rigoureux procédé d'élimination d'où est sortie la bibliographie de Mr. B. Mais Mr. B. soulève une question

de dates que je n'avais pas prévue. J'eusse apparemment mieux fait de proposer d'autres exemples d'omission, disons l'article de Pellissier, *la Convention au Théâtre*, 1886, *R. A. D.*, III, pp. 12-27, et l'ouvrage de Mr. E. Dawson, *Henri Becque, Sa Vie et Son Théâtre*, 1923, mais pouvais-je soupçonner que le livre de Mr. B. eût été cinq années en un inaltérable cours de publication?

J'ai dit que Mr. B. ne lit pas assez ni assez soigneusement. Prenons un exemple: "Sarcey dit que le Théâtre Libre avait "pour esthétique de découper sur le théâtre des tranches de la vie réelle" (*Quarante Ans de Théâtre*, vol. 8, p. 330) (vii). Le passage attribué à S. n'est pas à l'endroit indiqué, mais, à la page 245 du même volume, Sarcey lui-même dit que la formule en question n'est pas de lui. Après cela peut-on se fier à Mr. B. qui déclare Sarcey adversaire d'Antoine et du Théâtre Libre (6, 133)? Voilà qui diminuerait singulièrement le rôle de S. dans l'histoire du Th. L. J'aime mieux m'en remettre là-dessus au jugement de Mr. Waxman.

Pour mes fautes à moi, la liste ci-dessus n'est pas suffisante, hélas! puisqu'elle contient des échantillons qui ne sont pas des fautes, et que de tous mes pléonasmes on a choisi celui que je pourrais le moins malaisément justifier: le chapitre de conclusions de Mr. B. rouvre une fois de plus des discussions déjà ressassées un peu partout. Mais quand le récit de mes fautes serait plus formidable encore, certains passages de l'ouvrage dont il s'agit ici n'en paraîtraient pas moins impénétrables ou bouffons. J'ai eu tôt sans doute de critiquer le langage de Mr. B., mais comment pouvais-je savoir qu'un professeur agrégé eût examiné son manuscrit *expressément pour y relever les fautes qui pourraient s'y trouver*, et que celles que j'ai trouvées dans le livre ne sauraient y être. J'ai déjà donné deux exemples provenant d'un même paragraphe (vii-viii); je peux bien continuer:

Les classiques, du moins Racine, n'aimaient pas. . . (33)

Qui voudrait rayer, ou changer en dialogue, le fameux monologue de don Diègue . . . ? Toute la scène y perdrait. (33-34)

. . . l'homme qui fait une profession de l'amour, mais sans souffrir de l'opprobre qui accompagne la prostituée. (102)

. . . les Français . . . sont beaucoup plus sensibles que nous aux suggestions sexuelles intérieures. (161)

On trouvera des passages de même force aux pages 10, 21, 109, 145.

Il y a des fautes de mots, d'expressions ou de constructions aux pages ix, x, 2 (2), 4, 6, 9, 10 (2), 11, 20, 40 (2), 43, 44, 46, 56, 80, 99, 101, 160.¹ Il y a des contradictions aux pages 85 et 131

¹ Je ne parle pas de l'expression: "C'est tout qu'elle" (140), ni de

(§§ sur *le Marché*), 76 et 102 (*le Passé*). Je remets le catalogue de ces fautes à l'éditeur de *MLN*.

On peut se demander même si le titre de *Théâtre . . . Contemporain* convient à une étude qui n'embrasse pas les seize dernières années de la production dramatique. Il faudrait considérer, bien entendu, la question de la date de l'achèvement du manuscrit.

MAURICE BAUDIN

New York University

CONCLUSION

En réponse à M. Baudin: je sais fort bien que l'expression "tranche de (la) vie" est de Jullien, mais la phrase qui la contient, et que j'ai citée, est de Sarcey, vol. 8, p. 300 ("330" est une malheureuse coquille); c'est à Sarcey donc qu'il fallait l'attribuer.

Pour la pièce *Révoltée*, j'avais dit qu'il s'y trouvait un adultère (qui pouvait être actuel, passé, ou imminent, et qui était, dans ce cas-ci, passé); M. Baudin a dit qu'il n'y en avait point. Voilà tout.

Nous ne paraissions pas avoir les mêmes idées sur ce qui constitue une faute de français. J'aime autant m'en remettre au jugement de mon critique ici, qui est non seulement agrégé mais docteur ès lettres. En particulier, je ne vois pas où je me serais contredit dans les passages sur *Le Marché* et *Le Passé* auxquels renvoie M. Baudin. Les "tout qu'elle" et "seraient" sont déjà corrigés par un feuillet "Errata" dans les exemplaires de mon livre en vente à Paris.

Quant au mot "contemporain" dans mon titre, il ne peut tromper personne, puisque les dates 1887-1914 font partie dudit titre.

CLIFFORD H. BISSELL

l'emploi de *seraient* pour *serait* (150); je ne ferai ni à Mr. Bissell ni à moi-même l'injure de croire que ce soit autre chose que des coquilles. Je m'empresse d'ajouter que le livre de Mr. B. contient très peu de coquilles.

REVIEWS

English Biography in the Eighteenth Century. By MARK LONGAKER. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931. Pp. ix + 519. \$5.00.

Abraham Cowley, the Muse's Hannibal. By. ARTHUR H. NETHERCOT. New York: Oxford University Press, 1931. Pp. vii + 367; 10 illustrations. \$4.75.

Readings in Biography. By CLARA L. MYERS. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931. Pp. x + 383. \$1.75.

The growth of biography in the last 150 years is one of the most striking phenomena in English letters. The publishing of lives seems, even at the present time, increasing; biographical methods have invaded and changed even the contemporary drama and novel. Criticism has not yet begun to catch up with this important branch of literature. The few writers who have thus far treated biography seriously and critically have encountered the type of obstacles met by all pioneers. Their findings have been inadequate. But they have established, at least, the groundwork for detailed study, and have shown the necessity of determining standards applicable to this distinctive and vital literary form.

Dr. Longaker's study is of particular interest, therefore, because it concentrates on a single epoch and selects for study a century which is of great importance in the development of life-writing. This narrowing of the field to the eighteenth century, coupled with the length of the book, makes it possible for him to devote extended separate chapters to Roger North's account of his three brothers, to Mason's *Memoirs of Gray*, to Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, and, of course, to Boswell. These figures are set in their places by general chapters which trace life-writing before the eighteenth century, the fertilizing influences which made later diversity possible, the growth of realism, the advance of scholarly methods, the work of the lexicographers, and the relations of peripheral forms to pure biography. Autobiography is not discussed.

The difficulties of such an approach are obvious. The use of parallel categories makes it difficult to observe the development of eighteenth-century biography in its entirety. After reaching the year 1801 at the end of Chapter V on scholarly methods, the reader is carried back to 1548 at the start of the next chapter on lexicography. A chronological table of significant publications might have disposed of this objection, but Dr. Longaker has preferred separate bibliographies following each of his ten chapters. This renders each division complete and convenient in itself but tends to make the book a collection of disparate essays.

A further problem in dividing biographies by *genres* is that of the classification itself. Dr. Longaker's divisions, though arbitrary, prove workable, and repetition of material has usually been held under control. Several passages might well have been collapsed or omitted (such as pp. 240-248, which merely restates pp. 48-56, often even with the same footnotes and illustrations). Some critical dicta and striking catch-phrases are frequently repeated; for example, Steele's, "There is a satisfaction to curiosity in knowing the adventures of the meanest of mankind," is quoted in full or in part no less than six times in one chapter, and twice more in another.

The preface states that "It is to provide additional information and to establish more firmly critical standards for the appreciation of biography that this study is presented." The additional information is present on every page and will be welcomed by all lovers of biography. The critical standards, however, are more elusive, for the general manner of treatment is descriptive rather than analytical, and there are few summaries. Dr. Longaker's principal requirement for true biography seems to be accuracy. In his dwelling almost exclusively upon proofs, authenticity, reliability, acknowledgement of debts, he tends to identify the Hanoverian biographer with the modern scholar, and to rule him out as a creative artist. Eight pages, for example (303-10), are devoted to demonstrating that Mason did not publish word-for-word copies of Gray's letters. Mason, however, was an eighteenth-century biographer and not a twentieth-century scholarly editor. Danger lurks in subjecting each separate biography to the bed of Procrustes, because (except possibly for antiquarian lexicography) each biography is governed by the individual and unique relations existing between the chronicler and the chronicled. There are, therefore, fewer fixed rules for writing a good biography than for writing a good novel. Interpretation, evaluation, style, organization—such important attributes of the good biographer are relatively neglected in this study in favor of the lengthy analysis of sources and the testing of facts. To this extent the author is conceding that biography is a branch of history rather than of literature. He deals with the lives of highwaymen, pirates, beggars and strumpets under the heading, "The Growth of Realism". A case might easily be made out to show that the treatment of action and setting in the rogue biographies and the "Lives and Amours" publications is far more lurid, sentimental, and divorced from actuality than in the seventeenth-century biographies which preceded them.

Dr. Longaker's observations on the *Lives of the Norths* form a delightful interlude; his chapter on William Mason is instructive, but it is his treatment of Johnson and of Boswell that deserves closest attention. In the latter's case particularly, owing to the newly available Boswell material and the concentration on Boswell

the *biographer*, Dr. Longaker has made a contribution. Many of his statements are stimulating and just; and for his organized and sustained treatment of Boswell's achievements, Dr. Longaker deserves praise. His book as a whole cannot be overlooked by any serious student of biography.

The manner of Professor Nethercot's *Abraham Cowley* is engaging, and the matter contains certain facts in the poet's life never before presented. The growing cult of John Donne and his school has created a need for a study of the poet whom Johnson considered Donne's principal follower. Professor Nethercot's biography of Cowley, therefore, comes most carefully upon the hour. It is not, however, an occasional book, but gives evidence throughout of long study and matured reflection. The focus has been upon the courtier and Royalist rather than the poet, which permits filling in the necessary historical background and sketching Cowley's many distinguished friends and patrons in the lifelike miniatures—Saint Albans, the Duke of Buckingham, Henrietta Maria—that form such an agreeable feature of the book. The author has succeeded to an unusual degree in making his account at once authoritative and readable. His materials, and the measured judgments he draws from them, inspire confidence; the style is pleasant, and affords stiff going in rare instances only, where new documents must be explained in detail (as in the involved tenth chapter, "Spy and Apostate", and the opening of "The Sabine Farm", in which the dust of archives obscures the green trees of Saint Anne's Hill).

In the middle period of his life, Cowley disappears in the chaos of civil wars, as did so many of his friends. It must be confessed that the new discoveries which Professor Nethercot offers concerning Cowley's activities as a Royalist spy, and later his desertion to Cromwell's government, do not present the poet in a favorable light. But the religious and civil conflicts of the seventeenth century have played havoc with the characters of other literary figures—with almost all those temporizers, in fact, who were able to regard events with neither the jocularity of Thomas Fuller nor the conviction of Milton. As a responsible biographer, Professor Nethercot presents Cowley's case as fairly as possible. He may underestimate the poet's double-dealing. Although, in default of further evidence, Cowley's treachery must rest as "not proven", nevertheless his continued disfavor after the Restoration, so contrary to Charles's usual policy of clemency, points toward a more serious breach of trust than Professor Nethercot is willing to suggest. Of course, as the author argues ably, Charles would never feel great love for a man who could, under Cromwell, write an ode in praise of Brutus. The implications were too obvious.

Certain recurrent themes give the book unity and direction. Among these might be mentioned Cowley's indecision, his love—at least on paper—for idyllic landscape, his interest in natural philosophy, his latent epicureanism, the influence upon his thought

of Bacon, Hobbes, and the empiricists, and his persistent bad luck offset by never-failing and powerful friends. The grand passion seems never to have dominated the poet. Although in a general sense Cowley may have been "Love's Columbus", Professor Nethercot is unable to identify specifically the Indies he discovers. Heleonora, then, must remain simply Cowley's *Mistress*, a poem rather than a person.

Critical judgment on Cowley as "The Last of the Metaphysical Race" is reserved for a final chapter. Professor Nethercot is chary in his use of the term "metaphysical", partly because he considers unfortunate its vague use to describe at once peculiarities of thought and style, partly because he believes it carries opprobrious connotations. In Dryden's sense—that is, the application of intellect in interpreting emotion—it seems just for much of Cowley's work. But Professor Nethercot suggests that this is not the important Cowley, that he was really a writer of two styles, and that the involved and ingenious youthful poetry so admired by his contemporaries is of less interest to-day than his classical translations and imitations and his supple, personal prose.

In her *Readings in Biography*, Miss Myers has edited standard works, or selections from them. Beginning with Carlyle's essay on biography, and one continental example each from the classical, medieval and Renaissance periods, she turns to English lives and confines herself to them from Cavendish to James Truslow Adams. The selections are suitable for elementary classes, and are supplemented by lists of questions and a bibliography for further readings.

DONALD A. STAUFFER

Princeton University

A Survey of Burlesque and Parody in English. By GEORGE KITCHIN. Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1931. xxiii + 387 pp. 16 s.

This book is obviously the work of an enthusiastic scholar; it embodies the reading of many years, and throws light on not a few out-of-the-way chapters in English literature. Surveying a vast field from a particular angle, it cuts across a number of traditional sections, and invites useful testing of accepted values. At the same time, serious doubt must be expressed as to the complete success of the undertaking. The very subject raises objections. What is exactly the relation implied between burlesque and parody? The author dismisses the problem rather easily (Introduction, xx-xxii), explaining that on the strength of English usage he will regard the two words as practically synonymous. The single shade of difference he keeps up is that "parody" answers to "direct imitation of an individual work with humorous or

critical intentions," while "burlesque" is "the wider species in which an author's work generally or that of the school to which he may be attached is imitated with comic intentions" (p. xxii). Exception might be taken to all that, but the discussion would be too long. On those very terms, what purpose can be served by a full history of burlesque and parody—or rather parody and burlesque, parody being the major notion and more frequent word by far in the present book? The author's aim, he says, is to throw light upon the development of letters, as governed by the critical reactions of taste (p. ix-x). Parody reveals the dissatisfaction with some aspect of the prevailing standard, and thus heralds the correction or the change. This is a somewhat over-simplified view. It does not seem tenable to assert that parody is "an unrivalled index to contemporary taste" (p. x). Taste is here a collective thing, while parody may be a thoroughly individual affair. In modern times especially, it is no check to all excesses, actuated by the fairness of "central-minded persons" (p. x), but a manner of self-expression, sought for its own sake by minds gifted with a certain imitative talent. The question of success, and prevalent public approval, of course, would raise a more valid issue; but Dr. Kitchin does not base his argument upon that. In fact, one can and does parody anything. Parody not only may, but it will be unfair. Again, it is not always critical; it can just as well be sympathetic and friendly, and so, even less significant as a symptom of insurgent taste. There appears thus to be little substance for a systematic disquisition in that inferior literary "genre"—a merely negative one, a sort of virtual or actual shadow to all positive types; if consistently worked, parody might provide the necessary corrective to all modes, and link up with direct criticism; but there is no appearance that it ever was or is at all coherently worked; and criticism, in which there lives at least a conscious attempt at responsibility and system, is the real thing; there we should look for the negative forces which round off the developing artistic mind of a nation.—But criticism grew late, and Dr. Kitchin is on firmer ground when he makes capital out of the fact. There was a time indeed when parody more or less supplied the deficiency of criticism. Those were the centuries in which literary fashions were really binding, and connected with political and religious systems; so that there was a good deal of repression involved in an obedience which concerned the whole human being, and could do violence to its instincts. Thus it was that the burlesque of Church discipline, of chivalry codes or "amour courtois" had the character of a psychological rebellion. But it is hardly so any more; parody at the present time is a gratuitously chosen task, implying only the possession of a special cleverness. What can one build upon that? Roughly speaking, the classical age would be in that respect the parting era between early and modern parody. The author's view of the process, which he partly

recognizes, is that early parody was generally hostile to "things as they are," while modern parodists are almost always "watch dogs" of the established order—of social, political, artistic orthodoxy; the cause being, that only from the Renaissance were the professions "soundly established" (p. xiii), and members of the literary craft could grow aware of their corporate interests. I should put it otherwise: with the rise to power of the middle classes, the writers, who mostly belonged to them, felt increasingly like them in their social tone of stiffening conservatism. At the same time, opinion grew free to a very large extent; and parodists, ceasing to vent actual repressions, lost most of their sting. Lastly, the natural affinity between a derisive mood, a talent for destructive imitation, and the intellectual, fastidious taste of the highly cultivated, made itself felt more and more; it is easy to ridicule reforming zeal in the name of cool sense, less easy to ridicule sluggish wisdom in the name of zeal. The same change that made parody less violent emptied it of its life-blood; political animus, in revolutionary years, could still vitalize the "Anti-Jacobin" group; but the nineteenth century, which Dr. Kitchin regards as the age of crowning achievements in that field, seems rather a time of sophisticated, futile, brilliant displays. Calverley, "one of the great masters of parody" (p. 298), leaves us singularly cold. Indeed the soul of parody is no other than the spirit of satire. . . .

In conclusion, a full consecutive history of parody does not seem to be a repaying expenditure of energy. Whenever the story is on solid ground, and gathers substance, it crosses some other plane than its own, coincides with a survey of satire, or criticism, or public taste in its interaction with psychological and social influences, or comedy, or humour, or the mock-heroic—actual notions these, with a body and an evolution of their own. Or again, histories of burlesque should be written, but not of parody; even burlesque should not be regarded as one kind, and studied all through, but confined to periods during which it was prompted by a relatively permanent set of impulses. This brings me to a last point: Dr. Kitchin, illogically enough, has his own standards of "good" and "bad" parody, and they are coloured by the natural preferences of a scholar of academic breeding with a strong feeling of allegiance to the classics. The consequence is, first, that too much stress is laid on parody as "the college man's wittily expressed dislike of the art that either in sentiment or technique departs too markedly from the cultured tradition of the tribe" (p. 298). One might point out that in the name of those ideals the highest initiatives of genius and the deepest chords of artistic emotion are sure to be ridiculed; a reaction that has annoyed many a sensitive poet and often delayed inevitable change, but does not much matter, after all—far from being a motive power—in the story of creative literature. A more serious result is that there

follows some arbitrariness in Dr. Kitchin's valuation of historical movements. If not the greatest age of parody, at least that in which its spirit was most widely diffused was the neo-classic period, from the Restoration to the middle of the eighteenth century. Then it was that most writers—and the very eminent as well as the common run—wrote more or less with an imitative-derisive intent; and the origin of the impulse is plain enough: the age as a whole suffered under an intellectual repression; while paying lip-service to the ancients, the "rules" and all the tenets of classical orthodoxy, it was secretly ill at ease in its professed faith, and found subconscious vents for the need of sincerity in the various modes, degrees and shades of the mock-heroic: dignified themes of the traditional kind, treated in a clearly or subacidly burlesque manner. But this clashes with Dr. Kitchin's favourite thesis that parody is "classically minded," and always more or less aimed at the pranks of romance; and so he undervalues, as unworthy of his detailed notice, that very important aspect of a whole century of English letters. A recent book with which he does not seem to be acquainted: Mr. A. H. West's *L'influence française dans la poésie burlesque en Angleterre entre 1660 et 1700* (Paris, 1930), does hardly more than touch the fringe of the subject.—It would be superfluous after that to point out minor inaccuracies and slips, such as the perverse "Mr. James Cabell Branch" of p. xvi; and the last word should be one of homage—an homage not ironical but sincere and warm—to the author's industry, admirable even if perhaps not altogether well advised.

L. CAZAMIAN

Université de Paris

Dante Gabriel Rossetti. An Analytical List of Manuscripts in the Duke University Library, with hitherto Unpublished Verse and Prose. Edited by PAULL FRANKLIN BAUM. Durham: Duke University Press, 1931. Pp. x + 122. \$2.00.

Mr. Baum gives us in very attractive form a body of Rossetti manuscripts comprising a number of sonnets hitherto not published, versions of work already published, and notes important in showing Rossetti's method of work. The division of the work into parts, an analytical list and the manuscripts themselves, makes as usable an arrangement as could be imagined, and Mr. Baum's definition of the relation of these versions to the printed poems, where extended analysis was necessary, is acute and clear. It is not within the scope of the volume to gather together all the variants of the poems—to see this we now need to have a number of volumes before us—but since Mr. Baum compares his versions with those printed by Rossetti, it is a pity that he did not indicate the relation of his version to the earliest printed version as well as to the

standard one. Thus in collating the manuscript of "On an Allegorical Dance of Women" with the print, he might well have noted that the manuscript differs in only two small details (10. and 14.) from the version printed by Rossetti in "The Germ."

These manuscripts open up an interesting tract to those who would follow Rossetti on his Road to Xanadu. The material confirms the impression of other variants in two important regards. We see again Rossetti's painstaking care for rich detail. And we see the gradual evolution of his thought. Sonnets or fragments which begin as mere explicit descriptions of particular situations evolve into generalized interpretations. In so doing they become more intensely autobiographical on the psychological side though less so externally. Item 36 on page 63 and the notes for "Soothsay" on page 77, with Mr. Baum's comment, well illustrate this second point. One fascinating gleam may be noted. In item 48 of Rossetti's notes for "God's Graal", which he was working on up to March 1870, Rossetti has culled out from Sir Ector's vision one detail which closely parallels a key detail of the complex Willow-wood sonnets. The concepts jotted down either in prose or in a line or two of verse which afterwards got pulled into whole poems after Pope's fashion form an interesting part of the material.

The two most important items are the prose cartoon and verse version of "Rosemary", and the poem "On Mary's Portrait", later largely reworked into "The Portrait". The former is illuminating for a study of Rossetti's aesthetic. The latter is a very fascinating poem. We have so little of Rossetti's early work with its magic of a poignant and fresh vision that later faded. "The Portrait" is far profounder in its expression of personal passion, and its technique is more assured, but the flashing vision of the other world breaking in upon this has fled: and to accompany this vision in the earlier poem there is a magic of thin high notes in the verse. In its general thought, "On Mary's Portrait" shows again how early certain concepts and surmises about life took shape in Rossetti's mind and how they persisted, to shape his experience.

There are three facsimile illustrations, two showing the condition of the manuscript, the third a drawing which everyone will be glad to have.

RUTH C. WALLERSTEIN

University of Wisconsin

Spenser's "*The Shepherd's Calendar*." Edited by W. L. RENWICK. London: Scholartis Press, 1930. Pp. viii + 242.

Professor Renwick's edition of *The Shepherd's Calendar* is his third and last volume of Spenser's minor poetry. Like its predecessors, it reveals his broad view of classical and Renaissance literatures, and his ability to see Spenser's work in relation to the

complex literary influences of the poet's time. Sources are treated in a most satisfactory manner, with succinct comment, but with such copious quotations that the reader can see for himself just how Spenser has used Virgil, Petrarch, Mantuan, Marot, and the rest.

Dr. Herford, in his edition of *The Calendar*, reprints E. K.'s Gloss along with his own notes. Dr. Renwick, however, prints the Gloss as Spenser did, and then annotates it as he does Spenser's text. This annotation of the Gloss has entailed no little labor, for E. K.'s ideas are often mistaken and his references vague; and Dr. Renwick frankly admits his inability to unravel some statements. He confirms the conclusion of Dr. Herford, Dr. Higginson, and others, that E. K. cannot be a screen for Spenser himself; he says: "after working through the poems and the glosses one feels the contact of a different, a less flexible mind."

No part of the *Calendar* has proved more interesting to the critics than the ecclesiastical eclogues, and indeed these may well have seemed to Spenser the most significant portion of his little book. His interest in ecclesiastical affairs, most likely aroused at Cambridge, could hardly fail to be intensified after he had become secretary to a bishop. The Bishop of Rochester, he tells us in "September," was an exemplary pastor. The example of so good a man must have made the conduct of many of the slothful and self-seeking churchmen countenanced by Elizabeth's ecclesiastical system seem doubly bad. In three eclogues Spenser reiterates the ultra-Protestant view of unworthy pastors, and in his epilogue expresses the hope that his book will teach "the ruder shepherd" how to feed and guard his sheep. So outspoken is he that we cannot wonder at his and E. K.'s fear of "envious" attacks. The fact that he is on dangerous ground causes intentional ambiguity and partial concealment that make interpretation sometimes difficult.

Dr. Renwick provides a rational elucidation of these eclogues ("May," "July," and "September"). While he recognizes that most of Spenser's shafts are directed against incompetent, selfish Anglicans, he sees, as others have, a reference to Roman activity in the latter part of "September" (ll. 148 ff.). He also sees in the fable of "May" an attack on "the secret adherents of Rome"; and in lines 80-101 of "September" he considers Rome the target, though he admits that both passages may be read as satire on the High Church party. His conclusions in regard to these passages coincide with the explanations of E. K. Throughout his commentary, Dr. Renwick reveals considerable faith in the veracity of E. K., who, he insists, though sometimes lacking in candor, rarely indulges in downright lying.

"February" is sometimes interpreted as a fourth ecclesiastical eclogue, but Dr. Renwick takes the theme to be merely "the reverence due to age and station." He twice refers to Dr. Higginson's interpretation, but makes no reference to what seems to me the

more convincing argument of Dr. Greenlaw (*PMLA.*, xxvi, 428-32), who finds in the Brier a symbol of "the proud Anglican church." Dr. Renwick refers to the assertion of E. K. that this eclogue has no "secrete or particular purpose," and declares that we are not "entitled to suspect him without much more reason than we have here." Though I for one regret Dr. Renwick's failure to disregard E. K.'s assertion and probe "February" more deeply, I cannot regret his habit in this volume and elsewhere of resolutely subordinating his discussions of highly doubtful conjectures to the treatment of Spenser's ideas and artistic aims.

A. C. JUDSON

Indiana University

Thomas Lodge, *The History of an Elizabethan*. By N. BURTON PARADISE. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931. Pp. ix + 254. \$3.00.

In his *Seventeenth Century Studies*, Edmund Gosse allows himself to fancy the recovery of a biography, full and complete, of Thomas Lodge. Such a biography, he writes,

would combine, in a series of pictures, scenes from all the principal conditions of life in that stirring and vigorous age. It would introduce us to the stately civic life of London city, to Oxford in the early glow of humanism and liberal thought, to the dawn of professional literature in London, to the . . . adventures of a freebooting sailor on the high seas, to the poetry of the age, and then to its science, to the . . . humdrum existence of a country practitioner, and to the perilous intrigues of a sympathizer with Catholicism trembling on the verge of treason.

Professor Paradise calls his book *The History of an Elizabethan*. It was begun, however, as a doctoral dissertation, and with that in mind one should perhaps forget the ideal of such a biography as Gosse describes.

The History of an Elizabethan is composed of three chapters on Lodge's life; three chapters on Lodge's writings (his non-dramatic and dramatic works to 1597, and the translations of his last years); three appendices, "Abstracts of Wills," an enumeration of Lodge's borrowings, and a chronological list of his works; and, finally, an index. The biographical chapters add considerably to our knowledge of the facts of Lodge's life. Thus, Mr. Paradise has turned up documents which bear on the poet's financial troubles. The voyage on which Lodge wrote *Rosalynde* is dated with some finality "in the spring of 1585"; and his supposed will of 1583 is shown to be that of another person. Mr. Paradise has also an interesting suggestion to make with regard to the important autobiographical passage in Lodge's verses prefixed to Riche's *Don Simonides*. These verses, he maintains, will not bear the interpretation usually given them: "there is more evidence that Lodge suffered" persecution

because of his religion "than that he lived in sponging houses and was hunted from society because of dire poverty and loose conduct" (p. 22). It may be added that Mr. Paradise's findings are presented with an engaging modesty.

His critical chapters leave more to be desired. The diversity of Lodge's literary ventures was, of course, extraordinary, and the historical critic must define the characteristics of all the kinds in which Lodge worked and show how he adheres to, or departs from, their traditions. Mr. Paradise might, I believe, have made clearer the connexion between *The Wounds of Civil War* and the Roman Play as a developed *genre*. He does not seem to me to get far with "the type of romantic poem on a classical theme" to which *Glarucus and Scilla* belongs; and, after indicating in a few words why *As You Like It* is to be preferred to *Rosalynde*, he is contented with suggesting that *Rosalynde* was "itself finer than the *Tale of Gamelyn*, in much the same way" (pp. 82, 89). On the other hand, he reopens interesting questions by advancing reasons for dating *The Wounds of Civil War* before 1587 and *Tamburlaine*.

In matters of detail he seems reasonably accurate. He is guilty of making Spenser and Lodge "school mates" (p. 182), and in Appendix C he should have noted that Lodge's *Reply to Gosson* is included in Mr. Saintsbury's *Elizabethan and Jacobean Pamphlets*. There are a number of minor slips in the quotations; and, on page 126, "two" appears for "too," spoiling the sense. The Yale University Press might have made this really valuable study less unattractive as a book.

ARTHUR COLBY SPRAGUE

Harvard University

The New Shakespeare. Edited by Sir ARTHUR QUILLER-COUCH and JOHN DOVER WILSON: *The Winter's Tale*. Cambridge University Press; New York, The Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. xxvii + 206. \$1.75.

The chief interest in the "New Cambridge" edition of *The Winter's Tale* will be found (where those familiar with the series will first look for it) in Professor Dover Wilson's discussion of the 'Copy' for the play on pages 109-127. Other features must be more briefly discussed.

Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's Introduction deals very pleasantly with the questions of date and source, and then rather gloomily with the question how far Shakespeare succeeded in the play. Four faults are charged against the dramatist, of which one is the irrelevance of Autolycus and another the failure to present the recognition-scene between Leontes and Perdita on the stage. The conclusion is that "most lovers of Shakespeare will confess to a feeling

of disappointment"—a matter to be decided, I suppose, by the amount of critical fastidiousness that said lovers permit themselves. Sir Arthur's remark (page viii) that the authenticity of Forman's Diary "(so far as we know) is not disputed" should be qualified by reference to the considerable doubt of its authenticity expressed in Dr. J. Q. Adams's recent edition of *Macbeth*. The parenthetical allusion (p. x) to Jonson "belonging to Shakespeare's Company at that date" (i. e., the date of *Bartholomew Fair*) is careless. Jonson never really "belonged" to Shakespeare's company, and at the date of *Bartholomew Fair* was not even writing for it, but for the Lady Elizabeth's Servants at the Hope Theatre. And Greene had been dead not nine years (p. xiv) but nineteen in 1611.

The handling of the text is perhaps the least satisfactory part of the volume, and the part which has been most perfunctorily accomplished. When one has praised the neat and accurate typography of the Cambridge printers, there is not a great deal more to praise except the ingeniousness of some of the added stage directions. The editor's statement that "all significant departures from the Folio text, including emendations in punctuation, are recorded" has not been strictly justified. Some words in the Folio have been silently omitted, legitimate old forms like "murther" and "vildly" silently normalized, and the good work of the Folio in systematically distinguishing between syllabic *-ed* and nonsyllabic *'d* in past verbal forms has been set at naught. The practice of sometimes spelling as "blest" the sound that the Folio regularly prints "bless'd" and sometimes spelling it "blessed" becomes a real obstacle to the easy reading of the lines. Most jarring of all, to me, is the punctuation. The prefatory instructions to the reader inform him that "four dots represent a full-stop in the original, except when it occurs at the end of a speech"; but this law, like the more laxly stated one for three dots, is more honored in the breach than the observance. In a single scene that I have collated with the Folio (V. i) the four-dot symbol is eight times inserted; but the scene contains eleven other full-stops within speeches that have not been disturbed. I doubt whether the novelties of punctuation in this edition have yet amounted to much more than an advertising device. Is it unreasonable to ask that in future volumes Professor Dover Wilson should either ruthlessly carry out his rules,—which, to be sure, would fly-speck his text pretty badly,—or else abandon them?

There are as usual some very clever notes. Perhaps the two best are the conjecture about the stage action accompanying I. ii. 83-6 and the emendation of "I haue lou'd thee" in I. ii. 324 to "T' have loved the —," which greatly helps the sense of a difficult passage.

The section on 'The Copy for *The Winter's Tale*', which I have mentioned above, utilizes effectively the recent bibliographical

studies of E. E. Willoughby, F. P. Wilson, and R. C. Bald. Following Mr. Willoughby, Professor Dover Wilson assumes that the play was set up a year or more after the other comedies in the Folio, probably about May, 1623, and at the period when the printers were also at work on *Richard II.* Following F. P. Wilson and Bald, he argues that the manuscript text used by the printers was one prepared by Ralph Crane, scrivener for the King's Men, to replace the "allowed book" which we know from Herbert's office-book to have been missing in August, 1623, and which Mr. Dover Wilson thinks was already lost when the Folio printing was begun in 1621—hence the narrow escape *The Winter's Tale* had from being omitted altogether.

To explain the nature of the manuscript imputed to Crane and employed as copy for the Folio version of the play, Mr. Dover Wilson again advances his theory of the "assembled" text, which he has used to explain the bibliographical peculiarities of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. The Folio texts of these two plays share with each other, and in part with the *Winter's Tale*, the phenomenon known as "massed entrances." That is, all the characters who participate in a scene are listed in the opening stage direction as "entering," even though the actual entrance of some of them may not occur till several pages later. In the *Two Gentlemen* and the *Merry Wives* this is the uniform practice and there is an almost complete lack of the necessary notes of entrance and exit and of other stage directions within the scenes. Professor Dover Wilson and Mr. Crompton Rhodes argue that such texts were "assembled" by copying out in proper sequence the separate actors' parts with the aid of the prompter's "plot" or tabular list of scenes. Mr. Wilson illustrated this theory in 1923 by a very apt metaphor:

In the players' parts you had, so to speak, the flesh and blood of the play, and in the "plot" the skeleton. So, by combining the two elements, you got something which, but for one omission, came remarkably close to the original prompt-book. That omission, however, was a serious one; it was the nervous system of the play, the coming and going of the characters, the business and movement on the stage, in a word the stage directions.

Many very sound bibliographers—Dr. Greg, Sir Edmund Chambers, and Mr. Bald, for example—decline to accept the assembled text theory even for the two Shakespeare plays that it best fits. Be that as it may, the theory does not seem to me to fit *The Winter's Tale* without unwarranted stretching of the textual facts. One reason is that, as Mr. Wilson admits, the "nervous system" is not really absent in the Folio version of this play. Though the entrances are commonly massed and the descriptive stage directions are less frequent than usual, the necessary entrances and exits within the scenes are generally marked. The other reason, which Mr. Wilson does not appear to have noted, is that in two scenes of

The Winter's Tale (IV. iii and V. ii) there is no trace of "massing" whatever: the procedure here is entirely that of the normal prompt copy. All in all, the idea that this text was produced by a scribe who could supply an accurate sequence of speeches and a list of the characters taking part in each scene, but by hypothesis had no information about stage business, seems to me illusory.

TUCKER BROOKE

Yale University

Translation, An Elizabethan Art. By F. O. MATTHIESSEN. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931. Pp. x + 232. \$2.50.

Books and articles innumerable have discussed the four Elizabethan translators, Hoby, North, Florio, and Holland; none have brought to the consideration of these four collectively the penetration of analysis and distinction of style which Matthiessen brings to them. He establishes beyond controversy that these translations are a part of the great creative literature of the Elizabethan age. No better example of a translation having its origin in the feeling that "new books would . . . bring new blood and vigor to the stock" of England could have been selected than Hoby's *Courtier* containing as it does the important cultural ideas of the Renaissance. Matthiessen admits that Hoby's "knowledge of the language was far from perfect," listing amusing errors, but succeeds in convincing the reader nevertheless of the singular greatness of the translation. Hoby's use of "doublets," "robustness of style," "striking images," "native turns of speech," inserted "verbs of action," "colloquial tone" convert an Italian courtier into an English gentleman. Because Hoby wrote with an "immediacy to his subject," "if the reader of English wants to feel Castiglione's . . . power and charm, he must seek it in Hoby's pages."

Matthiessen makes no excessive claims for the translator's linguistic accomplishments in North's *Plutarch*. North's Greek and Latin did not enable him to correct Amyot's translation which he in turn was translating. North moreover "made mistakes of his own." But even in these cases it is sometimes "extraordinary how North's inaccuracies improve the context." He converts "the abstract to the concrete, the vague to the pictorial." "There is dignity and restraint in Amyot, picturesque vigor in North." Particularly important is the suggestion that Elizabethan life and customs may be reconstructed from the points of departure of North from Amyot.

The infinite variety of shades of Montaigne's thought, its sudden twists and turns, make the *Essays* a difficult problem for the translator, as two important translations appearing during the last seven years and another in process of completion attest. Matthies-

sen quotes Florio as to all translations: "dimished as much as artes nature is short of natures art." Florio's "punctuation is dark, any number of single words are left out, negatives appear for positives and singulars for plurals on almost every page." But Florio's departures are almost as interesting as the niceties of the French itself. Florio brings words for example into the English language which many people would object to, and instructs his readers by weaving into the body of the text what modern editors would relegate to glossary and footnotes. Montaigne's simple "l'endroit du Diaphragme" becomes in Florio "Diaphragme, which is a membrane lying athwart the lower part of the breast, separating the heart and lights from the stomach." Portions of studies therefore concerning influences of Montaigne through Florio should be revised.

Philemon Holland is saved for the last because in an age of great translations he "stood preëminent." Matthiessen's analysis of Holland's art is even more thoroughgoing than of the others. The results are rich in variety. "The steady desire for clarity" results in "in contionem escendit" becoming "went up into the pulpit to deliver an Oration unto them." "His love of . . . elaboration" accounts for contrasts of his own. How his style was relatively free from the fads of Lyly and DuBartas is contrasted with Florio's inclination in these directions. An immense number of other details illustrate the singular combination in Holland of accuracy and art, to be found in no other Elizabethan translator in such just proportions.

Faults may be found in Matthiessen's book. There are repetitions of phrase in the treatment of similar details. The vogue of Plutarch is touched upon without mention of the valuable monograph of Miss Shackford (*Plutarch in Renaissance England*, 1929). It is possibly inadvisable to introduce a two-page treatment of so immensely important a translation as Sylvester's DuBartas, even for the excellent purpose for which it is introduced, after excluding verse translations from treatment. But it must be admitted that Matthiessen writes better about this very translation than does any one in recent years. And this suggests the finest phase of Matthiessen's book, its living quality. What is said of Holland applies to Matthiessen: "It was natural of Holland to speak of these books as though they were flesh and blood." Scholars will welcome in his book an unconscious but most effective answer to the strictures of the new school of humanists against scholarly productions, as Matthiessen writes with every whit as much literary skill, philosophical penetration, and artistic warmth and color about word and phrase as humanists do about the most alluring aspects of the aesthetic provinces of literature.

GEORGE COFFIN TAYLOR

University of North Carolina

The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri. Translated by JEFFERSON BUTLER FLETCHER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931. Pp. xxii + 471. \$5.00.

Mr. Fletcher offers not only a new translation of Dante's masterpiece but a new medium for it. In his succinct Introduction he argues convincingly that blank verse is unsatisfactory, and that the preservation of the tercet is essential, in rendering this poem. He believes, however, that a terza rima version has two grave drawbacks: the difficulty of that metre in our rhyme-poor language, and the actual unpleasantness, in English verse, of so many rhymes. He proposes to obviate both of these drawbacks by the simple but hitherto untried expedient of leaving the middle line of each tercet unrhymed.

This modified tercet form is an interesting experiment. It undoubtedly does lighten the task of the translator in many instances. It sacrifices, on the other hand, that effect of linked progression which is so characteristic of Dante's verse. It also sacrifices much of the equally characteristic effect of lyricism. And I am not sure whether it is any less stubborn a medium than the form which I have elsewhere proposed for rendering the *Commedia*: terza rima with a very liberal use of imperfect rhymes. This form has three rhymes where Mr. Fletcher's has only two; but any two of its three rhymes or, indeed, no two of them may be perfect rhymes,—whereas in Mr. Fletcher's tercets all the rhymes must, because of their fewness, be exact, or else the passage seems blank verse (as occasionally happens in the present translation), and it is invariably the first and last lines of each tercet that must be fashioned to rhyme exactly. As for Mr. Fletcher's other objection to terza rima, the over-prominence of its rhymes, this too is obviated where imperfect rhymes are freely employed.

Whatever the merits or demerits of his formula, Mr. Fletcher's actual performance unquestionably ranks high among the many translations of Dante. He has not always, I think, fully exploited the possibilities afforded by the unrhymed mid-tercet lines; there are many places where small changes, even of word-order, would improve the verse; sometimes the meaning is not clear at first sight, especially in the doctrinal parts of the *Paradiso* (which perhaps would benefit by bolder departures from literal rendering); but on the whole this translation is comparable, among those of the entire *Commedia*, only with that of Melville Best Anderson. My impression is that Mr. Fletcher's *Inferno* is a little the better of the two, though less well done than the subsequent sections of either; in the *Purgatorio* the honors are doubtful; Mr. Anderson's *Paradiso* is distinctly the better. An appraisal of the two versions tercet by tercet might very possibly discover superiority in more of Mr. Fletcher's tercets than of Mr. Anderson's. But Mr.

Anderson's terza rima, read in larger units, reveals a lyric quality, and his finest passages attain a poetic height, which Mr. Fletcher never quite achieves. When Mr. Fletcher is at his best, his excellence lies in a precision of simple and euphonious diction moulded into effective phrases—an excellence which frequently characterizes good prose as well as good verse. His translation offers in some sense a compromise between the ideals of those people who want their *Divine Comedy* in English blank verse, or even prose, and of those who want theirs in terza rima; and both of these hitherto irreconcilable factions will find in its pages much that should please them. Mr. Fletcher's rendering of the *Commedia* is especially notable for the frequency with which he has departed from the phraseology employed by previous translators with little individual variation, and has expressed the meaning of the original in an entirely new way.

LACY LOCKERT

Nashville, Tennessee

Tolstoy, Literary Fragments, Letters and Reminiscences not previously published. Edited by RENÉ FÜLÖP-MILLER, translated by PAUL ENGLAND. New York: The Dial Press, 1931. Pp. xvi + 330. \$5.00.

Tolstoy's literary remains, first bequeathed to mankind in general, then to his daughter, Alexandra, and finally appropriated by the Soviet government, are in process of publication. Certain selections from them, translated into very satisfactory English, are for the first time presented to the public in this volume. It includes *The Dekabrists*, which was the point of departure for *War and Peace*, fragments of novels and stories, two plays, a number of letters, and extracts from friends' recollections of the master. The collection is essential to a complete understanding of Tolstoy, makes good reading, and brings out both his admirable qualities and his limitations, as the following quotations will show:

(Lucerne, July 9, 1857) Apple-trees, masses of leaves, crowd round the windows. The waving grass, the lake, the mountains—all is peace, silence, solitude. The old woman who waits on me has faded yellow hair, a baggy throat, and a little, wrinkled, good-humoured face. She is deaf as a post, and speaks some impossible sort of *patois*, not a word of which can I understand. She is old and ugly, and busied all the time with washing and cleaning. She fetches water, too, and does all sorts of hard work. But she is always laughing; her laugh is that of a child, so musical, so jolly, that even the two yellow teeth which it reveals have a charm of their own.

(Paris, April 6, 1857) I could tell you a lot more about things here that have come under my notice—for instance, a club of "folk-poets," which meets in one of the suburbs, and to which I go on Sundays. But Turgenev was right when he said that these people have no real poetry. They know

only one kind, the political, for which I have always felt a loathing, and never more than now.

(Yasnaya Polyana, March 15, 1907) Of one thing, however, I am absolutely certain: not only the majority, but all the plays ascribed to Shakespeare (*Hamlet*, etc., not excepted) are quite undeserving of the extravagant praise which is generally bestowed upon them. From an artistic point of view, indeed, I should rather describe them as beneath criticism.

(From his physician's diary, Nov. 21, 1905) At lunch-time he quoted some funny passages from Dickens, and laughed till the tears ran down his cheeks. He then read us that passage from *Little Dorrit* where money is shown to prove disastrous not only to the receiver, but to every one else. "What a splendid fellow this Dickens is!" he said. "I should like to write something about him."

(Beginning of 1881) I only wish I could say all that I feel about Dostoevsky. . . . I never saw him, nor had any direct communication with him, but now that he is dead I realize that he was dearer, nearer, and more necessary to me than any other person. I never dreamed of trying to rival him—never! Everything he did was so good, so genuine, that it rejoiced my heart.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

Codex A M 619 quarto. Old Norwegian Book of Homilies containing *The Miracles of Saint Olaf* and Alcuin's *De Virtutibus et Vitiis*. By GEORGE T. FLOM. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. XIV, No. 4, November 1929. (Issued April, 1931.)

The manuscript of homilies here presented in diplomatic reprint by Professor Flom is linguistically one of the most important Norwegian documents extant. As the only complete edition earlier published (by Unger, Christiania, 1862-4) was not prepared with the meticulous attention to detail required by modern linguists and is, furthermore, out of print, the new edition is very welcome.

In the volume just issued, Professor Flom presents not only an accurately transcribed text but also ten excellent facsimiles—adequate for the reader to familiarize himself with the peculiarities of the paleography. As far as modern printing can reproduce them, these peculiarities are also maintained in the printed page. Thus, the tall *a*, the various forms of *r* and *s*, the Anglo-Saxon *w* for *v*, all are retained; and all editorial expansions are set out by means of italics.

The Introduction, devoted almost wholly to a paleographic analysis, is less satisfactory than the text itself. The arrangement is confusing and the style often crabbed. Thus, a reference to the text does not make the discussion of *Lacunæ*, p. 15, clear; here Unger's edition and Wadstein's monograph¹ supply the necessary information. Even more true is this of the discussion of the

¹ *Fornnorska Homiliebokens Ljudlära*, Upsala, 1890.

various hands of the manuscript (pp. 15 ff.). Not once, as far as I can see, does the editor clearly state what parts are assigned to each of the main scribes. Again one must turn to Wadstein. At times, too, the discussion is out of proportion. Thus, over a page is devoted to the *Position of the Accent*, not an important point, while no space is given to the significant problem of symbols of abbreviation. Again, under the heading *Scribal Errors*, we find lumped numerous spellings clearly not "errors" but dialectal peculiarities, and recognized as such by the editor.

Some unfortunate errors have crept in. In the section entitled *The Technique of the Letter ø* (p. 47 ff.), appears an elaborate criticism of Unger's reading *eyrum*, fol. 72a, 14, instead of *øyrum*; when we turn to the text, we find to our surprise the reading *eyrum* adopted. Similarly, on p. 49, Flom argues for *dømom*, fol. 3b, 12, instead of *demom*. In the text *demom* is adopted.

The most significant contribution of the Introduction is the section on *Function of the Accent Mark*, in which it is suggested that the accent is used not only to mark vowel length, but also to show sentence stress (p. 19). If this claim can be fully substantiated and worked out in detail, the results will be of far-reaching significance.

It is, however, rather in the text and excellent facsimiles that the chief value of the volume will be found.

HENNING LARSEN

University of Iowa

Sir William Temple a Seventeenth Century "Libertin." By CLARA MARBURG. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford, 1932. Pp. xviii + 128. \$2.00.

The title is a little startling, and Miss Marburg does not explicitly explain it. She uses "libertin" however in its intellectual sense of a "free thinker," and is no doubt right in considering Temple as in general sympathy with Montaigne. She shows that he was neither hopeful of any great results from the new Baconian science, nor at all affected, though Cudworth had been his teacher in his youth, by the intuitionism of the Cambridge Platonists. He should not be treated as most of his commentators (except Spingarn) have done, and as is suggested by *The Battle of the Books*, as an out and out supporter of the Ancients against the Moderns. He shows an unexpected interest in different types of culture, especially those of the Chinese, the Incas of Peru, the Turks and the Goths—in the last case almost anticipating Gray. He held that as there had been no progressive advance or decline in man's powers, outbursts of literary brilliance might occur and probably had oc-

curred in all sort of places where the climate and the circumstances of the moment were favorable. In the regulation of his life Temple was a discreet Epicurean, and, looking to literature to provide rather a high type of pleasure than instruction, the pleasure afforded by Rabelais and Don Quixote, he was against subjecting it to strict rules. The English drama had an advantage over the French in its humorous characters, the result of the English climate and the liberty enjoyed by its people to live as they liked.

Miss Marburg has worked out the dates of Temple's several essays and has traced the sources of much of his knowledge. She does not however tell us where he got his notion of "the great Almanzor." Her thesis contains much illustrative matter which is evidence of wide reading. Her aim is however a somewhat limited one. Though her chapters are headed "The moral philosopher", "The historian", "The critic", she practically confines her examination to two or three of Temple's later essays. She pays no attention to what we know of him and his opinions as a young man. He learnt Spanish for example not at the Hague (p. 61), but at Brussels in 1652.

Miss Marburg's book shows traces of the influence of the modern school of cynical biography. She refuses to be righteously indignant over the treatment Temple received for his brilliant and patriotic services, or to sigh over what might have been, had William III been his master from the beginning. To her Temple is "one who had tried to get on with the world and failed" (p. xiii), "who had overreached himself politically and who spent the rest of his life building up his shattered ego" (p. xiv). Lady Giffard's affectionate devotion to her brother is seen as "solicitous flattery" (p. xiii). This attitude strikes the old-fashioned as not quite generous.

The book has rather too many misprints; e. g. *libre penseura* (= *libres penseurs*) p. 20, *que* (= *qui*), *suite* (= *fuite*) p. 21, *ocurrs* p. 22, *omniscent* p. 23, *viellards* p. 48, *qu'est* (= *qui est*), *men* (= *man*) p. 49, *une* (= *uns*) p. 53, *le louange* p. 81, *plusiers* p. 87, *Nicklih* (= *Nicklin*—he was a poet of distinction) p. 100, *Steward* (= *Stewart*) p. 123.

G. C. MOORE SMITH

Sheffield, England

BRIEF MENTION

The Devil in Legend and Literature. By MAXIMILIAN RUDWIN. Chicago and London: The Open Court, 1931. Pp. xvi + 354. \$3.00. Dr. Rudwin, known for numerous studies of the Devil in various literatures, has published in this volume a series

of essays devoted to his hero, whose origins, tastes, behavior, and reputation he amply describes. While the book is addressed primarily to a popular audience and consequently contains much material that is well known to scholars, it also shows wide reading and much genuine knowledge, so that it should be of interest to students of religion, of folk-lore, and of literature. Dr. R. refers to a host of men of letters who, like their chief representatives, Milton, Dante, and Goethe, have brought the Devil into their works, and makes his remarks about them easily accessible by the addition of an excellent index. One can only believe with M. Piquet, cited by Dr. R., that, "si l'âme de M. Rudwin est un jour menacé de choir dans l'abîme infernal, nul doute que le maître du logis ne lui tienne compte de l'avoir ainsi réhabilité."

H. C. L.

A Shakespeare Bibliography. By WALTER EBISCH and LEVIN L. SCHUCKING. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1931. Pp. xviii + 294. \$7.50. Practising scholars will find this work very useful. For beginners and amateurs its inconsistencies and mistakes, fewer it is true of commission than of omission, will make it less valuable. Yet the compilers are to be congratulated on the conception and prosecution of their difficult task. Their method is to draw up an elaborate system of categories covering every aspect of the study of Shakespeare and his age—it occupies nine and a half pages in the table of contents. The subheading for works about the ghosts, for example, is numbered VIII, 2, (b), (v), (dd), (γγ). The multiplication of subheadings complicates the classification of many items. Thus one is surprised not to find Miss Bartlett's *Mr. William Shakespeare* beside her *Catalogue of the Exhibition* under "I. Shakespeare Bibliography," though it later appears under "V, (2), (a), Bibliography of Oldest Texts" and, less logically, under "VI, (1), (b), General Studies of Shakespeare's Sources, Literary Influences, and Cultural relations." It would not be difficult to compile a list of serious omissions, for the aim, while selective, was to include every indispensable work. Perhaps the most serious weakness is the relative neglect of Elizabethan source materials; perhaps the greatest strength is the large number of German titles. The lack of adequate reference to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents is illustrated by "III, 4, The Most Important Biographies." The list begins with Drake and Halliwell. Even if the notes of the seventeenth-century antiquarians were to be ignored, one would expect Rowe to lead the modern list. But the references to works of recent scholarship, both books and articles, are very helpful; and the multiplicity of the categories undoubtedly facilitates rapid reference.

H. S.

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SOME NOTES ON MANUEL DE CABANYES

In 1923 I published a critical edition of the poetical works of the pre-Romantic writer, Manuel de Cabanyes¹ (1808-1833), the only edition of whose collected works (dated 1858) had for many years been out of print. The introduction included a discussion of several questions connected with his life, as well as a critical judgment of his work, and a somewhat full, annotated bibliography of seventy-six entries, representing the results of a close study of the periodical literature of Barcelona and of Villanueva y Geltrú, Cabanyes' birthplace. Since the publication of this edition, a certain amount of new material has come to light, and in the following pages, which are to be taken as an appendix to the *Poems*, some of this is discussed, together with questions raised by it.

The certificate of Manuel's burial, which is in the possession of the Cabanyes family, and which, together with other documents, I have been allowed to see by the kindness of D. Alejandro de Cabanyes, raises two problems which I was unable to explain ten years ago, and which it may perhaps be as well now to clear up. The first consists in the description of the poet's mother as "Catalina de Carro," the birth-certificate (reproduced on p. 1. of my edition) describing her as "Catherine de Cabanyes y de Ballester." Enquiry in the district of Villanueva y Geltrú reveals the fact that there is a *masía* in the locality known as the "masía de Carro," which belonged at the time of the poet's death to his mother's family. There seems no doubt, then, that she was referred to locally in this way.

A more important and surprising detail is the statement on the certificate that Manuel de Cabanyes died, not at Villanueva, but

¹ *The Poems of Manuel de Cabanyes*. Edited with Introduction, Notes and Bibliography, by E. Allison Peers. Manchester University Press, 1923.

at the neighbouring village of La Granada del Panadés, where, as I point out in my edition,² his body was taken for burial. That he actually died at his father's house at Villanueva is quite certain, numerous proofs being adducible—e. g., the letter from Juan Creus to his son Domingo, referred to in the above place,³ which says clearly that death occurred between 5 and 6 a. m. on the morning of August 16, 1833, and that, on the night of that day, the remains were taken to La Granada and buried there on the 17th. The best explanation of the erroneous detail on the certificate seems to be that the transference of the body was effected without due authorization and that the simplest way of avoiding possible trouble was to enter the place of burial as having been the place of death. It must be further borne in mind that this epoch was one of great unrest and strife in Spain, that there was no civil register in the country, and that, many villages being without parish priests, the ecclesiastical registers were irregularly and indifferently kept. It is by no means impossible, therefore, that the death of Manuel de Cabanyes was not recorded until some time after it had taken place.

Of the fresh biographical and critical material which I have found since the publication of *The Poems of Manuel de Cabanyes*, two contributions to the subject take the first place. The later of these, made by the Catalanian critic Manuel de Montoliu, originally formed a series of articles reviewing my edition in a leading Barcelona daily paper; it had since been republished in a volume of the author's essays, entitled *Breviari Crític* (Barcelona, 1926), and is much more than a re-statement of his ideas expressed in the *Manual d'Historia Crítica de la literatura catalana moderna*. The earlier, though of less merit than the finer and more sensitive work of Sr. de Montoliu, is of a curious and unusual interest. It consists of two articles by a writer named Luis Carreras Lastortas, entitled "El Poeta Manuel de Cabanyes," which were sent me in manuscript by D. Fernando González, Villanueva y Geltrú. Written for the *Ilustración Española y Americana*, well over forty years ago—they bear no date, but mention Victor Hugo as still living—they were never published by this journal, nor have I been able to find that any other periodical ever accepted them. They are the work of one who undoubtedly had a disproportionate

² *The Poems of Manuel de Cabanyes*, p. 16, n. 1.

³ *Ibid.*

admiration for Cabanyes, but was nevertheless a cultured man, had read widely in several literatures, and had studied and was able to appreciate to the full his author's good points. I was sufficiently impressed with the merits of these articles to publish them in the *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* (Liverpool, 1927, IV, 143-55), where they can be read practically in their entirety, save that, for the sake of space, references to Cabanyes' poems have been substituted in places for lengthy quotations from them. Two of the author's most hyperbolical passages have also been omitted, in one of which he says of some of Cabanyes' odes: "Están al nivel de lo mejor que se haya hecho en la antigüedad clásica y en la edad cristiana," and, in another, of the *Misa nueva*,⁴ "Está a la altura de las páginas más grandiosas y bellas de la Biblia." Sufficient of the author's exaggerated judgments, nevertheless, have been allowed to remain to show how frequently and how greatly in this respect he sins.

That he was intimate with Cabanyes' friends and relatives may be inferred from the sureness of touch with which he describes Manuel's early life, having had sources to draw upon which, though I spent long months in libraries of the district, are quite unknown to me, and which I conclude to have been probably traditional and oral. One passage from his second article, which may be compared with my account⁵ of Manuel's death, and with the poem cited,⁶ confirms this view. It runs as follows:

El doctor Rovira, condiscípulo suyo,⁷ nos contaba, cuando yo era niño, a un sobrino suyo y a mí, que hallándose Cabanyes poco antes de morir en la posesión paterna de La Granada, junto a Villanueva, una noche quedó encantado por la belleza del espectáculo marítimo campestre que desde su casa descubría, y, sintiendo llegar la inspiración, improvisó una elegía "A la luna," que después se halló en sus papeles, sin los últimos retoques de la lima.

No attempt need be made here, since the articles in question are now so easily accessible, to criticize them at any length. That Cabanyes may legitimately be compared with Leopardi, in the way that he is in the opening lines of the first, few would now affirm; still less would any compare his achievements advantageously, even for their quality alone, with the best work of Byron, Lamartine,

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 61-4.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 89-90.

⁷ I. e., of Manuel de Cabanyes.

and Victor Hugo, or write of his "mente portentosa" soaring to "vertiginosas alturas." The other respect in which Carreras seems to have erred is in making the influences upon him of the greatest writers, ancient and modern, over-wide,—perhaps also in exaggerating the effect of his physical weakness upon his character. In the absence of further evidence, however, it is impossible to speak on this latter point with any certainty.

E. ALLISON PEERS

University of Liverpool

MEDIEVAL FRENCH *SOUFFLER LA CHÂTAIGNE*

In Branch III of the *Roman d'Alexandre*, in the account of the first battle with Porus, when the army of Porus has issued from the city Alexander posts Clicon and Filote with the infantry and a hundred knights between the city and the enemy to be ready to cut off possible retreat. The battle goes against Porus, and thereupon comes the following passage (III, 679-84, corresponding to Michelant, p. 269, 11-15):

Porrus vit le damage et le mal qui engraigne,
 Ne fuïr ne s'en veut ne ne set com remaigne,
 Sa cité a perdue sans nule recovraigne;
 682 Li Grieu qui sont devant li soufflent la chastaigne.
 Maudist le roi de Gresce, qui sa gent li mehaigne;
 A piece n'iert mais jors que de lui ne se plaigne.

For this section of the poem there are nineteen manuscripts, falling into the following groups: *GDTFH*, *MRPQY*, *JKL*, *CEN*, *B* and *A*. Line 682 is absent from the *G* group, from *PQR* (which form a sub-group of the *M* group), from *I* and *L*. In *MY* and *B* it reads as above. The second hemistich reads in *J*: *en colent la ch.*; in *K*: *sont a lui molt estraigne*; in *CE*: *li tolent la canpaigne*; in *N*: *leur s. lor ch.*; and the line reads in *A*: *Li Grê dient soënt zi a mala bargaigne*. The line was unquestionably in the prototype, and there is no reason to doubt that it is *MY* and *B* that have preserved its original form.

In spite of his desperate straits, Porus resumes the struggle, but progressively loses ground. Then follows (III, 802-04; Michelant, p. 272, 24-25):

Porrus voit sa compaigne qui vait affebloiant
 Et les Griens qui s'afichent qui les vont ociant
 Et la male aventure qui sor eus vait chaant.

Such is the version of the *G* and *M* groups, but all the other manuscripts have thereafter two supplementary lines (save *A*, which has only the first) :

De torner a la vile ne font nesun semblant,
 La chastaigne l'en soufflent li Grieu qui sont devant,

where the reading of the last line is that of *B* and *N* (*N*: *Lor ch. lors s.*); *J* group: *Car li Gr. ne lor laissent qui passé sont avant* (*L*: *Car les Gr. redoutoit qui les vont ociant*); sub-group *CE*: *La campagne lor toient li Gr. q. s. d.* The agreement of *B* and *N* is one that assures us of the prototype form, unless in the present case each independently echoes line 682; but even then the reappearance here of the expression is a confirmation of its existence.

We have here an expression *souffler la châtaigne à qqn.* which has not been found elsewhere but which is present in four manuscripts belonging to three different groups, and which can with reasonable assurance be attributed to Lambert le Tort, a writer for whom we have evidence that he knew what he wanted to say and could say it effectively. On account of the use of the present tense *soufflent*, both 'devancer' and 'duper' are unsuitable: were one of these the proper interpretation, we should expect the present perfect, since the 'forestalling' or 'duping,' if such there be, was already in the past. The indicated meaning is rather 'faire échouer le jeu de qqn.': "Il a définitivement perdu la ville; les Grecs qui sont là-devant font échouer son jeu." How did this meaning arise? It is highly improbable that *souffler* has here the meaning 'blow' in a literal sense. We may blow upon a chestnut in the coals to quicken the roasting process, or we may blow upon the roasted chestnut to cool it before eating, but neither procedure would suggest the present metaphor. The only current meaning of *souffler* which might suggest it is that employed in connection with a game—the game of *dames*, where *souffler une dame* has the value 'eliminate an opponent's piece on account of his failure to make use of it in accord with the rules of the game' (cf. Littré, *souffler* 21, and note the colloquial American expression 'blow a checker' in the same sense). While this meaning of *souffler* is attested only for modern times, it is a type of word value which frequently has its

roots in popular usage of a distant past, and a value which completely fits in with our *souffler la châtaigne*.

The reference would seem to be to a popular game in which chestnuts were currently employed as the playing pieces, probably to some one of the manifold forms of the *jeu de billes*, where the use of nuts of one kind or another is well attested for various epochs and localities.¹ *Souffler une pièce*—in the present instance *souffler la châtaigne*—would indicate the elimination of an opponent's piece, physically indicated by blowing from the lips a puff of air at it as a sign of the 'blasting' or 'blighting' of the piece. For the conclusive demonstration of this interpretation it would be needful to locate a medieval allusion to blowing in the symbolic sense. This I have been unable to do, and one of my aims in publishing a comment on the passage is to elicit from others the evidence which may bridge the gap.

The deletion or alteration of the expression by a large majority of the Alexander manuscripts suggests that we are dealing with a metaphor which was obscure or else seemed trivial to transcribers of the poem. Since the author, Lambert le Tort de Châteaudun, was a westerner and since no one of the existing manuscripts is from the west, it may well be that Lambert had in mind a term

¹ The Classical allusion most frequently cited is that from Suetonius (*Augustus*, 83), where it is stated that Augustus *talis aut ocellatis nucibusque ludebat cum pueris minutis*. In Ovid's *Nux* (73-86) there is the description of a half dozen games played with nuts. It is interesting to note that one of these is identical with the game of *châtelet* as described by James Howell (*Lexicon Tetraglotton*, Particular Vocabulary, sect. 28) in the seventeenth century, and in our own day by Mistral, s. v. *castelet*, where he names chestnuts among the nuts used in playing the game. The earliest French reference I have found to nuts in games is in Victor Gay's *Glossaire*, s. v. *noix*, from a document of 1380 in the Archives Nationales: "Le jeu des noix ou les femmes et les filles de Neufchastel se esbanoient." Froissart, in his *Espinette amoureuse* (ed. Scheler, Vol. I, p. 94), has: "Et se faisons fosselettes / La où nous bourlions aux noix, / Qui en falloit, c'estoit anois." Cf. Furetière (1690), s. v. *noix*: "Jouer aux noix.—Jeu très ancien: quand on y joue on doit tenir dans une fossette à certaine distance un certain nombre de noix qu'on jette avec la main." My friend Professor George L. Hamilton supplied me, from his rich stores of information, numerous allusions to nuts as playing pieces, none of which, however, contain any reference to blowing upon the nuts. Karl Wehrhan, *Kinderlied und Kinderspiel*, Leipzig, 1909, gives an extensive bibliography of children's games.

current locally in connection with some one of the forms of nut games, but unknown or less familiar in other sections. In any event the metaphor that he coined, while it failed to make its fortune in the literature, seems to furnish early testimony to a popular custom which has left its mark in the use of *souffler* as a term of the *jeu de dames*.

EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG

Princeton University

VALENTINE AND ORSON

In a fairly recent and remarkably good doctor's dissertation Mr. Arthur Dickson has examined anew the old tale of *Valentine and Orson*, known to all readers of romance.¹ He comes to the conclusion that the story is a compound product of the type quite common in the later Middle Ages, that is represents an accumulation of motives and incidents of different character and origin, but mostly taken from older romances and fairy tales. It would be difficult to call into question the essential correctness of this thesis. Yet it is more subject to doubt in regard to the central theme, the twinship of the two heroes.

This part of the romance was the subject of an article by my teacher and friend, Dr. J. Rendel Harris,² who came to an entirely different conclusion, pointing out that the story is essentially an ancient twin-tale, containing all the elements of such: exposure of twins, suckling by a beast, contrast, and quarrel. With this conclusion Mr. Dickson agrees only in so far as the fairy tale of the *Jealous Sisters*, from which he derives VN (*Valentine and Namelos*), may be called such. It is from the *märchen* that the romance borrowed the exposure of the children, and perhaps the suckling by a beast. In the romance the contrast between the brothers is brought about by their separation, whereas in genuine twin-tales it precedes separation. According to Mr. Dickson our story belongs, then, rather to a group of narratives of the *Sohrab and Rustem* type.³ I do not deny the likelihood that the *märchen*

¹ Arthur Dickson, *Valentine and Orson. A Study in Late Mediaeval Romance*. New York, 1929.

² *Contemporary Review*, CXXVI (1924), pp. 323 ff.

³ Dickson, *op. cit.*, pp. 98 ff.

in question is indeed an ancient twin-tale, a fact which accounts for its resemblance to our romance. Yet it seems to me impossible to derive the romance from the *märchen*, as I hope to show in the following pages.

I begin by quoting in outline an American Indian tale of considerable diffusion,⁴ usually known under the name of *Lodge-Boy and Thrown-Away*.⁵

A hunter warns his wife, who is pregnant, not to speak to or look at any stranger who may visit her during his absence. A man (often a monster with two faces) comes. She breaks the taboo, and he insists on having food served him on her abdomen. He cuts her open, takes out the twins, and throws one behind the lodge, the other into a spring, into a log, or into the ashes, and leaves the woman propped up, as if alive and smiling, before the door. The hunter returns, discovers his wife, buries her, finds Lodge-Boy, and cares for him. Thrown-Away plays with his brother during the father's absence, but runs back to his spring at the hunter's approach. He is captured by a ruse, and becomes 'human.' The twins restore their mother.

Let us now compare the French romance, in the main following the outlines furnished by Mr. Dickson.

Phila bears twin sons who, at the command of a wicked mother-in-law, are taken out to be drowned. The maidservant entrusted with this task places one of the children in a box which she throws into the river and the other under a tree in the forest. The latter child is found, carried off, and suckled, by a she-wolf. Two days later, the child in the box is found, floating on the river, by the child's cousin, Clarina; she carries it secretly to her room, and her chamberlain feeds it on goat's milk. She gives him the name of Valentine and rears him secretly. He becomes a valiant knight and in due time goes to war against the Saracens. Meanwhile Phila is accused of having murdered her offspring and exiled.

On his return from the wars, Valentine is brought face to face with his twin-brother, who lives as a 'wild man' in the forest. They fight, and the 'wild man' surrenders to him through the 'force of nature', and is brought into court. He is called Namelos, and Valentine takes care of him, trying to convert him into a civilized being. In this he succeeds in a measure. Then he leaves, accompanied by Namelos, to seek his parents. The two have a number of adventures in the course of which they rescue their mother (unknown to them) and aid their father (likewise unknown to them) against the Saracens. A serpent reveals to them who they are and who their mother is. They rescue the latter a second time. The romance ends with the inevitable reunion and recognition.

⁴ *Journal of American Folklore*, xxxiv (1921), 272.

⁵ Stith Thompson, *Tales of the North American Indians*, Cambridge, Mass., 1929, pp. 104 ff.; 319.

If we bring the French romance as thus outlined and the Indian tale under a common denominator, we should sum the latter up as follows: (1) A woman gives birth to twin sons and is slain or exiled; (2) the twins are thrown out and separated; (3) one of them is rescued by a human being (in the American tale his own father, in the romance his cousin); (4) the other remains in the wilderness; (5) the latter is befriended by his twin-brother, who finally catches him by violent means and 'humanizes' him; (6) together they rescue their mother (in the American tale from death by resuscitating her, in the romance from traitors and a giant); (7) together they go out on adventures.⁶

To be sure, there are differences; yet they do not affect the plot of the tale in its essential make-up but bear merely on its more accessory features. Thus the part of the frankly supernatural monster of the Indian story is played, in the romance, by a perfectly human (even all too human!) mother-in-law. The Indian narrative does not tell us how the twin growing up in the wilderness manages to keep alive; the romance explains this by the well known and wide-spread motive of the animal nurse. In the Indian tale there is no separation from the father; in the romance the separation of the children from both parents is complete. In the American tale the mother is dead, and the twins must resuscitate her; in the romance she is merely rescued from human persecutors and a giant. As will be seen, in practically all these points the romance, though still abounding in the marvelous, is more rational, more realistic, more matter-of-fact than the Indian story. This is of course only what is to be expected.

Let us now go back to the theory advanced by Mr. Dickson. He derives from a *märchen*, that of the Jealous Sisters (Grimm, No. 96) the following three episodes of the romance: (1) the twin birth, (2) the exposure of the children, and (3) 'perhaps' the suckling by a beast.⁷ He is forced to admit, however, certain striking differences between this *märchen* and the romance; for 'in the *märchen* we have no separation of the children . . . they grow up together in exactly the same way. Thus the very feature in the story of VN which has kept it alive—the difference between the brothers—is not referable to this source.'⁸ After this admis-

⁶ On these adventures, cf. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 105 ff.

⁷ Dickson, pp. 23 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

sion, the author's query: 'Are not the two stories fundamentally the same?'⁹ must be answered, I think, in the negative, certainly after a comparison with the Indian story of the New World.

On the other hand, it may be well to turn to the remarks of one of the earlier investigators of the theme, W. Seelmann.¹⁰ They may be summed up as follows: If the accessories of the tale, many of which are, besides, full of inconsistencies, be cut out, there remains a simple story that might well correspond to the French poet's first draft, or might have been found by him in an earlier source or in oral tradition, and elaborated into the poem VS (*Valentin et Sansnom*). The figure of the wild man belongs to the oldest elements of the poem; the story grew from this nucleus—the wild man conquered and tamed by his brother. As the old poetry required king's sons or nobles for its heroes, the beginning of the tale was determined; the end must naturally be reunion of parents and children. This simple form of the story may be considered as the first stage of the development.

With this analysis one can only concur. Yet it will readily be seen that it is not the *märchen* of the Jealous Sisters that this nucleus resembles. It rather reads like the American Indian tale slightly 'touched up' by motives current in European folk-lore.

The facts of the case are, then, these: both the *märchen* and the romance are elaborate products representing a relatively late stage of the story development. The base of the romance (and probably also of the *märchen*) is a narrative far more rudimentary, an artless and simple tale belonging to a general type of which the American Indian story is a good specimen. As is well known, such rudimentary tales as the ultimate bases of the more elaborate products that make up the treasure of European *märchen* and romance were postulated, largely by abstract reasoning, in the work of the well-known German psychologist, Wilhelm Wundt. Our story would thus furnish a very good illustration for this theory.

There remains one more problem to be solved. Naturally, it is equally inadmissible to suppose the nucleus of the French romance to have been carried to North America or the Indian tale to have, in some incomprehensible manner, influenced the fiction of

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Valentin und Namenslos*, Norden-Leipzig, 1884, pp. lvi-lx.

Mediaeval Europe. The only plausible explanation must postulate a common origin, to be found, no doubt, in the universal superstitions connected with twin births.¹¹ Twin children are commonly destroyed or exposed; their mother is very often slain or banished, and, most important of all, twin children were generally believed, in primitive fiction, to liberate or avenge their mother.¹² I can quote but a few examples out of many. The Theban twins Amphion and Zethos free their mother Antiope persecuted by a rival.¹³ Pelias and Neleus, in much the same way, liberate their mother Tyro.¹⁴ The Roman twins Romulus and Remus avenge their mother on the tyrant Amulius. The twins Apollo and Artemis slay the monster Tityos for having persecuted their mother Leto.¹⁵ Nor is this type of fiction absent from the folklore of Africa¹⁶ and South America.¹⁷

The same may be said about the motive of the 'contrasted' twins. There can indeed be no doubt, as Mr. Dickson admits, that the theme of the *inadvertent* combat of twins has grown out of an older type dealing with their *intentional* combat. It is clear at once that in the American Indian tale as well as in the French romance we are already dealing with the former of the two, which means that even the 'savage' tale is already removed, by one degree, from the anthropological base, which knows, of course, only the intentional combat of twins, based on the theory that twin hates twin.¹⁸ Such a state of facts is apt to caution the investigator: it clearly teaches that the road from savage belief and superstition to fiction is more complicated and usually longer than enthusiasts are willing to suppose, at least at first blush. Yet the independent development, along parallel lines as it were, in the Old World and in the New, most strikingly confirms the funda-

¹¹ Cf. J. Rendel Harris, *Boanerges*, Cambridge, 1913, *passim*, and my *Mythologie Universelle*, Paris, 1930, pp. 53 ff.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 80.

¹³ Apollodorus, III, 5, 5; Nic. Dam., *frg.* 14.

¹⁴ Apollodorus, I, 9, 8.

¹⁵ Sir James G. Frazer, *Apollodorus, The Library*, London, 1921, I, 28.

¹⁶ A. C. Hollis, *The Masai, their language and folklore*, Oxford, 1905, p. 177; M. Merker, *Die Masai*, Berlin, 1904, p. 219.

¹⁷ Th. Koch-Grünberg, *Indianermärchen aus Südamerika*, Jena, 1921, p. 217; O. Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1907-12, III, 126.

¹⁸ *Mythologie Universelle*, pp. 85 ff.

mental correctness of the assumptions lying at the base of the ethnographic school of folk-lore, best represented by the works of the late E. B. Tylor and Sir James George Frazer.

ALEXANDER HAGGERTY KRAPPE

The George Washington University

VILLON AT THE COURT OF CHARLES D'ORLEANS

M. Gustave Charlier¹ and M. Lucien Foulet² have effectually disposed of the old assumption that François Villon was at one time dismissed from the court of Charles d'Orléans at Blois only to return there again at some later time. The expression "les gaiges ravoir," which appears in Villon's ballade *Je meurs de seuf auprès de la fontaine* (l. 34) and which alone was responsible for the earlier hypothesis, most probably means here, as these scholars indicate, "to redeem pledges" and not, as was formerly held, "to receive wages again." A collation of the two manuscripts containing the poem has made this interpretation seem even more certain to me, for both manuscripts read:

Que fais je plus? Quoy? les gaiges ravoir,

and not, as all our modern editions print this line: *Que sais je plus*. Clearly, therefore, Villon is here adding one more to the improbable contradictions that constitute the theme of the ballade and is putting the redemption of his gaming and drinking pledges on the same unlikely plane as a thirsty death beside the water's edge. "Merciful prince," he writes, "pray know that I understand much, but have neither sense nor knowledge; that I am solitary and alone, yet subject to every law. What else do I do? What? Why, redeem my pledges! Welcomed cordially, I'm rebuffed by everyone."

A second poem written at the court of Charles d'Orléans, the *Épître à Marie* addressed to Charles' daughter, has also been made to support an improbable weight of hypothesis, as Foulet ably

¹ *Archivum Romanicum* IV, 1920, 519-22.

² *Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis*, 1927, 355-80.

demonstrates.³ Nothing indeed in this poem obliges one to assume with most modern critics that Marie rescued Villon from prison by her triumphal entry into the city of Orléans in July, 1460. On the other hand, there is considerable reason for believing that the *Épître* celebrates her birth on Dec. 19, 1457.

Earlier commentators, from Marot to Longnon, never questioned the fact that the poem had to do with the birth of the person addressed, and this is of course the natural interpretation of Villon's use in it of Vergil's fourth Eclogue, of such expressions as "louee conception," "tres necessaire enfantement, conceu, porté honnestement," "de bonne heure né," "doulce naissance," and of the poet's reference to the fact that some persons had hoped for a son instead of a daughter. Longnon, who at first adopted this interpretation, later suggested⁴—and in this he has been followed by P. Champion, L. Thuasne, and D. B. Wyndham Lewis—that Villon must here be giving thanks to Marie for a release from prison granted him on the occasion of her "entrée solennelle" in 1460.⁵ Longnon's later understanding of the *Épître* rests largely upon the passage (l. 30-2) in which Villon mentions among Marie's other virtues her power "aux enclos donner yssue, leurs lians et fers delier." As Foulet says, however, these words should not be taken more literally than the other vague and extravagant phrases in the poem: Villon grandiloquently praises Marie in almost every stanza for attributes that she could not possibly have possessed, some of which seem singularly inept when ascribed to a baby (for example, "saige Cassandre," "digne Judith, caste Lucesse," "noble Dido"; cf. also the lines 9-11, 90-2, 109-12).⁶

³ *Art. cit.*, p. 306 f.

⁴ Longnon changed his opinion between his *editio princeps* of Villon's poems in 1892 (p. xxvii) and his edition for the *CFMA* ("par un ancien archiviste") in 1911 (p. v).

⁵ G. Paris (*François Villon*, 1901, p. 57 f.) believed it was on the occasion of Marie's birth that Villon was released from prison. But Champion objects (*François Villon II*, 1913, p. 109, n. 1) that the release of prisoners always took place at the time of "joyeuses entrées."

⁶ The assumption that expressions like "port assésuré, maintien rassiz" and "enfance en riens ne vous demaine" might be attributed with less exaggeration to a child two and a half years old than to a newly born infant hardly carries conviction. These expressions, like the others cited above, seem equally stilted and inappropriate, whatever the age of the child.

To a man like Villon, who in the past had both killed and stolen, charity to prisoners would merely seem a particularly golden virtue to add to the rest. Since then we have no record of any prison sentence imposed upon Villon in the year 1460, it seems supererogatory on the basis of this poem alone to assume that he was incarcerated.

Champion, to be sure, admits having hesitated for a time before connecting the *Épître* with the event of 1460 rather than with that of 1457. He ends his statement with the query, "la double ballade est-elle antérieure au *Dit*?" suggesting thereby that the ballade incorporated in the poem may refer to Marie's birth, whereas the rest of the *Épître* (the *Dit*) may have been written after her entry into Orléans.⁷ But there can be no doubt, I think, that the ballade forms an integral part of the whole. The language is the same, the insertion of ballades in eight-lined stanzas rhyming *ababbcbc* is Villon's usual practice in the *Testament*, and the two manuscripts containing the poem clearly indicate that the scribes of Charles d'Orléans regarded the composition as a unit.⁸

Now, the relative positions in the manuscripts of the *Épître à Marie* and the ballade *Je meurs de seuf* would indicate that, chronologically, the former preceded the latter.⁹ This fact, in conjunc-

⁷ *François Villon* II, 109, n. 1. Cf. also Champion's edition of the *Poésies* of Charles d'Orléans, *CFMA*, 1923-7, II, p. 560, where he assumes, with Longnon, that the "mélange de deux compositions de forme différente" shows that the poem cannot have been copied into the MS by Villon himself, and definitely proposes that the ballade may refer to the birth of Marie, the rest of the poem to her entry, and that a scribe is responsible for incorporating one poem in the other.

⁸ In Bib. Nat. fr. 25458, a MS executed under the personal supervision of the duke and in part transcribed by his own hand, no spacing of any sort sets off the ballade from the rest of the poem; in Bib. Nat. fr. 1104 (a copy of 25458 made for Charles between 1458 and 1465), although a few blank lines separate the end of the ballade from the conclusion of the poem, none separate its beginning from the stanzas that precede, and the whole composition, entitled "Balade," is spaced as a unit, clearly divided from the poems preceding and following it. Cf. also Foulet, *art. cit.*, p. 364 and on the MSS Champion, *Le Manuscrit autographe des poésies de Charles d'Orléans*, 1907, and his edition of Charles' poetry, *CFMA*, p. xviii-xx.

⁹ Champion, in *Le Manuscrit autographe*, describes the chronological vagaries in certain sections of 25458, but assumes no derangement here, and I see no reason for doubting that the MS preserves for us at this point

tion with the misinterpretations of the poems that we have been considering, has resulted in dating the so-called Concours de Blois between 1457 or 1458 and 1460.¹⁰ But if the *Épître* refers to Marie's birth and not to her entry into Orléans some thirty-one months later, then the various ballades of the "concours" need be placed no later than early in 1458. Indeed the turn of the year 1457-8 is the date that best accounts for them: the court physician, Jean Caillau, who contributes one of the ballades, came from Orléans to Blois on the occasion of Marie's birth in December, 1457; Villon's arrival at Blois should probably be put about this time;¹¹ the duke's lawyer, Bertaut de Villebresme, is known to have been at Blois in January, 1458;¹² and finally, there is no reason to believe that, even though we resolve the "concours" into a simple "thème à développer,"¹³ the contributors would scatter their efforts over several years. It seems likely therefore that at the end of 1457 and beginning of 1458 Charles challenged those friends of his who happened to be at Blois to rival his own earlier ballades on the thèmes "Je meurs de soif en couste la fontaine" and "Je n'ay plus soif, tairie est la fontaine,"¹⁴ and that within a short time his friends submitted their results to him—some eleven poems—which were then incorporated in his personal manuscript.

Unfortunately, the fact that in this personal manuscript the two poems by Villon and a third, the ballade *Parfont conseil*

the order in which the two poems were written. The *Épître* occurs toward the end of a gathering and is followed immediately by nineteen blank folios, the poems of the "concours" beginning on the verso of the twentieth.

¹⁰ Champion, *François Villon* II, 96; *Vie de Charles d'Orléans*, 1911, p. 653; ed. *Poésies*, CFMA, p. 561.

¹¹ See *infra*.

¹² For the facts about Caillau and Villebresme, see Champion, *Vie de Charles d'Orléans*, pp. 598-9 and 653.

¹³ Champion, *Le Manuscrit autographe*, p. 25-6, note 5.

¹⁴ *Poésies*, ed. CFMA, I, 156, 182. Both these poems are in seven-lined stanzas and use the same rhymes. Only one poem on the second theme appears among those of the "concours," *Poésies* I, 193. In his notes (*Poésies* II, 559) Champion dates Charles' first poem on this theme "peu avant 1453"; in the *Vie* (p. 652) he had dated it "antérieure à 1451, très proche de cette date." He considers the "concours" itself "le dernier témoignage de l'activité poétique du cercle du duc d'Orléans" (*Vie*, p. 654).

eximium, are all in the same hand—a hand not represented elsewhere in the manuscript—has led to considerable confusion. Champion, in *Le Manuscrit autographe* (1907), p. 25, was tempted to agree with Bijvanck in regarding this hand as that of Villon himself. But he has since repeatedly rejected this conclusion.¹⁵ Nevertheless, he continues to credit Villon with the ballade *Parfont conseil eximium*, because of the identity of handwriting and also because he considers that in this poem “les équivoques et le tour de la pièce sont dignes de Villon.”¹⁶ Now it was Longnon¹⁷ who first rejected the hypothesis that these pieces were in the poet’s handwriting. His two reasons for doing so, however, are not of equal weight. Moreover, they have been so frequently repeated and have so obscured certain other facts that they are worth re-examining. Longnon considered that in the *Épître* the author himself would not have “mistakenly” incorporated the ballade found there, and that, secondly, certain errors in the text of this poem would not have occurred in an autograph transcription. We have seen, however, that the ballade forms an integral part of the *Épître*, and not, as Longnon held, a separate poem. As for the scribal errors in the manuscript, these, though precluding an autograph copy, are not strikingly serious: indeed, the two poems of Villon preserved in Bib. Nat. fr. 25458 are so unusually free from mistakes that there is every reason to believe they were copied from the author’s original transcripts.¹⁸ It seems unfortunate

¹⁵ *François Villon* II, 106, n. 2; *Vie de Charles d’Orléans*, p. 639, n. 1; *Poésies* II, 560.

¹⁶ *Vie*, p. 639; *Poésies* II, 561. See also Jeanroy et Droz, *Deux Manuscrits de François Villon*, Paris, 1932, p. xvii.

¹⁷ In his first edition of Villon’s poems (1892), p. xcv. Cf. also the edition of Longnon-Foulet (*CFMA*), p. viii.

¹⁸ In the *Épître*, *entré* for *entree*, l. 90, a superfluous *et* in l. 81 and a hypothetical *lapsus* in 42-3 alone are cited by Longnon. He might have added *portee* 13, *souverain* 16, *cree* 23, *bel* 121—all minor slips. Modern editors also change the readings of both MSS—unnecessarily, it seems to me—in the following instances: *manna* to *manne* 46, *rappeller* to *rappelles* 66, *et a vous* to *et a tous* 99, *qui* (for *qu’i*) to *qu’il* 126. Champion remarks that *seuf*, the confusion of *en* and *an*, *et quelques autres graphies*, seem to emanate from the poet himself and also concludes that “il s’agit d’une copie, qui a d’ailleurs été faite vraisemblablement sur les papiers de Villon.” (*Franc. Villon* II, 106, n. 2; *Poésies de Charles d’Orléans* II, 560).

in the circumstances that spellings which may well have been characteristic of the poet have been so freely erased from our modern editions (for example, in *Je meurs de seuf*, *paeur* and *cheoirr*, l. 17; *pourvoir* 27; *sçavoirr* 31, 32; *ravoirr* 34; in the *Épître*, *toust* 92; final *z* for *s* frequently in both poems, etc.). It seems even more unfortunate that because of the identity of handwriting, the third poem, *Parfont conseil eximium*, should continue to be attributed to Villon. In this poem, serious errors of transcription occur: two whole lines have been omitted in the copying, one of which has never been supplied, the other appearing at the foot of the page. Manifestly, an autograph copy is out of the question here. But that the poem could in any case be by Villon appears altogether unlikely. It is written in a facile, seven-lined stanza that does not occur anywhere in Villon's authentic work; its macaronic pleasantries (as well as its form) can be paralleled in the poems of Charles d'Orléans and of Fradet, but not in those of Villon; and finally it seems scarcely credible that the humble, indigent poet who writes so obsequiously and uneasily in the *Épître à Marie* could ever have been on such terms of intimacy with the great duke as to have indulged at his court in the familiar type of persiflage that characterizes this piece.

If we assume, then, as I think we must, that the *Épître* was written to celebrate Marie's birth and that it preceded the ballade *Je meurs de seuf* submitted in the so-called Concours de Blois, then the *Épître* itself takes on a new meaning. Why should the poet exhibit such exaggerated joy at the birth of Marie d'Orléans? He says he would have been dead, were it not for her *doulce naissance*. He signs himself her *povre escolier François* and says (l. 65 f.) she has been

Envoïee de Jhesuschrist
 Rappeller sa jus par deça
 Les povres que Rigueur proscript
 Et que Fortune betourna—
 Cy sçay bien comment il m'em va;
 De Dieu, de vous, vie je tien.¹⁹

Now this is very like the language of the epitaph of the *Testament*

¹⁹ I have followed the spelling of Bib. Nat. fr. 25459. Both MSS read *rappeller*, a form that seems preferable to the *rappellez* of modern editors.

(1886 ff.), the language of Villon's years of wandering about the country, a poverty-stricken fugitive from justice:

Ung povre petit escollier
Qui fut nommé François Villon . . .
Rigueur le transmit en exil . . .

In the circumstances, therefore, it seems reasonable to conclude that the poor student, François Villon, exiled from Paris by the rigors of the law, arrived at the court of Charles d'Orléans about the time of the apparently miraculous birth of the little Marie, a child born in her father's old age after a marriage that had been sterile for seventeen years. Because of the general rejoicing at this event, the starving poet, whom Death had marked for her own (cf. l. 78), was received at Blois and thereupon straightway bestirred himself to write a fitting thank-offering. He praises the baby in the most extravagant terms and promises ever to serve her as his "seule dame et maistresse." Nor are her mother and father—who must have played no mean part in his reception—overlooked: *patrem insequitur proles*, he says; Marie de Clèves is the "saige mere" of this "saige enfant"; the lineage of the duke is traced back to Clovis and he himself is likened to Caesar.

Unquestionably, the poem is mannered and labored. It is so bad in fact that one would hesitate to attribute it to Villon if the language were not his, if the signature "povre escolier François" were not there, and if we did not have manuscript evidence for the fact that Villon took part in the poetic tourney of Blois.²⁰ There is little of the exuberant joy in it that bursts from the poet when he praises "le bon roy de France" who saved him from "la dure prison de Mehun" in 1461, or when he thanks the court that procured him his liberty in 1463, or when he gloats to Garnier over his release from prison on this same occasion.²¹ The *Épître* has the faults and awkwardness of a poem written to order from a sense of duty, written to conform to standards and a milieu foreign to the poet.

Accordingly, because of its contents, its place in the manuscripts, and because of its stylistic peculiarities, I believe the *Épître à Marie d'Orléans* to have been Villon's initial offering to Charles,

²⁰ Cf. Foulet, *art. cit.*, p. 367.

²¹ *Testament* 56 ff.; *Poésies Diverses* XV and XVI.

to have been composed soon after the birth of the duke's daughter on Dec. 19, 1457, and to have preceded the ballades of the so-called Concours de Blois, which follow it in the manuscript, by only a short time. These ballades I should date from the end of 1457 and beginning of 1458. How long Villon stayed at Blois, it is of course impossible to say. But since the two poems by him that appear in the duke's personal manuscript were probably written within a short time of each other, since no further work of his appears there, and since no mention of Villon has been found in any of the numerous documents concerned with the accounts of the duke's household,²² it seems likely that the poet's stay at the court of Blois was a short one and that he left there—perhaps *debouté de chascun*—early in 1458.

GRACE FRANK

Bryn Mawr College

RABELAIS AND THE BRIDGE OF MANTRIBLE

A great many commentators have endeavored to identify Rabelais' pont de Monstrible, but none in a thoroughly satisfactory way. The passage in question is to be found in the thirty-second chapter of *Pantagruel*:

Ce pendant, je, qui vous fais ces tant veritables contes, m'estoy caché dessoubz une feuille de bardane qui n'estoit moins large que l'arche du pont de Monstrible.

Le Duchat gives the first cue:

L'arche du pont de Monstrible. Ou *Mantible*, comme on lit ch. 49. de l'ancienne traduction de Don-Quichotte: ou *Manstrible*, comme ce pont est appelé par Coulon, pag. 196. de son voiage de France, édit. de 1660. Le pont de *Monstrible* sur la Charente entre Saintes & S. Jean d'Angeli, est

²² For these documents see Champion, *Vie de Charles d'Orléans*, pp. i-ii. Foulet (*Nouvelles Notes sur le texte de Villon*, Romania LVI, 1930, p. 389 ff.) attributes the poems of Villon found in the MS Rohan to "la tradition de Blois." But on this MS, see Jeanroy et Droz, *Deux Manuscrits de F. V.*, p. xiii-xiv. The poems found in the Rohan MS may well antedate the *Testament*; some may have been influenced by the tradition that Villon found flourishing at Blois; but that a poem like the *Ballade à Margot* could have been written for the court circle seems altogether improbable.

un reste d'antiquité Romaine, & l'arche dont parle Rabelais est élevée sur ce pont. Du reste, ce qu'on raconte du *pont de Monstrible* est pris du Roman de Fierabras.

Johanneau, in the *Variorum* edition and Regis, the wonderful and awful German translator of Rabelais, reproduce Le Duchat's note, and De l'Aulnaye patently subscribes to it. But a glance at the map or into the Burgaud des Marets edition is sufficient to assure anyone that a bridge across the Charente between Saintes and Saint-Jean-d'Angély would be a physical impossibility. For this reason modern commentators prefer to disregard Le Duchat except insofar as the mention of *Fierabras* and of *Don Quixote* is concerned, and adopt an idea of the *Variorum* edition explaining the curious orthography of Monstrible as by contamination with the Latin *mons terribilis*.¹

But in locating Rabelais' bridge at Saintes rather than in Spain Le Duchat was on the right track, as he so often was. Coulon, his avowed source, tells us that

Ceux donc qui ont visité Xaintes . . . confessent que c'est le séjour des delices de la Nature . . . Les autres considerans tant de restes de la somptuosité Romaine, à sçavoir . . . un Arc fort ancien eslevé sur le pont de la Charente, où est gravé le nom de Cesar, avec la Tour qu'on appelle de Mantrible, bastie de pierres semblables aux arenes de Nismes, & quelques lettres que les temps ont effacées, reconnoistront en quelle estime estoit cette ville durant les Romains . . .²

The grain of truth hidden in this mass of flowery, if somewhat ungrammatical verbiage, is that in the seventeenth century Saintes boasted a Roman bridge with an arch and a tower called the tour de Mantrible. As a matter of fact, the arch was erected in the year 21 as a votive offering to Tiberius, and stood in the middle of the bridge, which was presumably older. The fortifications, including the tower mentioned and named by Coulon, were the contribution of the middle ages. In 1845 the bridge and tower were destroyed and the arch re-erected on the Place Bassompierre, where it can be admired to-day.

Le Duchat's blundering confusion of the bridge and the ruins

¹ Cf. the Burgaud des Marets edition, an article by Brunet in the *Intermédiaire des chercheurs*, II, 536 (1865—cf. also pp. 454, 599 and 657), and Sainéan in the critical edition.

² Louis Coulon, *Les Rivières de France*, Paris, 1644, I, 458; and Id., *Le Fidelle conducteur* (Troyes and Paris), 1654, p. 196.

of aqueducts at Saint-Jean-d'Angély may be explained by a bad reading of some such text as that of Martin Zeiller:

Sita est urbs juxta flumen celebre Charente, quod inter urbem & suburbium des Dames appellatum, sub ponte quodam defuit . . . In ponte fornix conspicitur, ex praegrandibus lapidibus sectis & artificio antiquo cum inscriptione Latina. In parva quadam domo juxta fornicem, quae structa est ut sit receptaculum militum praesidiariorum, instar Corps de garde, statua visitur è lapide excisa, quae fornicis istius Autoris esse creditur. Extra urbem rudera visuntur Theatri cujusdam & quorundam Aquaeductuum. Estque Aquaeductio ejusmodi in via, quae à Santono S. Jean d'Angely ducit. Turris Mantrible est in praedicto ponte, à Romanis condita.³

Now if, as Coulon and Zeiller say, the tower was called Mantrible, we may suppose that it took its name from the bridge on which it stood, and that the bridge, in turn, no doubt as early as the sixteenth century,⁴ was named after the legendary pont de Mantible of *Fierabras*. But we need hardly assume that Rabelais had in mind the medieval romance. It is significant that he speaks of the arch, whereas the Spanish bridge, although supported by *twenty* arches of white marble, bore no triumphal or defensive arch whatever. On the other hand we may be sure that Rabelais was familiar with the bridge at Saintes, that he had exchanged stories with the soldiers of the corps de garde, and that he had spelled out the Latin inscription on the arch.⁵ It may be objected that, had it been his intention to give an air of pseudo-authenticity to the colorful narration of the thirty-second chapter of *Pantagruel* by alluding to a well-known monument, he would not have deformed its name from Mantrible to Monstrible. But the reading of the first edition is Mautrible, which is in all probability a printer's error for Mantrible. The subsequent Monstrible may conceivably have been suggested by *mons terribilis*, as Sainéan thinks, but far more probably by monstrum, giving the idea of hugeness, to which Rabelais was willing to sacrifice the precision of the authentic name.

Finally, it is interesting to group the magnitude comparisons

³ *Topographiae Galliae . . . pars decima*, Francofurti, 1661, p. 50.

⁴ The waning popularity of the medieval romances after this time indicates that the appellation was far older than Coulon.

⁵ This may be read in Elie Vinet, *Recherche . . . de la ville de Saintes*, 1571 and 1584, Justus Zinzerling, *Jodoci Sinceri itinerarium Galliae*, 1616, etc.

of this chapter: the burdock leaf is as wide as the arch of the bridge of Monstrible; Pantagruel's mouth is as spacious as Saint Sophia at Constantinople; his teeth are like the "mons des Dannois," by which Rabelais doubtless wished to convey the idea of the Scandinavian mountains and at the same time to play on the word "dents"; there are cities as large as Lyons or Poitiers; further on, in Pantagruel's throat, are towns as big as Rouen and Nantes. There is nothing legendary about these comparisons; all, including, I think, the first, are borrowed from reality.

ROBERT E. TURNER

Swarthmore College

A NOTE ON LAHONTAN AND THE *ENCYCLOPÉDIE*

In his recent edition of LaHontan's *Mémoires* and *Dialogues Curieux* Professor Chinard has discussed admirably their vogue and influence in the Eighteenth century. I wish to present a few additions, even though of minor importance, to that subject.

Jacob Brucker, in his very comprehensive *Historia Critica Philosophiae* (Vol. IV, Part I, 1766, pp. 919-23), included a chapter *De Philosophia Canadensium*, which is professedly indebted "nobili Gallo La Hontan, qui anno 1704 edidit *Dialogos cum barbaro Americano*." Brucker quoted Leibnitz's testimony to the trustworthiness of LaHontan, but he also pointed suspiciously to the prejudices against European civilization so evident in the general conduct of the dialogues. Nevertheless, he formulated from LaHontan's work a statement of seven principles of natural religion held by the Indians in Canada.

A brief article on the *Philosophie des Canadiens*, in Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, is a free paraphrase of Brucker's chapter and follows it in reducing Iroquois philosophy to seven main principles. The opening sentence confesses that "nous devons la connoissance des sauvages du Canada au baron de la Hontan, qui a vécu parmi eux environ l'espace de dix ans." This essay appeared in English translation in a volume of *Select Essays from the Encyclopaedia*, published in London, 1772. In the *Encyclopédie* it is signed "C", the signature of the abbé Courtépée, whose extensive contributions towards the revision and correction of the geographical parts is acknowledged in the third edition (Geneva, 1778).

However, the article *Amérique* in the third edition (which is the only one I have been able to consult) is in two sections, in both of which LaHontan is discussed, but to somewhat contradictory purposes. The abbé de la Chapelle, eminent mathematician and member of the Royal Society of London, in a section on *Recherches géographiques & critiques sur la position des lieux septentrionaux de l'Amérique*, devotes considerable space to defending LaHontan as a dependable explorer, and even accepts the mysterious Long River, pending absolute evidence that it is mythical. But in the main article, by de Paw (or de Pauw), there is a warning against the *Philosophie des Canadiens* and its sources:

Si dans le corps de ce *Dictionnaire* on trouve un article où il est question de la théologie & de la philosophie des Iroquois, nous ferons observer ici que l'auteur de cette pièce est, en un certain sens, assez excusable, puisqu'il n'a fait que suivre M. Brucker, qui a donné lieu à toutes ces fables, par ce qu'il a dit des Iroquois dans sa grande *histoire de la philosophie*, immense collection d'erreurs & de vérités. Quelque savant qu'ait été M. Brucker, il ne nous paroît pas qu'il se soit mis en peine de consulter sur l'*Amérique*, d'autre auteur que la Hontan; & c'est précisément la Hontan qu'il ne falloit point consulter, parce qu'il prête, on ne sait à quels barbares du Canada, ses propres idées, qui sont encore très-éloignées d'être justes.

Although this passage is not marked as an addition in the third edition of the *Encyclopédie*, it seems evident that it must have appeared first in one of the supplements, as a reply to the abbé Courtépée.

LOUIS I. BREDVOLD

University of Michigan

THE IDENTITY OF A LATIN QUOTATION IN CHATEAUBRIAND

In the *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* Chateaubriand describes the view from the deck of a ship before the ruins of Carthage.

Je les regardais sans pouvoir deviner ce que c'était; j'apercevais quelques cabanes de Maures, un ermitage musulman sur la pointe d'un cap avancé, des brebis paissant parmi des ruines; ruines si peu apparentes que je les distinguais à peine du sol qui les portait: c'était là Carthage:

Devictae Carthaginis arces

Procubere; jacent infausto in littore turre

Eversae. Quantum illa metus, quantum illa laborum
 Urbs dedit insultans Latio et Laurentibus arvis!
 Nunc passim vix reliquias vix nomina servans,
 Obruitur, propriis non agnoscenda ruinis.¹

The source of these lines, so far as I know, has hitherto not been pointed out. Dr. Naylor speaks of them as "from an unidentified Latin author."² Chateaubriand is here quoting Sannazaro's *De Partu Virginis*, II, lines 214-219, a poem mentioned by Chateaubriand in the *Défense du Génie du Christianisme*, but merely as a "mélange ridicule de la fable et de la religion."³ It is possible that Chateaubriand owes his knowledge of Sannazaro's lines, which represent perhaps the first appearance of the "sentiment des ruines" in modern European literature,⁴ to some annotated edition of the *Gerusalemme liberata*. Tasso there imitates Sannazaro in a famous stanza which may, indeed, have conditioned Chateaubriand's manner of perceiving the "ruines si peu apparentes que je les distinguais à peine du sol"; René was an expert in vicarious sight-seer's emotions:

Giace l'alta Cartago; a pena i segni
 De l'alte sue ruine il lido, serba, etc.⁵

University of Oregon

CHANDLER B. BEALL

JULES BRETON, PARNASSIEN

The 1876 *Parnasse contemporain*, by comparison with its predecessors of 1866 and 1869, is more nearly an indiscriminate anthology than a collection of verse-compositions by a homogeneous group of poets. It contains, however, two contributions from at

¹ *Itinéraire*, Paris, Garnier, n. d., p. 449.

² *Chateaubriand and Virgil*, Baltimore, 1930, p. 57.

³ *Défense du Génie du Christianisme*, Paris, Garnier, n. d., p. 712 and note lxiv, p. 697. Cf. also *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*, VI, 230.

⁴ Such at least is the opinion of Michele Scherillo, in his *Rinascimento*, Milan, Hoepli, 1925, p. 249 sqq.

⁵ *Ger. lib.*, xv, 20. The ultimate source of these passages is to be found in the letter addressed to Cicero by Ser. Sulpicius Rufus (Cicero, *ad Fam.*, iv, 5), which was also well known to Chateaubriand and utilized by him in *les Martyrs*. Cf. Sainte-Beuve, *Chateaubriand et son groupe littéraire*, II, 11.

least one newcomer into the ranks of poetry who would undoubtedly have been a member of the original group of Parnassians had he been known to be writing verse in 1865. This poet is Jules Breton,¹ who, in his consistent emphasis on the pictorial possibilities of verse, possesses one of the qualities that may be safely characterized as typically Parnassian.

Jules Breton came by his Parnassianism most honestly. He was a highly successful painter of the second half of the nineteenth century, his first creations having been exhibited at the Salon of 1849 and his last at that of 1898. His art, by contrast with such of his contemporaries as Millet, is stamped with a sort of idealistic realism which would liken Breton, in literature, to the George Sand of the "idyllic" period or, among more recent novelists, to René Bazin. Precisely when Breton began writing poetry cannot be stated with definiteness; apparently in the middle eighteenth-sixties, that is to say, comparatively late in life, for he was born in 1827. He tells us in the "préface" to his *Oeuvres poétiques*² that, in about 1868, he showed to Théophile Gautier and Eugène Fromentin a little poem called "le Soir," which is described as "le seul (poème) que j'aie conservé de cette époque."³ But he had always been fond of poetry, especially of that of La Fontaine, Racine, Heine, and Hugo. He had, however, "longtemps ignoré le poète qu'absorbait en moi l'opiniâtre travail du peintre." "Je ne connus que plus tard," he continues, "la Pléiade des Parnassiens qui poussa si loin l'art des vers." In 1873 he made the acquaint-

¹ The 1876 *Parnasse contemporain* contains his "Pendant la moisson" and "Aurore," first published in *les Champs et la mer* (Paris, Lemerre, 1875). For the facts of Breton's life, *vide* Gabriel-Ferrier: *Notice sur la vie et les travaux de Jules Breton* (Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1910); this is the author's "discours de réception" delivered on the occasion of his succession to Breton's seat in the Academy. For a study of Breton the painter, *vide* Marius Vachon: *Jules Breton* (Paris, Lahure, 1899), a handsome and extensively illustrated work.

² Paris, Lemerre, 1887. This "édition définitive," in one volume, is composed of *les Champs et la mer* and the narrative poem, *Jeanne*, which had first appeared in 1880. It contains poems written from 1867 to 1886, and thus includes some that had not hitherto been printed.

³ "Préface" (dated Courrières, December 1886), p. ii. "Le Soir" is found on pp. 34-35 of the *Oeuvres poétiques* and is dated Courrières 1867. When Breton showed him the poem, Gautier remarked: "A quand le volume chez Lemerre?" The other quotations from this "Préface" are also from p. ii.

ance of "le poète impeccable," José-Maria de Heredia, who gave him, like Gautier and Fromentin, serious encouragement and presented him to friends, "parmi lesquels je citerai Leconte de Lisle, le maître des maîtres, et dès lors, je partageai mes veilles à peu près également entre les deux arts qui occupent ma vie." *Les Champs et la mer* contains a sonnet "A Leconte de Lisle" which styles him "le chantre sublime" and urges him to pay no attention to his detractors. The poem concludes:

Ils n'atteindront jamais de leurs anneaux rampants
Le marbre haut et pur qui contient ta statue.*

The poems in *les Champs et la mer* are practically all concerned with nature, and bear such titles as "Automne," "Midi," "Tempête," "la Paix des bois." It is a significant fact that many of the poems have appellations identical with those given by Breton to some of his paintings: "le Soir," "le Matin," "Retour des champs," "Dernier rayon," "la Moisson," "la Glaneuse," are also the names of pictures exhibited at the Salons of 1855, 1861, 1867, 1877 and 1883. Other poems have titles very similar to, or reminiscent of, those of corresponding paintings; a picture called "les Communiantes" (1884) is matched by "les Premières communiantes"; "la Fin de la journée" (1865) by "Soleil couchant"; "Retour des moissonneurs" (1853) by "Pendant la moisson"; "le Soir dans les hameaux du Finistère" (1882) by "les Hameaux du Finistère"; "une Source au bord de la mer" (1867) by "la Source sous bois"; "une Bretonne" (1886) by "Yvonne"; and "les Lavandières des côtes de Bretagne" (1870) by "les Lavandières." The best-known, perhaps, of all of Breton's many paintings is "le Chant de l'alouette" (1885); and it is not surprising that the song of the lark is heard, too, in many of his poems (notably, in "les Alouettes," from *Les Champs et la mer*, and in "l'Alouette" which serves as an introductory lyric to *Jeanne*). One of the most ambitious of Breton's pictures is a *Grand pardon breton* (1869); it is no accident that by far the longest poem in *les Champs et la mer* is "le Pardon," a description of a Breton "pardon" dedicated "à la mémoire de Théophile Gautier." It might be noted that "le Pardon" contains a sort of invocation to Memling, "l'illuminé de Bruges," and to Holbein,

* *Oeuvres poétiques*, p. 75.

whose figures, says the poet, are to be found again in these Breton peasants (pp. 105-06); of one of these peasants, Breton remarks (p. 107):

cette fille étrange
Aux yeux clairs, au front imposant,
On la dirait par Michel-Ange
Pétrie en un marbre puissant.

Many of the poems of *les Champs et la mer* are inscribed to poets or to painters. Among the former to be thus honored are Leconte de Lisle, Banville, Heredia, Anatole France, André Lemoyne, Gabriel Marc, Georges Lafenestre, André Theuriot, Frédéric Plessis and Alphonse Daudet and his wife (all but the last two were Parnassians); the latter include Corot, Millet, Jules Dupré and Charles Daubigny. Plastic and pictorial qualities such as form, color and line are an inevitable part of the stock-in-trade of this dual nature-painter. Thus, a peasant-girl in a landscape-poem on Breton's native Artois⁵ is depicted as being so beautiful that:

Phidias eût rêvé le chef-d'oeuvre que voile
Cette jupe taillée à grands coups d'ébauchoir;⁶

"le Retour des champs" contains this stanza:

Le zénith couleur d'améthyste
La caresse de son reflet
Inexprimable, que l'artiste
Ne peut qu'appeler violet;⁷

and "Fleur de sable" speaks of "ces merveilleux accords de la couleur" (p. 86). The sole polemic poem in the volume, "Théodore Rousseau et le bûcheron," is an attack on "ceux de qui l'art sans but sur les niais spéculé," and on the naturalists, "imitateurs passifs" who have failed to grasp the fact that "l'art est la clarté Suprême s'affirmant au milieu du mystère."⁸

The lyric poems of Jules Breton are penetrated with the idealism which characterizes his paintings; and it should be added, in pass-

⁵ Despite his name, Breton was not born in Brittany, although he spent much of his life in that section of France.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74. Théodore Rousseau is, of course, the nineteenth-century French landscape painter.

ing, that his *Jeanne*, comprising no less than twenty-two sections that might appropriately be called cantos, reads almost like a versified novel after the fashion of *la Mare au diable* or *François le champi*. Removed from most of his Parnassian contemporaries by this idealism, Breton is, nevertheless, one of them in the formal aspects of his verse, a fact which did not escape the editors of the 1876 *Parnasse contemporain*.

AARON SCHAFER

The University of Texas

A SOURCE OF *HERNANI: LE PARIA*, BY
CASIMIR DELAVIGNE

Casimir Delavigne (1794-1843) was one of the earliest French imitators of Byron. The first *Messéniennes* (1818), which established Delavigne's reputation as the "national poet," afford evidence of the influence of Byron's poetry.¹ The tragedy *Marino Faliero* (1829) is a direct imitation of Byron's play on the same subject. It is not, however, the first of Delavigne's tragedies to show the Byronic influence; *Le Paria*, a tragedy in five acts performed for the first time at the Odéon, December 1, 1821, already had a typically Byronic hero. It is in all probability the earliest manifestation of Byronism in the French drama,² and is doubly important on account of the influence which it appears to have had upon Victor Hugo's *Hernani*.

Victor Hugo was, of course, familiar with Delavigne's plays. It has been shown, in fact, that one scene in *Hernani* was inspired in part by a similar scene in *L'Ecole des Vieillards*, a comedy presented at the Théâtre-Français in 1823.³

The scene of *Le Paria* is laid in a sacred forest near Benares. Idamore, chief of the warrior tribe, loves Néala, daughter of the Brahman High-Priest Akébar. In spite of his valor and of the distinguished services which he has rendered to his adopted country, Idamore despairs of ever

¹ E. Estève, *Byron et le romantisme français*, Hachette, 1907, pp. 116, 453 ff.

² Not noticed by M. Estève.

³ *Hernani*, III, 1 and *L'Ecole des Vieillards*, III, 2 (v. Lenient, *La Comédie en France au XIXe siècle*, II, 14).

marrying Néala because he is a pariah. When he tells Néala the truth, she is filled with horror and repulses him; but love eventually triumphs over prejudice, and she determines to marry Idamore and keep his secret.

Thereupon Idamore's long-lost father, Zarès, appears. He entreats his son to return to his native land. Zarès is arrested, as a pariah, for polluting the holy places with his unclean presence. Idamore hastens to defend his father, confesses that he is his son, and is condemned to death. Néala leaves, like another Antigone, with old Zarès.

The situation in which Idamore finds himself presents a striking analogy to Hernani's. Both heroes are outcasts, although Hernani is eventually restored to his birthright. Both describe themselves as "montagnards," and savor of the mountain and the flood.⁴ Both are separated from the woman of their choice by apparently insuperable obstacles (Idamore is a pariah, Néala a priestess; Hernani is an exile, Doña Sol a noblewoman; Idamore is the enemy of Néala's father, who is the High Priest; Hernani is the enemy of the King, and becomes the enemy of Doña Sol's uncle and guardian). Both triumph over these obstacles, and marry their beloved. Both forgive their enemies. Both forget their duty to their father, and finally Nemesis overtakes each in the same way, Idamore being taken away during the wedding ceremony to die a victim of the religious fanaticism of Néala's father, and Hernani perishing on the wedding night, a martyr to the zeal of Doña Sol's uncle for the honor of the Silva family.

The resemblance of character is more important. Idamore is a melancholy fatalist. Obsessed with the thought of "la malédiction dont mes jours sont couverts,"⁵ he asks Néala:

Ah! vierge infortunée,
Dans le fond des déserts pourquoi n'es-tu pas née,
Ou pourquoi les destins, contre nous irrités,
Ne m'ont-ils pas fait naître au milieu des cités? *Le Paria*, II, 4.⁶

Like Hugo's hero, Idamore is a man of mystery, bearing the mark of Cain ("le sceau de la vengeance empreint sur tous mes traits"⁷).

⁴ Idamore bears in his breast "des monts qui l'ont nourri la sauvage âpreté," *Le Paria*, I, 2.

⁵ *Le Paria*, II, 4. Cf. Hernani's abuse of the epithet *maudit* ("mon front maudit," etc.).

⁶ "Pourquoi le sort mit-il mes jours si loin des vôtres?" *Hernani*, I, 2.

⁷ *Le Paria*, II, 5. Hernani describes himself as:

un proscrit

Sur qui le mot *vengeance* était partout écrit. *Hernani*, v, 3.

These features he inherits from the poetry of Byron. But Byron's heroes were proud of being "the very slaves of circumstance," and considered it a mark of election. Idamore, on the other hand, is depressed at heart by what he calls his "destiny"; and in that regard he resembles Hernani. Nor is his attitude merely a pose. He realises that his very touch profanes, that his presence is as contagious as a pestilence:

Je foule un sol fatal à mes pas interdit;
Je suis un fugitif, un profane, un maudit . . .
Je suis un Paria. *Le Paria*, I, 1.

It is a significant feature that Hugo's hero expresses the same feelings. The words which he utters to Doña Sol in Act III prove that he, too, considers himself an Untouchable.

Je porte malheur à tout ce qui m'entoure! . . .
Oh! par pitié pour toi, fuis! . . . Fuis ma contagion . . .
Malheur à qui me touche. . . .
Oh! fuis! détourne-toi de mon chemin fatal! * *Hernani*, III, 4.

If Hernani is not another Pariah, such language is surely unaccountable.

Hernani also resembles Idamore as a lover. Important scenes in *Hernani* recall the scenes in which Idamore figures with Néala, as shown in the following parallel:

Le Paria, I, 2.

(Néala comes to meet Idamore in the sacred grove, alarmed at profaning the holy ground, by keeping a tryst there, but unable to resist the call of love.)

She tells Idamore that her father intends her to leave the priesthood in order to be married.

Idamore (who already has a feud with Akébar) defies him to part Néala and himself.

Hernani, I, 2.

(Hernani enters by the "escalier dérobé" to meet Doña Sol.)

Doña Sol tells Hernani that the King desires her to marry Don Ruy Gomez.

Hernani (who already has a feud with the King) defies him.

* Cf. Idamore:

Ma vie est un fardeau, prenez-la, je l'abhorre:
Mon amitié flétrit; mon amour déshonore,
Mon nom glace d'effroi . . .

Le Paria, II, 5.

Hernani also speaks of "*l'effroi* qui m'environne" (*Hernani*, III, 4).

Néala reproves him for speaking irreverently of her father, and asks if he would disobey his own father.

Reminded of his outcast station, Idamore then urges her to obey her father.

Néala replies:

"Qui que tu sois, mon cœur est à toi sans retour."

Idamore asks:

"Sais-tu, fille d'un brame, à qui ton cœur se donne?"

—and here his confession is interrupted by the arrival of his friend Alvar.

Idamore, in the next scene, obtains the favor of another interview: "*Idamore*."

Demain, au même lieu.

Néala.

Demain."

Le Paria, II, 5.

Accordingly, the next day, Idamore meets Néala again, determined to tell her the whole truth:

"Elle connoitra le proscrit qu'elle adore."

He tells Néala that he is a pariah.

Love triumphs over prejudice, and she determines to marry Idamore.

It can be shown that the similarity between these lyrical scenes is not accidental. The proof of Hugo's indebtedness to *Le Paria* is found in a curious feature which must have impressed the reader of *Hernani*. This is the *motif* of renunciation.

Ardently as he loves Doña Sol, Hernani repeatedly seeks to dissuade her from loving him. It is a singular fact that, during their first interview (*Hernani*, I, 2), he is chiefly engaged in pointing

Hernani goes on to compare the Duke's riches with his own poverty, and urges Doña Sol not to marry a bandit.

Doña Sol replies:

"Je vous suivrai. Êtes-vous mon démon ou mon ange? Je ne sais, mais je suis votre esclave. . . . Je suis à vous."

Hernani asks:

"Savez-vous qui je suis Maintenant?"

—and here his confession is interrupted by the sudden appearance of Don Carlos.

Doña Sol, in the next scene, accords Hernani another interview:

"*Doña Sol*."

Demain, sous ma fenêtre, à minuit, et sans faute.

Vous frapperez des mains trois fois.
Hernani. Demain."

Hernani, II, 4.

Hernani keeps his tryst with Doña Sol, and continues his interrupted confession.

He tells Doña Sol that he is a condemned man:

"Je suis banni! je suis proscrit! je suis funeste."

Doña Sol insists upon following Hernani through thick and thin.

out to her the disadvantages of sharing his fate, while the two other scenes (*Hernani*, II, 4 and III, 4) are almost in their entirety an attempt to make Doña Sol reconsider and renounce a hopeless love.

Ah! ce serait un crime
Que d'arracher la fleur en tombant dans l'abîme.
Va, j'en ai respiré le parfum, c'est assez!
Renoue à d'autres jours des jours par moi froissés.
Epouse ce vieillard. C'est moi qui te délie.
Je rentre dans ma nuit. Toi, sois heureuse, oublie!

Hernani, II, 4.

It cannot be a coincidence that Idamore should make love in the same extraordinary way, and express his feelings in the same language. Almost his first words to Néala are an invitation to forget him:

Allez, près de l'époux qu'ici vous regrettez,
Chercher d'un autre amour des saintes voluptés,
Soyez heureuse: allez. *Le Paria*, I, 2.
Poursuis, affranchis-toi d'un sacrilège amour. *Ibid.*

And he repeatedly recurs to the theme, in terms which are echoed in *Hernani*:

<p>... Désespéré, confus, J'ai honte de ma rage et j'implore un refus. ... Ah! tu m'as trop aimé. Repousse un furieux à ta perte animé ... Puisses-tu le haïr autant qu'il se déteste! Il en est temps encor: romps cet hymen funeste. <i>Le Paria</i>, IV, 2.</p>	<p>Non, je dois m'être odieux. ... Si j'étais à ta place, Doña Sol, j'en aurais assez, je serais lasse De ce fou furieux, de ce sombre insensé. ... Je lui dirais: Va-t'en! — Repousse- moi, repousse! ... Car tu m'as supporté trop longtemps ... <i>Hernani</i>, III, 4.</p>
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Néala, however is not less devoted and loyal than Doña Sol. She simply replies:

Quand voulez-vous partir? Commandez, je vous suis. ...
Comment serais-je heureuse où vous ne serez pas? *Le Paria*, IV, 2.*

* Cf. Doña Sol:

Allez où vous voudrez, j'irai. Restez, partez,
Je suis à vous ...
Vous me manquez, je suis absente de moi-même. *Hernani*, I, 2.

The following comparison is interesting:

<i>Néala.</i>	<i>Doña Sol.</i>
Le trône de Delhi, que la gloire environne,	J'aime mieux avec lui, mon Hernani, mon roi,
Dût-il de mes splendeurs rendre les rois jaloux,	Vivre errante, en dehors du monde et de la loi,
Un désert avec toi m'aurait semblé plus doux. <i>Le Paria</i> , I, 2.	Ayant faim, ayant soif, fuyant toute l'année. . . . Que d'être impératrice avec un empereur! <i>Hernani</i> , II, 2.

Le Paria is instructive because it shows the tendency which the tragedy was following before the advent of *Hernani*. To Hugo's play we conclude that it contributed the outline of two lyrical scenes (*Hernani*, I, 2, and *Hernani*, II, 4), together with certain particular features of the hero's character—Hernani's resignation, as a lover, and his morbid sense of being a pariah.

DAVID O. EVANS

University of British Columbia

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF MARCEL PROUST

There has recently come into the writer's possession the following unpublished letter¹ from Marcel Proust to Robert de Montesquiou:

Lundi soir

Cher Monsieur

Comme au plus fort de ma crise on n'a pu me remettre mes lettres, je n'ai eu que presque en même temps les deux vôtres, dimanche soir la première et lundi matin la seconde (celle-là quand elle est arrivée). J'ai aussitôt fait chercher dans le salon—jusqu'ici on n'a pas retrouvé le petit manuscrit. Du reste si je ne vous l'envoie pas, c'est qu'on ne l'aura pas retrouvé. J'ai fait déposer l'exemplaire des hortensias et des roses, l'exemplaire impérial et princier à Madame Lemaire. Et je suis profondément touché de la dédicace que vous avez eu la bonté d'écrire à la première page du mien. Cette allusion à la Bible d'Amiens me fait penser qu'il faudra que je vous demande diverses autorisations car je cite plusieurs mots de vous dans le Ruskin qui suit la Bible d'Amiens. Et

¹ The letter is four pages in length and written on mourning stationery. There is no paragraph division and I have respected Proust's punctuation, or rather absence of it.

cette fois je voudrais vous nommer (il s'agit d'ailleurs de simples riens, (je parle des mots de moi) grands seulement parce qu'ils font allusion à vous. Ce n'est pas comme dans la Bible d'Amiens dans la préface (dans la Préface du nouveau qui paraîtra le 15 dans la Renaissance Latine il n'est pas question de vous) mais dans les notes ² du volume. Du reste il ne paraîtra pas avant l'hiver. Et puis vous trouvez tout cela de trop minime importance et me trouvez très présomptueux d'appeler là-dessus votre attention. J'espère bien réussir à faire un article sur Professionnelles Beautés, car je le désire beaucoup. Je suis en train d'y penser. Veuillez agréer cher Monsieur la vive expression de ma reconnaissance et de mes sentiments admiratifs et respectueux.

Marcel Proust.

The letter is undated, as are the great majority of Proust's letters, and the envelope has not been preserved with the postmark. However, examination of the various allusions in the letter permit giving it an approximate date of somewhere before June 15th, 1905.

The preface of which Proust speaks is the preface he wrote for his translation of Ruskin's *Sesame and Lilies* and appeared, as he says, in *La Renaissance Latine* for June 15th, 1905.

Professionnelles Beautés, about which he hopes to write an article,³ is the volume of the same name by Robert de Montesquiou and was published in January, 1905, and not 1906 as is incorrectly stated ⁴ in the edition of Proust's letters to Montesquiou. Proust gave a *soirée* ⁵ Friday June 2nd, 1905, at which Montesquiou read from this latest book of his, and it was probably this recent reminder of Montesquiou's book which prompted him to mention the review he hoped to do of it. This, coupled with the fact that he says "qui paraîtra le 15" without naming the month, inclines me to put the date of the letter between June 2nd and June 15th, 1905, at the latest. It then should be placed between letters CXLVI and CXLVIII in the edition of Proust's letters to Montesquiou.⁶

² Proust cites Montesquiou only once in the notes to *Sésame et les Lys*, note 1, page 201. The citation is of so little consequence that Proust seems to have made it merely in order to put his friend's name in the book, as he had promised to do in his letter.

³ Published in *Les arts de la vie*, August 1905, p. 67, under the title "Un professeur de Beauté."

⁴ Lettres à Montesquiou, Plon, 1930, p. 145, note.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 143-145.

⁶ It is exceedingly difficult to arrange chronologically Proust's letters,

In the letter Proust says that his translation of *Sésame et les Lys* "ne paraîtra pas avant l'hiver." In reality, it did not appear until May 1906, the publication having been delayed by the death of his mother in September 1905. The mourning paper on which the letter is written therefore shows that he was still in mourning for his father who had died in 1903.

Another allusion in the letter which perhaps needs explanation is "l'exemplaire des hortensias et des roses, l'exemplaire impérial et princier à Madame Lemaire".⁷ This must refer to Montesquiou's "Les Hortensias Bleus" which originally appeared in 1896, but it seems scarcely possible that he was sending presentation copies of this edition to his friends nine years after its publication. In fact he had already sent Proust a copy on its appearance, for which Proust thanked him in a letter dated May 29, 1896.⁸ Could this present allusion not refer rather to advance author's copies of the definitive edition of this same book which was published in February, 1906?⁹ This would justify the adjective *impérial* used by Proust, since there were twelve copies printed of *Les hortensias bleus* on *Japon impérial* in this definitive edition.⁹

Yale University

MILTON GARVER

since he rarely dated them in any way and the year date is almost always absent. It may be remarked in passing that, judging from the internal evidence of the dates which Proust suggested to Montesquiou for the *soirée*, letters CXXXVII to CXLIII do not seem to be correctly arranged. It is also amusing to see that Proust, in trying to be overcareful about his dates, writes in letter CXXVIII, "le lundi 31 ou le mercredi 2." The days he is referring to are May 31st and June 2nd, and he should have written "le mercredi 31 ou le vendredi 2," for by consulting the calendar for 1905, one finds that the 31st fell on Monday only in July and the 2nd on Wednesday only in August, whereas he is trying to find a suitable day for his *soirée* in May or June and finally decided on *vendredi 2 (juin)*. He apparently turned two pages in his desk calendar.

⁷ Madame Lemaire, who illustrated the first edition of Proust's *Les Plaisirs et les Jours*. A description of her salon may be found in Proust's *Chroniques*, Paris, 1927, p. 28.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, Letter XLVI, p. 41.

⁹ In my Bibliographical Note on Marcel Proust, in the March number of the *Modern Language Notes*, XLVII, p. 176, I should possibly have mentioned subsequent references to the brochure entitled "Fête chez Montesquiou à Neuilly," to be found in his letters to Montesquiou, pages 204, 218, and 277. This brochure was later incorporated in Proust's *pastiche* of Saint-Simon, in his *Pastiches et Mélanges*, but with numerous changes, as he indicates in the letter, page 277.

NOTES ON STEINHÖWEL'S *ÄSOP* AND THE FABLES OF HANS SACHS

Goetze, in his edition of the *Fabeln* and *Schwänke* of Hans Sachs,¹ names Steinhöwel's *Äsop*² as the source of several of the fables by the Nuremberg cobbler and enumerates carefully the page-numbers in Steinhöwel containing the material utilized by Hans Sachs. Investigation shows that Goetze has done this work thoroughly, but as one might expect, Sachs was prone to enlarge upon the themes of the apologues he selected and as a consequence the *Fabeln* and *Meistergesänge* of Hans Sachs are almost invariably longer than the corresponding Steinhöwel fables. Most of this extraneous material in Sachs is composed of morals and discourses on social ethics and it would be, of course, both foolish and futile to seek for the origin of every line—much is to be attributed to the invention of the poet himself. In other cases Hans Sachs tells us that he is quoting a current proverb or is paraphrasing a statement by some earlier writer.³ The following passages, which may serve as illustrations, are appended by Hans Sachs to some of his revisions of Steinhöwel's fables:

Also auf ertereiche
Get es noch vngeleiche:
Aim ist vnfal pescheret,
Der ander wirt geeret;
Aim Frewd, dem andren schmerzen;
Das sprichwort sagt mit scherzen,
Das ainem wird das haile,
Dem andren wirt das saile.
Also ir idem wachs
Glueck oder fal, spricht Hans Sachs.

(Goetze, I, 79, v. 53-62).

¹ Goetze—*Sämtliche Fabeln und Schwänke von Hans Sachs*, hrsg. v. Edmund Goetze. 6 Bde. In "Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts," Nr. 110-117; 126-134; 164-169; 193-199; 207-211; 231-235. Halle a. S. 1893.

² *Steinhöwels Äsop*. hrsg. v. Hermann Oesterley. Litt. Verein Stuttgart, Vol. 117, 1873.

³ In this connection mention should be made of an article by Charles Schweitzer, *Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten bei H. Sachs*, in *Hans Sachs-Forschungen*, Nürnberger Festschrift, pp. 353-381. Nürnberg, 1894.

Ein weyser man der lehr hie bey,
 Das er sich hüt vor schmeychlerey!
 Sonder er red mit seinem mund
 Getrewlich seines hertzen grund
 Vnd sey auffrichtig vnd warhafft,
 Weyl *Salomon* die schmeichler strafft.
Der spricht: Eym losen man wol taugen
 Verkerter mund vnd winckend augen,
 Dardurch er richtet hader an;
 Müsz doch zu letzs en yhm ausz gan.

(Goetze, I, 23, v. 4150.)

Simonides, der weys, *beschreyb*,
 Das böser reden wer dann schweygen.

(Goetze, I, 23, v. 78-79.)

Parallels to the above passages are naturally not to be found in Steinhöwel, although his *Äsop* is indubitably the source of the rest of the *Fabel* in each case.

Steinhöwel's work contains not only the apologues of Aesop, but also a *Vita Esopi* and fables of Rimicius, Avianus, Petrus Alphonsi, Poggius (Poggio) and others, as well as a list of morals entitled *die gemainen punkten der materi dis büchlins*. Hans Sachs certainly made use of material taken from all parts of Steinhöwel's compilation—his Schwank *Das Narren Bad*, May 12, 1530 (Goetze, I, 6) and the corresponding *Meistergesang* of Dec. 15, 1536 *Das narrenpad* (Goetze, III, 68) are taken from Poggius' *von torhait der baiszer* (Steinhöwel p. 345); *die fabel des esels mit der leben hawt*, Nov. 3, 1531 (Goetze, I, 21) is drawn from Avianus' *die iv fabel von dem esel und der löwen hut* (Steinhöwel, p. 265); the Fabel *Esopus mit den zwayen kraen*, Sept. 10, 1545 (Goetze, I, 79) and the *Meistergesang Esopus mit den kraen* (Goetze, III, 233) come from the *Vita Esopi* (Steinhöwel p. 59, and not p. 51, as Goetze states) and so on in several other cases. Incidentally, Hans Sachs erroneously ascribes the authorship of at least two of Avianus' fables to Aesop. In *das camelthier mit dem got joui* (Goetze, I, 87) Sachs writes (v. 43): "Esopus das peschreibet," and in *die fabel mit dem frosch* (Goetze, I, 149) verse I reads: "Esopus der hat uns peschrieben," although Avianus is the author of both of these fables (*cp.* Steinhöwel p. 268 and 266).

None the less important for Hans Sachs, however, was the last part of Steinhöwel's *Äsop*, namely *die gemainen punkten der materi dis büchlins* (Steinhöwel, pp. 352-362). As far as I have been able

to ascertain, the influence of this collection of epitomes on Hans Sachs has not been noted by any historian and yet many of Sachs' morals are taken almost verbatim from the last pages of Steinhöwel. Let us compare, for example, the following passages:

Sachs: "So traff die vntrew jren Herrn" (Goetze, I, 3, v. 48). *Cp.* Steinhöwel p. 361 under *Untrüw*: "Untrüw schlecht oft ieren aigen herren." In this case, as in others, the moral in Steinhöwel refers to an apologue entirely different from the one Hans Sachs is discussing. Other instances are:

Sachs: Gewalt der geht oft für recht
Als jr in diesem beyspiel secht. (Goetze, I, 14, oben).

Steinhöwel p. 355 under *Gewalt*: "Gewalt gat für recht und trukt die unschulde."

Sachs: "All Hasen . . .
. . . trugen jr widerwertigkeit
Inn hoffnung künfftig güter zeyt.
(Goetze, I, 20, v. 49-50).

Steinhöwel p. 356 under *Gedult*: "du solt widerwertikait gedultiglichen tragen."

Sachs: Hie bey ein weyser sey gemant
Das er sich halt nach seinem stant.
(Goetze, I, 21, v. 67-68).

Steinhöwel p. 360 under *Naut*: "du solt in dynem aygen stant benüigig syn."

Sachs: Wer zu hoch fleugt wie Icarus
Der selb dest tieffer fallen musz.
(Goetze, I, 21, v. 75-76).

Steinhöwel p. 360 under *Übermuot*: "welcher ze hoch stygt, der felt des schwärlicher nider."

Sachs: Bey dem verste ein weyser man,
Das er sich sol genügen lan,
Was yhm Got hie bescherdt auff erd,
Auff das yhm nicht zu wenig werd,
So er wil haben gar zu vil. (Goetze, I, 23, v. 55 ff).

Steinhöwel p. 356 under *Gytigkait*: "gytigkait lat sich nit benügen an dem, das im gott gegeben hat" and "oft wil ainer ze vil, so würt im ze wenit."

Sachs: Der neyd den menschen plent darzû . . .
 Vnd kumpt ym doch darausz kain gut.
 Derhalb ein mensch nit bessers kan,
 Er gûnn eym, was yhm Gott vergan.

(Goetze, I, 23, v. 74 ff).

Steinhöwel p. 358 under *Nyd*: "Nyd vergündet menglichem syner guothait."

Sachs: Pey dem frosch zaigt Esopus [Avianus!] on
 Ein man, der vil geschweczes kon,
 Vnd rûemet sich anir kûnst ser hoch,
 Der er nie hat gelernet doch. (Goetze I, 149, v. 59-ff),

and

Vnd wirt zv schand vor idermon,
 Weil er sich rûembt, das er nit kon.

(Goetze I, 149, v. 77-78).

Steinhöwel p. 357 under *Kunst*: "waz du nit kanst, des niem dich nit an" and "welcher sich kûnsten anniempt, die er nit gelernet hat, der gibt ain böses end."

No investigation of this matter could be complete, of course, without taking into account all of the *Fabeln* and *Schwänke* of Hans Sachs, but the eclectic examples just cited will demonstrate the influence of Steinhöwel's collection of morals.

ARTHUR HOWARD HUGHES

The George Washington University

REVIEWS

The Pastourelle. By WILLIAM POWELL JONES. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931. Pp. xiv + 235.

It has been the fashion in recent years to seek learned origins for mediaeval literature, and type after type has been traced to the clerks. It is, therefore, somewhat refreshing to discover in the recent study of Professor Jones one type, at least, traced to a popular origin. This type is the *pastourelle*.

The mere idea of finding a popular origin for this type of literature illustrates to some extent the author's independence of judgment. For among the types of literature attracting the attention of literary historians, the *pastourelle* had by no means been

neglected; and, although certain earlier writers had regarded a remote popular origin as possible,¹ later writers had differed only as to the particular kind of learned origin to ascribe to it.² One of the most recent writers to study the pastourelle had gone so far, indeed, as to believe it merely a literary and aristocratic theme *that had become popular* in the course of centuries.³ Absolutely uninfluenced by the adverse current of critical opinion, however, Professor Jones has kept the course opened to him by his own previous studies leading to the theory of a popular origin.

It should, however, be stated at once that these earlier studies of Dr. Jones were connected with certain widespread folk-themes⁴ and that they led him only accidentally to the study of the pastourelle. His method of approach differs completely, therefore, from that of most literary historians. For him, the pastourelle is no longer a literary genre but a theme—a love-adventure between a country girl and a knight or noble, in which the latter is repulsed. Jones admits, of course, that there are many courtly pastourelles in which the gallant is successful. For him, however, the lover's success is a later development. The most important element of the original pastourelles is this very repulse; and, in his eyes, any popular story in which a country girl repulses a noble is a *folk-pastourelle*.⁵ For this repulse represents the humiliation of the great, one of the three popular elements⁶ which, combined, constitute the pastourelle. The other two are the mediaeval love of all kinds of debate and the longing of country girls for lovers of high degree.

¹ Wackernagel, *Altfranzösische Lieder*, p. 183, pictures the people mingling songs depicting rustic scenes with their dances, and Paris in his review of Jeanroy's *Origines de la poésie lyrique*, says of the pastourelle, "*on est amené à la regarder comme la transformation, d'abord 'jougleresque,' puis aristocratique, de chansons et de petites scènes appartenant aux fêtes de mai.*" (*Mélanges de littérature française*, p. 570). Jones does not discuss the theory of a May-Day origin. He appears to accept the view of Paris, however (pp. 42-3).

² Faral, *Romania XLIX*, 245, after saying of a possible popular origin, *Du prétendu caractère populaire de la pastourelle, nous avons déjà dit . . . c'est une rêverie*, tries to prove that it evolved from mediaeval pseudo-Virgilian bucolics; Delboulle, *Mémoires de l'académie royale de Belgique*, XX, second fascicule, attributes its origin to certain mediaeval Latin love-poems; Brinkmann, *Geschichte der lateinischen Liebesdichtung*, p. 78, finds the source for the Latin pastourelles in Ovidian love-poetry.

³ E. Piguet, *L'Évolution de la pastourelle*, p. 173.

⁴ Particularly the theme in which a wolf steals a lamb from a shepherdess.

⁵ P. 37-8. "I have called this group '*The Baffled Knight*' . . . I might well keep my original term '*folk pastourelle*,' for the basis is . . . the love adventures of a gallant and a maiden."

⁶ Jeanroy also, *Origines*, pp. 13-18, had discovered three distinct elements in the pastourelle. According to both critics, the debate is one element: but Jeanroy's two others were the *oaristys*, or meeting between two lovers, and the *gab* or boast. For Jones, the *gab* could not possibly be an original element, since in the earliest forms of the pastourelle the knight had so little success.

How, then, does this simple theme become the highly developed and specialized genre that we know? And why is its heroine always a shepherdess? In the first place, Jones, like Paris,⁷ believes the pastourelle formed in Central France, a pastoral region in which most girls actually were shepherdesses. But he likewise stresses the important fact that this was also the region that produced the early troubadours, particularly *those who rose to fame from obscurity*, like Bernart de Ventadorn. The author's theory is that such poets adapted their folk-material to the taste of the courts for which they wrote—hence the frequent success of the hero in the later pastourelles. In the earliest extant pastourelle,⁸ however, the gallant is mocked by the shepherdess.

Precisely the same things as these are true, according to Dr. Jones, of the Latin pastourelles, of which there are, to be sure, very few real samples.⁹ Scholars have labored for years to determine their relationship to those in French and Provençal,¹⁰ but for Professor Jones the same source is evident for all three—oral tradition.¹¹ Many clerks were of as humble origin as many troubadours. Those who loved a wandering life made use, in the abbeys, of their talents and musical training to earn a living, as the troubadours and jongleurs did in the feudal castles. They entertained a different audience and used a different language. Those were about the only differences between the two groups.

It is obvious that the work of Professor Jones is original and stimulating and that it must be taken seriously by scholars. Although nothing can be regarded as definitely proved, his book probably answers more of the difficult questions concerning the origin of the type and the relations between the Latin, French, and Provençal examples than does any previous work.¹²

⁷ *Mélanges de littérature française*, p. 571.

⁸ This is, of course, the well-known *L'autrier, jost'una sebissa* of Marcabrun. This man was the pupil of Cercamon who, according to his biographer, wrote *pastoretas a la usanza antiga*. But what does *usanza antiga* mean? Delbouille takes it to mean *in the style that prevailed before the nuns and nymphs of mediaeval Latin love-poetry became transformed into shepherdesses, for greater realism, when the pastourelle came to be written in French and Provençal* (pp. 42-3). For Faral, the phrase means *in imitation of the Latins*, or classical pastoral poetry. For Jones, as for Jeanroy and Audiau, *La Pastourelle*, p. xviii, n. 2, it meant *before this popular type became aristocratic and conventional*. Marcabrun's piece, though not popular in form, has popular elements.

⁹ Aside from the *Sole regente lora* of the St. Omer Ms., Jones admits only three poems to be pastourelles. These are *Estivale sub fervore* (No. 52), *Lucts orto sidere* (No. 119), and *Vere dulci mediante* of the *Carmina Burana*.

¹⁰ Pillet, *Studien zur Pastourelle*, had indicated that the Latin pastourelles were imitations of the French rather than the other way round, as Delbouille would have us believe.

¹¹ Allen, *Modern Philology*, V, 428, is willing to concede popular influence on the Latin lyric.

¹² Thus, for example, Jones admits the influence of Ovid, observed by

In such a brief review it is impossible, of course, to do more than indicate the evidence on which Professor Jones' views are based. It may be said, however, that he has examined innumerable folk songs which have given him the themes studied; and it is a study of these themes in their developments all over Europe, or a study in folk-lore, that has led him to his conclusions, just as it led him to the subject in the first place. He believes the same material used in both folk and courtly pastourelles. The latter, however, died in the fourteenth century. The folk pastourelle still lives on in songs of the countryside and forms the foundation of Jones' work.

The book is well printed and typographical errors are very rare. Those that do occur are all in Chapter VI (the artistic pastourelle after the middle ages), which probably shows more haste and less interest on the author's part than any other part of the work and could be omitted without serious harm to the book. *Presumptious*,¹³ *receuil*¹⁴ and *air de court*¹⁴ are some of the reviewer's reasons for believing in haste. *Esprit gallois*¹⁵ for *esprit gaulois*, however, occurs in different parts of the book and is less excusable.

University of Michigan

EDWARD L. ADAMS

Wielands Gesammelte Schriften. Herausgegeben von der Deutschen Kommission der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. *Werke*, Bd. IX. *Der goldne Spiegel, Singspiele und kleine Dichtungen 1772-1775*; Bd. XIV. *Prosaische Schriften I. 1773-1783*; Bd. XV. *Prosaische Schriften II. 1783-1794*. Herausg. v. WILHELM KURRELMEYER. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1928-1931. Pp. 469, 460 + 210, 817 + 247.

This final edition is appearing in three divisions: the "works" (in stricter sense); translations; letters. Our American colleague, whose notable gift of *Akribie* guarantees in these texts a perfect

some critics, on certain pastourelles, and he does not exclude even pseudo-Virgilian influence: but these were decidedly not their original inspiration. The vigor, even the coarseness of many of the French pastourelles, is explained by the theory that the trouvères, though they merely revived the theme some years after Marcabrun's Provençal poems, yet took it up nearer its original state than we find it in Marcabrun. Therefore, although, as Faral points out (*op. cit.*, pp. 235-6), aristocratic contempt for the base rustics pervades these works, this, like the success of the gallant, was a later development. *That the gallant is still baffled in about half the number* is regarded by Jones as a striking reminiscence of the folk pastourelle spirit.

¹³ P. 168.

¹⁴ Both on p. 177; *receuil* in a note.

¹⁵ Pages 136 and 163.

mirror of Wieland's language, has completed three of the most important volumes in the first division. The elaborate apparatus includes a full display of the sources, a complete register of variant readings (including orthography and punctuation), and a priceless set of explanatory notes, which shed honor on the scholarship and untiring research of the editor. The numerous *Merkur*-articles are so closely concerned with fleeting literary incidents of the time that one can only marvel at the patience and ingenuity which were employed in tracking them to their sources, albeit, in some few cases, the search had to end in a *non liquet*.

These three imposing volumes (containing 469, 460, and 817 pages of text) fully justify the creation of a perfected edition of Wieland. *Der goldne Spiegel* reveals his rare gift of veiling living issues under an exotic garb, and, under a thin disguise of whimsical and agreeable narrative, compassing the most fundamental matters of constitutions and laws, political, educational, social, financial, theological, educational and economic institutions. Beneath delicate irony and biting sarcasm there glows a sincere passion for lifting the burden of misery from mankind. From the frivolous, self-indulgent squandering of privileged classes the way is pointed to the "simple life" (which Wieland so well exemplified) and to a subordination to the common good. Power is represented as a sacred responsibility, the chief ruler as the first servant of the state. There is also *Alceste*, "eine Oper in deutscher Zunge—in der Sprache, worinn Kayser Carl der Fünfte nur mit seinem Pferde sprechen wollte—von einem Deutschen gesetzt, von Deutschen gesungen"—a landmark in the relations between the German stage and antique tragedy.

In spite of Wieland's overweening self-satisfaction at a somewhat slender achievement, its significance for poetic diction can by no means be overlooked. Goethe's *burschikos* attack in 1774 must not be taken very seriously: in 1770 he had repeatedly expressed the highest admiration for Wieland. *Die Mitschuldigen* shows direct influence. In July, 1776, Goethe wrote to Frau von Stein: "Mit Wielanden hab' ich göttlich reine Stunden"; "Wieland thut mir noch am wohlsten." The transposition of Euripides into a more modern key, which constitutes the whole onus of Goethe's satire, is precisely what he himself effected in *Iphigenie*, which was conceived in the spirit of *Alceste*. The similarity of style, at points, is unmistakable:

Wieland (IX, 407):

Liebreich drängen sich
Die Schatten um sie her! Sie bieten ihr
Aus Lethens Fluth gefüllte Schalen an.

Iphigenie (1258-9):

Noch Einen! reiche mir aus Lethes Fluten
Den letzten kühlen Becher der Erquickung!

Similarly, from Wieland's *Wahl des Herkules* (IX, 418) :

O nehmt mich auf, ihr stillen Gründe,
Gewogne Schatten, hüllt mich ein!

The same play was not without influence on *Faust*:

Zwei Seelen . . .
Bekämpfen sich in meiner Brust (IX, 428).

Compare *Faust*, 1112:

Zwei Seelen wohnen, ach! in meiner Brust.

Also (IX, 418) :

Hier athm' ich wieder frey, empfinde
Des Daseyns Werth, bin wieder mein!
Hier bin ich Mensch, hier darf ich's sein (*Faust*, 940).

Volumes 14 and 15 consist chiefly of articles from the *Teutscher Merkur*, dealing with contemporary matters (including the beginnings of air-navigation), especially with the French Revolution, and offering an invaluable record of public opinion at the time. One can only marvel at the sanity of view, the plea for temperate judgment, the refusal to abdicate commonsense—much of which might be applied to the Russian situation of today. The conversations with the "Pastor of . . ." offer a frank and manly defence of the erotic element in Wieland's writings.

Our author well deserves his conspicuous place in the Hall of Fame: he was a consistent, rigorous thinker, who defended the free use of the mind; his judgment was clear and penetrating; he had an honorable straightforwardness in looking complicated problems squarely in the face, and in taking full account of their various aspects. In the midst of awful upheavals, he showed a calm reasonableness. Joined to this was a constructive imagination, a gift for making vivid the most remote times and scenes. His prophecy of changes in American civilization is almost uncanny in its insight. His learning was genuine and comprehensive: equally at home in the *Basia* of Johannes Secundus and the *Morals* of Aristotle. To his ample gifts he added a very genius for hard work: "Wenn es nur dem Dichter nicht an Talent und Geschmack, und an dem, was mit dem Genie so selten gepaart ist, an Geduld im Ausarbeiten mangelt."

It is not over-praise to add that Wieland was a discriminating psychologist. His first allegiance, however, was to the Muses and Graces: he never ignored the laws of beauty and propriety; he represents the chosen band of *Phoebo digna locuti*.

In a period of unlimited experimentation, he showed a sane caution against unbalanced idealism. He was no John Wesley, "groaning after holiness in this life," but always the man-of-the-world, fighting against ascetic Puritanism, often hidden under the

mask of hypocrisy. In short, he stood for realism, and made no bones about erotic sensibilities. He refused to depict human nature merely as it ought to be. A tempered hedonism, an easy tolerance in morals, joined to a regard for good form and decency, accounts for his apologies for Aspasia, Julia, and Faustina. His too-liberal concessions to that bloodthirsty tigress, "Nature," may be credited to Rousseau. Subtly and unceasingly girding at Christianity, he held to immortality and the *Deus in nobis*, variously adumbrated as "First Cause," *Das höchste Wesen, Der Himmel*.

Wieland was an outspoken admirer of the French people and their literature, though this concerned temperament and spirit, not servile imitation of form. He glorified *Vernunft und Witz*, abhorring *platter Styl* and all conventional *Kunstsprache*. His perennial sprightliness, clarity, and simplicity, his ever emergent playfulness, did much to redeem German style from turgidity. Accordingly, though *weniger erhoben*, he was *fleißig gelesen*. Epigram, delicate satire, keen wit were his endowment. If he occasionally verged upon an arid self-complacency, we may nevertheless credit his own statement that he was "zu stolz, um viel Eitelkeit zu haben." His productivity was so phenomenally profuse that there was some point to the current Weimar jest: "Wieland accouchiert zu oft seine Frau und seine Muse."

We honor in him a master of language, whose services in developing German style surpass even those of Goethe, and in a high degree prepared the way for the greatest of German authors. We must be sincerely grateful that his notable achievements are preserved in so noble a form as this great edition achieves.

Northwestern University

JAMES TAFT HATFIELD

Deux manuscrits de François Villon (Bib. Nat. fr. 1661 et 20041) reproduits en phototypie avec une notice sur les manuscrits du poète. Par A. JEANROY et E. DROZ. Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1932. Pp. xix + 106. Fr. 100.

The manuscripts that preserve for us the works of Villon are all anthologies made at the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century, and Villon's works are usually found in them scattered among the poems of others, often with no indication of his authorship. As the dates of these manuscripts and their relations to one another have not as yet been determined, it is frequently impossible to establish from their variant readings any certainty regarding the poet's own words. We are accordingly obliged to resign ourselves to modern editions containing lyrics precariously credited to Villon and to texts that are admittedly

eclectic. Unfortunately, modern editors, for one reason or another, have failed to give us full and accurate lists of the variant readings in the MSS., and in consequence students of the poet have been seriously handicapped in the past in their researches. Facsimiles of the Stockholm MS. (F), of the Jardin de Plaisance (J), and of Levet's edition (I) have been available, but the important MSS. known as A, B, and C have remained inaccessible outside of Paris. Now Jeanroy and Droz have filled a great want by supplying us with excellent phototypic reproductions of B and C, together with an introduction that contains valuable accounts of the contents of all the MSS. and offers several new suggestions concerning the dates of some of them. Certain problems raised by the volume are promised solution in articles by Piaget and Droz in forthcoming numbers of *Romania*. Meanwhile an expression of opinion about a few others may not be amiss.

The editors (xvi) contest the ascription to Villon of the so-called *Ballade contre les ennemis de France* (Poésies Diverses V, in Foulet's edition) because the poem is attributed to him only in R. But R is correct in all its other attributions to Villon—i. e., in some twenty-two instances—and anonymity is the rule, not the exception, in J, H, and the other MSS. that preserve this Ballade. (Incidentally, the editors do not mention that it is in H.) Moreover, the similarity of the content and form of the poem to those of Villon's unquestioned works makes his authorship seem likely: the references to Jason and Absalom (lines 2, 19) as well as the structure¹ of the poem recall the signed *Ballade au nom de la Fortune* (P. D. XII, 22, 35); the mention of Helen, Narcissus, Sardanapalus (6, 18, 32), and the use of the term *infernaulx palus*² (8) can all be paralleled in the *Testament* (313, 637, 641; 874).

Two other poems sometimes included in the Villon canon, *Jenin l'anemy* and *Je vy le temps que aymé j'estoye*, are rightly rejected (xiv, xv). Concerning a third, *Parfont conseil, eximium*, the editors content themselves (xvii) with reproducing the opinion of Pierre Champion that this poem is in the same hand and ink that transcribe the two authentic poems by Villon in the same MS. (V). However, the *Parfont conseil* should also have been definitely rejected: it is written in seven line stanzas, a facile Ballade form that occurs nowhere in Villon's authentic works (see note 1), and the supposition that this is an autograph copy is easily disproved

¹ In 17 of his Ballades, Villon uses the form ababbche (one of these, P. D. IV, has the variation ababbche). In 11, his scheme is ababceded. In P. D. V and XII alone, he adds an extra rhyme: V has ababceddede; XII has ababceddede. No other rhyme schemes occur in Villon's authentic Ballades. (The *Ballades en Jargon* have been omitted from these statistics, but it is worth noting that the one most certainly ascribed to Villon, because of the acrostic in the *Envoi*, rhymes ababbche.)

² Cf. Roberta Cornelius, *Speculum* II, 1927, 321-5.

by the fact that one line has been omitted entirely, whereas another line, originally omitted, has been supplied at the foot of the page (cf. P. Champion's edition, *CFMA*, of the works of Charles d'Orléans, II, 561).

Welcome are the statements concerning the latest datable poems in B, F, and H, and more information about F and H is promised in the forthcoming articles in *Romania*. There was little use, however, in reproducing Bijvanck's opinion that A must be ten years later than F and that B dates from ca. 1480 (viii, x) since, as the editors elsewhere recognize, this critic's dates are "parfaitement arbitraires" (vii, note 1; incidentally, in this note Bijvanck's MS. "D" should have been equated with the MS. usually called "C", and on p. xi, the reference at the foot of the page to Långfors, *Incipit*, should have been to p. 199, not 109). It would also have been well to consign to oblivion Bijvanck's over-generous estimate of the value of B, in which no other editors have concurred (xi; cf. *Romania* XLIX, 1923, p. 588, note 1).

Needless to say, the volume is indispensable to all students of Villon, and warm thanks are due Jeanroy and Droz for their generosity in offering it to the public. May they also be persuaded to give us facsimiles of MS. A and of the few pertinent pages in H, O, P, R, and V that remain to be reproduced!

GRACE FRANK

Bryn Mawr College

The Life of Saint Alexis, An Old French Poem of the Eleventh Century, With an Introduction and a special Glossary. By V. L. DEDECK-HÉRY, Ph. D. New York: Publications of the Institute of French Studies, 1931. Pp. 82.

La Vie de Saint Alexis, composed in the middle of the eleventh century, is preserved in its entirety of 125 assonant stanzas, each of which has five decasyllabic verses. The reader is not fascinated by its apotheosis of asceticism, void of any human emotion. But scholars have published editions and monographs galore without succeeding, as yet, in establishing a definitive text of the Old French version and a comprehensive treatment of its literary history.

Dr. Dedek-Héry gives no explanation of the method he followed in publishing the present edition, but evidently it is to be used merely as a text-book. It seems that the manuscripts were not consulted. MS. A, which is said to be in England at Ashburnham-Place, was returned to the Bibliothèque Nationale many years ago. It is now catalogued as MS. 4503 of the "nouvelles acquisitions

françaises." The footnote given on p. 6, which reads "A second one was published by Carlisle in *Rom.* xvii," means that MS. M2, at Carlisle, England, was studied by G. Paris in *Romania*, xvii (1888), 106-120. The bibliography is not as complete as that given in the *Altfranzösisches Übungsbuch* of Foerster and Koschwitz (Leipzig, 1921), 98-163, 298-315, and does not list the recent studies of R. Altrocchi, *Mod. Phil.*, xxii (1925), 337-352; G. Franzi, *Archivum Rom.*, xiii (1929), 191-3; F. Addonizio, *La Leggenda di S. Alessio nella letteratura e nell'arte* (Naples, 1930).

One doubts the need for reproducing (without acknowledgment!) the text of G. Paris, reprinted as recently as 1925. The following textual changes may be in order: *Noë* 6; *n'ourent, peiset* 22; *ven* 52; *Co* 106, 460; while *neient* 49; *lueu(s)* 133, 570 are hypothetical readings that are neither justifiable nor necessary.

The glossary, which unfortunately lacks line references, gives a complete list of words, with their etymology, phonetic development, and English translation. A cursory perusal of it leads us to make the following suggestions:

Abiter, replaced by *adeser* in P, is defined by A. Sjögren, *Neuph. Mitt.*, xxx (1929), 20 as "touch, approach." *Achatet*, cf. G. Paris (ed. 1872), p. 179. *Al*, add the nouns *aval*, *bal*, *cal*, *carnaval*, *chacal*, *régal*, etc. *Altre*, cf. F. Rechnitz, *Romania*, xxxix (1910), 369. For *atempredes* "accordées," cf. G. Paris, p. 195. *Avuec*, omit "together." *Chascune* is not an indef. pron., but an adj. *Colchier* means "lie down, go to sleep." *Orestiantet* means "Christian religion" in line 12 and "Christian custom, christening" in line 30. *T'ies deduiz* means "you conducted yourself, you behaved." *Lastet* < *LASSITATE, not LAXITATE. *Malendous* seems to be an adj. formed on the Old French noun *malant* or **malande* and to correspond to Modern French *malandreu*. *Mesdre* < MATRE probably; see lines 396, 449. *En mie*, cf. Foerster, ed. *Oligés* (1921), p. 224, note 6419. *Mostrede*, see *raison*. *Musjode*, cf. L. Sainéan, *Les Sources indigènes de l'étym. fr.*, I (Paris, 1925), 322, and Meyer-Lübke, *R. E. W.* (ed. 1932) § 5776. *Nëul* is not a pronoun, but an indefinite adj. *Or(b)s*, found only in L, should probably be replaced by *clos*, "limping," the reading of Pio Rajna, *Archivum Rom.*, xiii (1929), 29; cf. ed. Rösler, p. 23, and L. Brandin, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, vi (1910), 98. *Prenget*, cf. Schwan-Behrens, § 348, No. 3b note. *Sarcueu*, Modern French has the doublet *cercueil* and *sarcophage*. *Somonse*, cf. G. Paris, *Romania*, xviii (1889), 300.

RAPHAEL LEVY

University of Baltimore

Les Maîtres de la sensibilité française au XVIII^e siècle (1715-1789). Par PIERRE TRAHARD. Tomes I, II. Paris: Boivin, 1931-32. Pp. 289 + 336.

"Le romantisme fut avant tout un renouvellement de la sensibilité humaine" (I, 7). With this sentence the author begins these important volumes. From his numerous studies of Mérimée,

M. Trahard now turns backward to trace the development through the eighteenth century of that emotional response to life which was to supersede classic *raison* and rejuvenate French literature in the great outflowering of genius called the Romantic movement. Too often *sensibility* has been treated merely with contempt or amusement at its excesses without an understanding of its real significance. M. Trahard has written these volumes with an enthusiasm and a verve appropriate to the subject. At the same time he has preserved his critical judgment and an independence unawed by the prestige of distinguished predecessors with whose opinion he occasionally differs. From this last standpoint, his brief trenchant footnotes are often of particular interest to the attentive reader. The bibliographies at the end of each volume are comprehensive and will be of great value to students of the period.

The first volume studies in detail from the viewpoint of *sensibilité* Marivaux, Prévost, and Voltaire. The second presents Nivelle de la Chaussée, Vauvenargues, Diderot, and Duclos. They will be completed shortly by two more volumes, the third dealing with J.-J. Rousseau and Mlle de Lespinasse, the fourth with Bernardin de Saint-Pierre and Choderlos de Laclos. Later the author plans to go on to a study of "la sensibilité romantique" for which a broad preliminary basis has thus been laid.

In the first volume it is the Abbé Prévost who, with nine chapters out of sixteen, is accorded the place of honor. "Dans l'aube atténuée de ce XVIII^e siècle qui empourpre déjà l'horizon, Prévost jette la première flamme immortelle" (I, 105). The reality beneath the evident long-windedness, exaggeration, and *romanesque* of Prévost's secondary novels, different chiefly in degree from the brief masterpiece, *Manon*, is admirably brought out by M. Trahard. Without pushing too far the autobiographical element, still shrouded in the mystery of the Abbé's life, the author finds much in Prévost's work which constitutes "une œuvre vécue" (I, 164). As in the case of Rousseau later, this is the chief explanation of Prévost's extraordinary appeal to his contemporaries, an appeal based not only upon *Manon Lescaut*, but also upon the *Mémoires d'un homme de qualité*, *Cléveland*, *Le Doyen de Killeirine*, *L'Histoire d'une Grecque moderne*, and others now forgotten.

"Il y a ici un nouveau livre intitulé *Mémoires d'un homme de qualité retiré du monde*, écrit Mlle Aïssé en octobre 1728. Il ne vaut pas grand chose; cependant on en lit 190 pages en fondant en larmes." Or, il ne s'agit que de la première partie, qui n'est pas la plus dramatique. Mlle Aïssé ignore *Manon*; ses larmes n'en sont que plus éloquentes et 1728 est une date dans l'histoire des lettres françaises (I, 107).

This is of course no new discovery of M. Trahard, but it is more completely developed than elsewhere. In Prévost, we see man weak before the "passion fatale" of love. With him, as with Rousseau,

says M. Trahard, "la sensibilité et la vertu se confondent" (I, 149). Virtue is "la conformité des actes aux émotions naturelles" (*ibid.*). Thus *sensibilité* comes to fill the leading rôle.

That Voltaire was by no means all *raison* has been no secret to students of his work. M. T., however, shows clearly how he was influenced by his age and how *sensibilité*, already *à la mode* early in the century, was infused into his tragedies and contributed powerfully to their success. Thus even Voltaire was not aloof from this new current sweeping all before it. Nivelle de la Chaussée was after all of slender stature. Vauvenargues, though an admirable and interesting figure, stood apart and did not dominate the life of his time. Duclos also was of course distinctly secondary. So it is Diderot who appropriately bulks large in the second volume. To him are accorded eleven chapters out of the total fifteen.

In recent years, with the publication of new letters and other *inedita*, Diderot, depreciated by Brunetière, given in general little attention compared with Voltaire and Rousseau, seems to be coming at length into his own, though he still offers room for many fruitful studies. M. Trahard brings out clearly the power and force in Diderot's vivid life, the enthusiasm which ran through all that he did and sought to communicate itself to his contemporaries. Whether he dealt with philosophy, drama, painting, music, or put before them in living dialogue that unsurpassed Bohemian, the Neveu de Rameau, Diderot wrote with a peculiar combination of analytical science and emotion incarnate. In M. T.'s pages Diderot lives again before us and that is one of the greatest merits of these excellent chapters. Without abandoning his objectivity, M. Trahard succeeds even in rehabilitating to a degree Diderot's unsuccessful attempt to put into practice his fruitful dramatic theories. "*Le Fils Naturel* et *Le Père de Famille* cessent de paraître conventionnels, si on découvre sous leur phraséologie le cœur de l'écrivain" (II, 209). Moreover, was *Le Père de Famille* so unsuccessful in its time?

L'effet théâtral est si puissant qu'il persiste à travers la tourmente révolutionnaire et que son emprise sur les âmes dure jusqu'en 1811. La pièce, que nous jugeons dramatiquement mauvaise, est donc applaudie pendant cinquante ans, et marque plusieurs générations (II, 198).

No student of the eighteenth century or of Romanticism can afford to ignore this comprehensive and significant work. We must await with keen interest the publication of the forthcoming volume, which is to be devoted chiefly to the important subject of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, doubtless the climax of this series.

GEORGE R. HAVENS

Ohio State University

A Forgotten French Dramatist, Gabriel Gilbert (1620?-1680?),
By ELEANOR J. PELLET. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press;
Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1931. Pp. vi + 355. \$3.00.
Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages,
Vol. XIII.

Dr. Pellet treats Gilbert's life, his thirteen published and five unpublished plays, and his non-dramatic poetical works. She has brought together the scattered references to the dramatist's life and character and shown him to have been a man of no little importance in the theatrical world and court circles. G. is revealed as a *régulier* in dramatic practice, a *bel esprit*, a man of culture, and in all probability of innate refinement. However, the evidence that Dr. Pellet offers for her conclusions that the "author's own ideas in regard to life are not difficult to identify" (p. 324) is not convincing, since it is based, for the most part, on citations from the plays. Cult of honor, mastery of one's passions, patriotism (pp. 325-326) were themes common to the French stage (as Dr. Pellet suggests) and, hence, might have been used regardless of the author's personal convictions. That the dramatist's Calvinism is reflected in his several diatribes against the pagan gods (pp. 134, 325) is not tenable, since such passages, appearing before in *Polyeucte*, III, 2; 839 and V, 3; 1667-9, and by inference in Rotrou's *Saint Genest*, III, 2; 735-8, have their ultimate source in speeches of early Christian martyrs as recorded in the *Saints' Lives*, and hence are expressions of revolt against paganism not peculiar to any branch of Christianity.

Through the discovery and study of many sources of plays, involving extensive research in French libraries, Dr. Pellett has been able to establish certain claims for Gilbert's originality. However, the latter's independence in the choice of Semiramis as "material for tragedy" (p. 316) is open to question, since Muzio Manfredi had treated an episode in the life of the Babylonian queen in his *Semiramide* (1593) and Desfontaines may have preceded G. with his *Véritable Sémiramis* (p. 121). Although G. seems to have dramatized for the first time the story of Arrie, yet his choice of subject may have been influenced by a desire to present a wife faithful to her husband under circumstances similar to those of the numerous Panthées, the Lucrèces of Du Ryer and Chevreau, and Rotrou's Crisante.

Gilbert's influence is shown to have been greater than has hitherto been known, particularly on Racine's *Phèdre* and *Britannicus*. Of especial interest is the probability (p. 163) that Arrie is the dramatic prototype of Junie (*Britannicus*). Mention should have been made of Bidar's *Hippolyte* (Lille, 1675) and Pradon's

Phèdre et Hippolyte (1677), for both of these plays follow G.'s innovation in supposing that Phèdre is not married to Thésée.¹

There are some misprints, such as *acfuainted* for *acquainted* (p. 5, l. 21), *han* for *have* (p. 58, n. 2), *hemistitch* for *hemistich* (p. 65, l. 24), *Hotel* for *Hôtel* (p. 81, l. 9, *et passim*), *Maximilian* for *Maximilien* (p. 107, n. 5), and *m'avoir* for *m'avoit* (p. 166, n. 2). There are misprints or errors in some of the references to the *Bibl. du th. fr.*, Goujet, and Somaize's *Dictionnaire*, and misprints in all the quotations from Loret and *les Continuateurs de Loret*. The following errors occur: *ten years* for *eight years* (p. 27, l. 4), *1681* for *1680* (p. 27, l. 5), *corneillienne* for *cornélienne* (p. 72, n. 1), *Manuel de Bibliographie* for *Manuel du libraire* (p. 134, n. 4), *Houdard de la Motte* for *Marie-Anne Barbier* (p. 164, l. 18), *1857-1891* for *1857-1878* (p. 165, n. 3), *Pub. 1623* for *Pub. 1626* (p. 200, n. 2), *Céline* for *Célinde* (p. 201, l. 3), *Eraste* for *Valère* (p. 222, l. 32; p. 223, l. 4), *1661* for *first printed 1660* (p. 246, l. 12), *1768* for *1783* (p. 342, l. 9), *1769* for *1677* (p. 344, l. 41), and *1717* for *1917* (p. 346, l. 44). There is no uniformity in capitalizing words in French titles, Titon du Tillet is often referred to as Titon de Tillet, and on the same page (33) is a repetition of the fact that "Hervart, at that time *Contrôleur général des fiannces* [*sic*] took Gilbert into his home." The chronological table of G.'s works (pp. 333-4) omits one title (*Ero et Léandre*), twice lists two titles (*les Amours de Diane* and the *Ode à son Eminence*), gives the date of the *Théâtre françois* as 1735 instead of 1737 and that of *Arrie et Petus* as 1659 instead of 1660. There is an omission of one of the editions of the *Pseumes* (Paris, Varennes, 1680) in the list on pp. 309-10.

The plays and non-dramatic works are described at length and there are many interesting observations on characterization, plot, and reflection of contemporary *mœurs* in the plays. The book will arouse interest in Gilbert and create a desire for greater accessibility of his plays, an edition of which would be welcomed by students of French dramatic history.

LAWRENCE M. RIDDLE

University of Southern California

Sainte-Beuve, a Literary Portrait. By W. F. GIESE. Madison: 1931. Pp. 358. University of Wisconsin Studies, Language and Literature.

When Professor Giese produced his *Victor Hugo* it was piquant to find, coming in 1926 from a Wisconsin American involved in no personal competition with the lyric champion, an appraisal close to what Sainte-Beuve, in more than one sense Hugo's rival, had written generations before, allegedly to vent a private spite. Mr. Giese was severe, some said corrosive. In any event he was writing acutely, in terms of definite and honest convictions about art and

¹ For Bidar, see Soleinne, no. 1467; for Pradon, see the frères Parfaict, xii, 56. Dr. Pellet mentions Pradon in her Bibliography, but not in the chapter on *Hypolite*.

life, and his creed did suggest the standards of taste we associate with the great French critic of whom he now offers a literary portrait.

The present book one might be tempted to prejudge, if only for rhetorical balance, as too indulgent. But G. is not merely eulogistic; his reservations numerous and discriminating inspire respect for his encomia. It might indeed seem at the start that, by any ordinary reading of the evidence, he overdoes the tribute to SB. the man. More acceptable is the later statement that SB.'s character lagged behind his talent. G. is very right about the genuine humility of SB. He is less right about a SB. spiritually timorous; for him SB. is too attached to the ideal of urbanity to be militant, and for him it is evidently weak not to have downright convictions. That SB.'s mind was modern and impartial seems a defect to a man who would apparently ally himself with Brunetière in favor of *le parti pris nécessaire* and whose style is as vigorous as that of the author of the *Discours de Combat*. G. says that SB. "lays bare the arcana of his spirit with a surprising shamelessness." For "shamelessness" I should read "bold honesty." Joseph de Maistre was equally severe about himself but lacked the courage to be specific; Rousseau gave chapter and verse when they were not too damaging; SB. is capable of a finer recklessness.

G. objects properly to SB.'s reputation as an enemy of pedestals and shows, as Lasserre did, how many of SB.'s strictures are explicable in terms of the critic's general philosophy of taste. Some of his low opinions of neighbors were related to his disinterested and high ambitions for them. He warned Hugo, even before the two had ever met, before Adèle and before his own failure as a poet, against being "strained, bizarre, antithetic, far-fetched, gigantic and puerile." The appropriateness of the caveat, and the ultimate validity of a taste which meant that "SB. felt in Balzac, as he did in Flaubert, a surgical and clinical cruelty that was the outward sign of a painful lack of spiritual elevation," and which made him call Baudelaire's poetry "the final symptom of a diseased generation,"—all this may be debatable. G.'s book is significant as a record of what a man who himself insists on a spiritual quality in literature discovers of corroboration in SB.

G. employs the familiar vocabulary of humanism, distinguishes between culture and nature, prefers Plato to Freud. He offers for *Volupté* a subtitle: *From Physiology to Theology*, and attacks the "dubious originality" of such a concept. At moments he seems to think there is only flux in SB. But to say that the critic is truly at home nowhere is overstatement and not consistent with G.'s main thesis. For chiefly he finds SB. "aiming by a common discipline and a common tradition at a sound orthodoxy." His own humanism is discreet and his estimates of classic and romantic show hospitality of understanding.

Certain details give pause. SB. is not nearly so severe with Taine's *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise* as G. suggests. It is not true that SB. is out of print. G.'s use of citation is in a few cases dangerous: we are told that SB. "long continued to dream of finding a terrestrial guardian such as sometimes accompanies us here below in the form of a friend," but the references show SB. speaking of the relation of Voltaire and Vauvenargues and he is no wise stating explicitly that here is one of his own personal ambitions. Moreover G. omits, unwittingly, after "nous accompagnons ici-bas" the phrase "dans une partie du chemin," which indeed interferes slightly with the aptness of the quotation, since G. is insisting that SB. did not keep his friends. The differences are almost imponderable and there is certainly no intention to manipulate, yet, in Michaut's thesis on SB., which G. does not wholly like, it was the accumulation of such differences in the balance which meant that Michaut did not always give the critic full measure,—one is almost tempted to say that he tinkered with the scales. G. is not consistent in giving references; he apparently follows a kind of middle course between the notelessness of Mr. Josephson's recent *Rousseau* and the abundant specification that Professor Havens craved in that book. He does no doubt give the essential leads, and he certainly avoids the gear—he would say the litter—of scholarship.

HORATIO SMITH

Brown University

Frédéric Soulié, Novelist and Dramatist of the Romantic Period.

By HAROLD MARCH. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931. Pp. viii + 379. \$3.00. (Yale Romanic Studies, III.)

Soulié achieved "nearly two hundred volumes of prose fiction, essays, criticism, plays, and verse," yet, as Dr. March puts it, "in all this great library of literary effort there is not one work of permanent worth." He counts, however, in the literary history of the years in which he wrote (1824-47), for he was more characteristically *Louis-Philippe* than such more famous rivals as Dumas, Hugo, and Balzac. One of the creators of the *roman-feuilleton*, a predecessor, through his *Mémoires du Diable*, of Eugène Sue, he reveled in hypnotism, suicide, and various ingenious and melodramatic horrors, yet he made some contribution to satire, to the historical novel, and to the novel of manners, including study of the working classes. His success, though temporary, is of interest as showing the taste of his times. Dr. March deserves much credit for his clear and objective treatment of Soulié's life and works. In a few cases he might have extended his investigations—showing,

for instance, that *les Deux Cadavres* derives not merely from the popularity of the *roman noir*, but from the revival of interest in Cromwell; profiting, also, from Dr. Rudwin's studies in treating the *Mémoires du Diable*,¹—but, in the main, Soulié's background is quite sufficiently discussed. The book is well documented, is supplied with an ample bibliography and an adequate index, and includes a number of hitherto unpublished letters. It is with the help of monographs of this sort that a genuine history of nineteenth-century literature may some day be written.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

Le Rire et la scène française. Par FÉLIX GAIFFE. Paris: Boivin, 1931. Pp. vii + 295.

In this unusually suggestive and entertaining book M. Gaiffe sketches the chief methods used by French dramatists to excite laughter. He divides comic devices into those concerned primarily with gestures, words, situations, ideas, and character, then describes the use made of one or more of them in the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, by Molière, in the century that followed his death, under the Revolutionary government, in the first half of the nineteenth century, in the more realistic period that followed, and at the present time. He finds that each period places its emphasis in a different way, that the most complete and satisfying variety of the comic was achieved by Molière, and that the least satisfactory is that of Scribe and his group, a fact that he attributes to the censorship and the middle-class prejudices of the day. He is very optimistic about our own contemporaries, for "nous avons devant nous un groupe d'écrivains de valeur, soucieux de sortir de l'ordinaire et d'abandonner la fabrication traditionnelle des vaudevilles en série."

The book profits from its author's extensive knowledge of dramatic literature and his ability to generalize intelligently and to illustrate with taste and wit. Of course, in the limited space at his disposal, he could not go deeply into the history of the stage during any of the periods studied, but one feels that he has amply

¹ Besides commenting (p. 236) upon S.'s verses in English as ludicrous, he might have pointed out the absurdity of his using *rime riche* and counting syllables in composing them, for, if *figue* were written *fig*, as it was probably meant to be, the lamentable lines would, from a French point of view, scan correctly. He might also have asked whether, when S. selected the name *Pacheco* for his *Amans de Murcie*, he was aware that *Pacheque* and *Palomeque* were once the Spanish equivalents of *Montagu* and *Capulet*, and, if he was, whether his work owed more than this to Spanish literature.

mastered his voluminous dramatic material, that he has succeeded in relating it to the manners of the respective societies for which it was composed, and that many of his observations might make an excellent starting-point for more detailed investigations. The few corrections I offer¹ do not diminish the general value of the work.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

Bibliografia del '600. By GUIDO BUSTICO. Milan: Federazione Italiana Biblioteche Popolari, 1931.

This *Bibliografia del '600* by Guido Bustico constitutes volumes VII and VIII of the *Collezione di manuali bibliografici e guide di lettura* published by the *Federazione Italiana Biblioteche Popolari*. According to its preface, it purports to be a rehabilitation of an epoch still suffering from the strictures of Gravina, Muratori, Crescimbeni, and Zeno, who were too close to the age and too set in their reactions to see the period in its proper perspective. We are further reminded that, in spite of political absolutism and religious tyranny, seventeenth-century Italy was able to produce such geniuses as Carlo Emanuele I, Galilei, Fra Paolo Sarpi, and Marino, and has given to the world the baroque style, the *commedia dell'arte*, and musical drama.

The first of Bustico's bibliographical divisions is entitled: *Opere generali sul seicento*; the second is a *Bibliografia particolare*—a miscellaneous group of titles covering a wide range of subjects, both literary and social in character, such as academies, anti-Marinism, art, Carlo Emanuele I, the influence of Dante, music, etc. The last section, a *Bibliografia dei singoli autori*, deals with

¹ There are several misprints in proper names; read Polydor (p. 79), Cl. de l'Estoille (p. 82), Rayssiguier (p. 89), Metel d'Ouville (p. 100), Blazius (p. 195), Bissell (pp. 247, 252). It is usually not stated whether the date assigned to a play is that of first performance or of publication; neither method would justify the dates assigned to the *Duc d'Ossonne* (p. 80) and to the *Comédie des Académistes* (p. 96). The attribution of the *Comédie des Proverbes* to Adrien de Montluc accords with tradition rather than with evidence. If Spanish drama was exerting any considerable influence on French tragedy in the time of Scarron, I should like to ask what tragedies, other than a few by Rotrou, were so influenced (cf. p. 101). If one remembers *Cosroës*, *Nicomède*, and *le Malade imaginaire*, one can hardly say that the type of the step-mother was "à peu près complètement absent de notre littérature classique" (p. 46). Finally, Apollonie, who is no other than the hero of *Apollonius of Tyre* and of a French tragi-comedy derived from it, should not be described as "cette jeune fille" (p. 79), though I admit that the joke in the lines cited would have been improved if he had been one.

the major figures of the seventeenth century from the death of Tasso to the rise of the Arcadia.

Although Bustico calls his work a *saggio limitato*, we fail to understand what kind of selective process he has employed in including some bibliographical items while omitting others seemingly quite as important as those he mentions. Under the heading of *Seicentismo*, for example, we note a number of missing titles, such as P. Schettini, *Il seicentismo giudicato dagli scrittori del seicento*, Terranova di Sicilia, 1893; A. Zernitz, *Il seicentismo considerato nelle sue varie manifestazioni* (progr. ginn.), Trieste, 1898; G. Predieri, "Simbolismo e seicentismo," in *Rivista abruzzese*, XIII, 8; P. Provasi, *Giovan Leone Sempronj e il seicentismo ad Urbino*, Fano, 1901; E. D. Japachino, *Il seicentismo nella lirica napoletana del secolo XVII*, Naples, 1903; R. Renier, "Vita secentesca italiana e preziosismo francese," in *Fanfulla della domenica*, XXVIII, 7; A. Caja, *Seicentismo spagnuolo o italiano? Appunti critici*, Avola, 1903; A. Fabris, "Seicento prezioso," in *Il Marzocco*, XI, 11; R. Pollak, "Uwagi o seicentyzmie," in *Przegląd Współczesni*, no. 43, 1925. G. Scopa's *Osservazioni critiche sull' origine del seicentismo* (Naples, 1907) is lacking, although an earlier work on seicentismo by the same author is listed. L. Zuccaro's essay, *Marinismo* etc., logically belongs here, but is cited only in the first division; it is but one of many cases of carelessness in making cross-references that are to be found in the book. Equally illogical is the appearance under a separate heading of studies on Preciosity, whereas Gongorism, very inadequately represented by the single citation of Thomas, *Gongora et le Gongorisme . . .*, and English affectation, represented only by Praz, *Seicentismo e Marinismo . . .*, are grouped under *Seicentismo*.

Perhaps the most curious mistake in the work is in the title C. B. Bourland, "L'Espagne en Italie," in *Revue Hispanique*, IX, 29-32. Not Miss Bourland but Hugues Vaganay is the actual author of the article, and it appeared not in one, but in five instalments in vols. IX, X, XI, XII, and XXII. Moreover, the first instalment does not appear on pp. 29-32, but on pp. 489-511. Bustico unwittingly drew his misinformation from D'Ancona and Bacci, who sin twice in this connection—in ch. V., notes, p. 109 of their *Prospetto storico della letteratura italiana*, Florence, 1912, and in the bibliographical supplement appended to vol. VI (4th ed.) of their *Manuale della letteratura italiana*, Florence, 1919, p. 509. The title of a study by M. Praz appears oddly disguised as *Seicentismo e marinismo in Inghilterra: Thom Domec Richard Craslaw . . .* The correct proper names are, of course, John Donne and Richard Crashaw. Belloni's *Il Seicento*, Milan, 1929, p. 600, is probably the source of this error. The following misprints have also been noted: Posca for Pasca (p. 27); Mazzini for

Mazzoni (42); *G. B. Guarini's Pastor Fido. In Deutschland* for *G. B. Guarini's Pastor Fido in Deutschland* (45); Fracascani for Fracascani (55); *secolo XIV* for *secolo XVII* (61); Ferrero for Perrero (62).

The manual is useful, and, therefore, welcome in its offering easy access to many bibliographical data of the Italian seventeenth century, but it obviously needs generous supplementation on many topics.

JOSEPH G. FUCILLA

Northwestern University

Das Ordensdrama. Herausgegeben von Dr. WILLI FLEMMING. *Deutsche Literatur.* Sammlung literarischer Kunst- und Kulturdenkmäler in Entwicklungsreihen, etc., von Dr. Heinz Kindermann. Reihe Barock; *Barockdrama*, 5 Bände, Band 2; Leipzig: Philipp Reclam, 1930.

Although Flemming's latest volume *Das Ordensdrama* offers an appreciable quantity of hitherto inaccessible material, yet it cannot be called a success. As to number and quality, the editor's selection is comprehensive and representative. However, I do not consider myself competent to make a definite statement, since I am ignorant of the full range of material available in the libraries of Europe. The book has one feature which deserves unqualified praise: it is the historical introduction. It offers a clear survey of the educational and aesthetical efforts made by the Society of Jesus towards a fortification of the powerful position which the Catholic Church had obtained through successfully repelling the onslaught of youthful Protestantism. Flemming also characterizes very well the entirely different tendency governing the dramatic activities of the Order of St. Benedict. The exterior form of both types of *Ordensdrama* is very much alike, the continuity being effected by epical rather than dramatic means. The stationary pageant character of the Baroque drama with its forceful appeal to the acoustic and optic senses becomes evident in either kind; yet the *Demetrius* of Rettenbacher, a Benedictine monk, is more truly dramatic than the entire production of the Jesuits; provided, of course, that the Jesuit plays *not* published by Flemming are fundamentally similar to those selected for this volume.

What makes the present volume practically worthless, is the incredible lack of accuracy prevailing throughout the book. Rarely have I seen a more careless piece of editing. Whoever read those proofs did one of the poorest jobs of his life. It is inconceivable how it could happen that in a volume of this importance the notes

on one of the plays—Biedermann-Meichel's *Cenodoxus*—contain fourteen errors, eight of which are incorrect page references. The entire list is only three pages long (pp. 365-367), and it did not require more than thirty minutes to check all the references. By giving a little more time to his efforts, the editor could have saved this volume from being the failure which it is. Here are the errors with corrections added in brackets:

54, 29 (54, 34); 55, 20 (55, 22); 62, 23 (62, 20); 66, 6 (*Gerichtsdienner*); 75, 15 (either *ich zauf* or *zaufen*); 81, 6 ff. (83, 6 ff.); 83, 11 (83, 1); 120, 13 (120, 12); 123, 25 (*Khrümpel*); 123, 30 (*kürreten*); 132, 26 (132, 36); 136, 9 (136, 10); 148, 24 (*verbschaidet*); 174, 28 (*glirrig*).

On line 6 of the bibliographic passage on Avancini (p. 367) the page reference should read 297, 25 instead of 294, 25. On p. 367 the note referring to 175, 5 reads *Provison* whereas the text has *Provison*. Some of the errors in the Latin are obviously typographical; a few, though, seem to indicate an insufficient knowledge of the language. *Baeti* (146, 3) should read *beati*; *seivre* (260, 17): *servire*; *Lavarum* (14, 5): *Larvarum*. These are mere misprints. P. 18, fourth line from the bottom, should read *Iuventius*, *De ratione discendi et docendi* instead of *Inventius* and *discandi*. *Consuetudinem* (9, 16) must read *consuetudinum* as depending on *in detestationem* (like the preceding *malorum morum*; *malorum* and *pravorum* being nouns, not adjectives). *Telam* (a web) *opere phrygio elaboratum porrigit* (369, note 94) is wrong; it should be *elaboratam*. 297, 26 makes sense only if we read *fidus* for Fleming's *sidus* which, after *serus*, is grammatically impossible; *serum ut sidus* would be out of the question for metrical reasons . . . *nullae tuo Stat arae honori* is likewise impossible; it should read *stant* for *stat* (297, 34). These are just a few samples, since it is not the reviewer's business to present a complete list of errata for a deficient edition.

It is not the editor alone who is to blame for the shortcomings of the present volume. The publisher is also falling short of the expectations aroused by the initial announcement of that series. Although I am fully appreciative of the tremendous difficulties under which Germany in general and the German publishing business in particular are laboring during this economic world crisis, yet I believe that it would have been better to postpone the publication of this volume to a later date than to grow panicky in the midst of the process and, consequently, to turn out a piece of unfinished work. What I mean, is best illustrated by two notes on pages 367 and 369. The one is an apology for not having reproduced nine copper engravings contained in the original edition of Avancini's *Tragediae*. For a complete understanding of the stage conditions of the period, those illustrations would have been

a priceless help; I do not see any excuse for having omitted them in a series of this sort. The other apologizes for having cancelled the notes on Rettenbacher's *Demetrius* and Avancini's *Pietas Victrix*. Considering, however, the inaccuracy of the commentary on *Cenodoxus*, the absence of those notes may not be so much of a loss after all.

AUGUST C. MAHR.

Ohio State University

Gotisch handbook, by A. G. VAN HAMEL, Tweede druk. Haarlem: H. D. Tjenk Willink & Zoon N/V., 1931. (Oudgermaansche handboeken onder redactie van J. van Dam—A. G. van Hamel—J. M. Kapteyn—J. de Vries. Derde deel: *Gotisch handboek*.)

The first edition of this book (1923) received favorable notice from Meillet and Jellinek as a practical manual by a competent scholar. The present reviewer has no reason to dissent from this opinion. Indeed the work should have a place on the shelves of any scholar interested in Gothic. The book is modestly designated as a second imprint: it has however been increased from 258 pages to 283 pages, which increase is only slightly due to more liberal spacing by the printer. Jellinek's suggestions (*Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum* 43, 1923) have been incorporated and throughout the author has made alterations in the light of later research or through changed convictions. The space here available does not permit of a discussion of these. It might be mentioned that the author has not retracted his opinion in reference to Sievers' 'Intonationstheorie' as far as they concern the Gothic. He thus deprives himself of the pleasure of reading the Sermon on the Mount as poetry of the type of the 'sagverse.' The opinion held about these may even be of influence on judging the syntax and therefore of interest to the grammarian. The reviewer also follows Sievers and Streitberg against van Hamel in reading the *b*, *d*, *g* as voiced explosives in the pronunciation of Ulfilas no matter what pronunciation may have prevailed at other periods.

New York University

FREDERICK H. WILKENS

Die alemannischen Mundarten (Abriss der Lautverhältnisse). Von LEO JUTZ. Halle (Saale): Niemeyer, 1931. Pp. xi, 289.

Since Winteler produced the first really scientific dialect study in his *Kerenzer Mundart*, 1876, the investigation of dialects has not come to a standstill again in Switzerland, and the series of

dialect investigations, *Beiträge zur schweizerdeutschen Grammatik*, 1910 ff., published under the direction of Professor Albert Bachmann of Zürich, may safely be regarded as the climax of work in German dialects for the period in question. Professor Karl Bohnenberger of Tübingen devoted his attention chiefly to the Suabian dialects and in his *Mundarten Württembergs*, 1928, furnished a small but authoritative manual of his special field. Numerous dissertations, pamphlets, and magazine articles contributed their share in increasing our knowledge of the Alemannic dialects. The more investigations increased the more difficult it became for the philologist not specially interested in dialects to follow and digest the copious offering. Even eminent specialists in the older stages of the language had to confess their ignorance in the field of dialect research.

Under these circumstances many students, like the reviewer, will open with intense interest Dr. Jutz's book, offering a general presentation of the phonology of the Alemannic dialects. They will not find themselves disappointed if they apply reasonable standards. In the introduction the author stresses the difficulties he encountered in the gathering of the scattered material, in the necessity of unifying the varying, at times unnecessarily complex, systems of phonetic transcription. He regrets the lacunae due to lack of information, not to mention the necessity of keeping the book within reasonable limits, thus compelling omissions of phenomena of a more or less local character. In the body of the work he proceeds to delimit the Alemannic dialects against the Romance dialects of the south and west, a relatively easy task, next against the Bavarian dialects to the east and the Franconian dialect to the north, a more difficult and somewhat arbitrary proceeding owing to the difficulty of deciding what criteria are to be employed to determine the boundaries. A map appended to the book makes it easy to follow the principal dialect lines of the boundary and the interior of the Alemannic territory. The history of the settlement of the country by the Alemannic tribes receives attention and the subdivisions are discussed, the South Alemannic showing initial *kxr* (*xr*), *kxl* (*xl*), *kyn* (*xn*) against North Alemannic *kr*, *kl*, *kn*, the latter dialect being divided again into Low Alemannic (with *i*, *u*) and into Suabian (showing the développement *i* > *ei*, *u* > *ou*). There is a bibliography of the more important works. The arrangement of the remaining pages follows the well established method of the phonology of dialects and languages in general. It is to be noted that as a rule the author does not state from what sources he derives his information. Those acquainted with dialect literature and having access to it can in many cases supply the desired information without difficulty owing to the transparent arrangement of phonological investigations. In closing his remarks the reviewer would like to emphasize the serviceableness of this excellent book

for the purpose of bringing together the language of the Old High German and Middle High German literary monuments with the dialects of today.

FREDERICK H. WILKENS

New York University

Studien zu den lateinischen und deutschsprachlichen Totentanztexten des 13. bis 18. Jahrhunderts. Von ELLEN BREEDER.
Halle (Saale): Max Niemeyers Verlag, 1931. Pp. 179.

The Dance of Death, a subject that might perhaps have slight appeal to the modern taste, is still an outstanding object of interest in the magnificent woodcuts designed by Holbein. This among other considerations explains why the preponderance of interest centres on the pictorial side of the subject. The author has selected for treatment the literary aspect, which is relatively neglected, especially the relation of the various versions with the cultural life of the times. She treats the subject in three chapters and an introduction: Introduction, *Die Todesauffassung in der Antike und im deutschen Mittelalter*, p. 1 ff; Chapter I, *Lateinische Totentänze des Mittelalters*, p. 17 ff; Chapter II, *Oberdeutsche Totentanztexte des 15. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, p. 33 ff; Chapter III, *Humanistische und Meistersingerische Totentanztexte*, p. 106 ff; Chapter IV, *Die niederdeutschen Totentanztexte*, p. 133 ff; *Schluss*, Pp. 170-173. The reviewer is under the impression that the author is somewhat lacking in the gift of clear exposition, which is particularly called for where pictures, texts accompanying the pictures, manuscripts, printed texts, and reconstructed archetypes play a part. At times the reviewer did not feel clear as to what was referred to and repeated reading did not bring clearness. He seems to detect here a lack of well defined principle, whether this book should give a readable presentation of the subject, with of course a reasonable latitude to incorporate the results of the author's own research, or whether research is to predominate. The designation *Studien* however disarms objections as it covers every possible form of presentation. Perhaps it is a little unfair to mention, while in a censorious mood, that in the *Literaturverzeichnis*, p. 176, and on p. 68 the name of Max Rieger, a name well known to the older generation of scholars, is given correctly, while on p. 68, note 1, it appears as Max Riedel. Whatever faults one may find the fact cannot be denied that the work is written with a certain degree of fluency, that the interest of the author never flags, and that she contributes largely of her own in the comparison of the various versions and emphasis of the cultural background. It may reasonably be supposed that her presentation of the subject will for a long time remain more or less authoritative.

New York University

FREDERICK H. WILKENS

English Literary Periodicals. By WALTER GRAHAM. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1930. Pp. 424. \$7.50.

Professor Graham, of the University of Illinois, well known for a small book and a group of articles which effectively cleared ground here and there in the field of the English literary periodical, especially in the eighteenth century, has now given us a substantial general account of such periodicals from their beginning to the present.

His problem was far from simple. The number of periodicals requiring mention ran to five or six hundred; no library had them all, and few American collections of them were better than mediocre, there was no single preceding book that even covered the ground; special works, though numerous, left large gaps. It was also difficult to deal with the very recent periodicals, which lay too near for an assured critical view; difficult to handle the numerous, and usually unimportant, provincial periodicals; difficult to give an adequate treatment of "origins" without poaching on space required for more meritorious later works.

To have succeeded, despite these and many other complexities, in writing a really useful and creditable pioneer work, is an achievement which entitles Professor Graham to the thanks, not only of scholars in this field, but also of the larger body of those who desire information on various special topics which, for that part of their territory which lies in Professor Graham's province, have hitherto been almost impossible to investigate.

In such an extended treatment of a little studied field there are naturally some statements which require modification. *Records of Love*, 1710, is inaccurately described (page 146): it contains some verse and the stories are not "usually in three installments." That Thomas Baker conducted the *Female Tatler* is an assertion (page 87) requiring reconsideration in view of Dr. Paul B. Anderson's recent discovery of strong reasons for believing that "Mrs. Cracken-thorpe" was Mrs. Manley. It would be better to say (page 94) that Ned Freeman, in the *Lay Monk*, is the Will Honeycomb rather than the Mr. Spectator of his group. And the suggestion (page 381) that Eustace Budgell assisted Hill in the *Inspector* (1751-1753) is impossible, since Budgell died in 1737. Possibly there is some confusion here with what is said on page 111 about the *Prompter* (1734-36). But Professor Graham has very wisely observed in his Foreword that such errors as these are bound to occur and that it is to be hoped that further research all along the line will soon advance knowledge beyond its present point.

Material on special topics can hardly be brought out to full advantage in such a book as this; but see the footnotes on Ossianic poems and Wertheriana on page 220, and on page 218 the important remark about the *New Review* (1782) which Professor Gra-

ham thinks "most valuable for its early recognition of the merits of German literature." Unfortunately, however, the index of the book contains nothing, so far as we can find, which calls attention to these remarks. Similarly, the very interesting and important statement (pages 218-219) that Gilbert Stuart's *English Review* (1783) "may be distinguished as the first to include American books regularly" would seem to call for some entry in the index directing a reader to that passage.

The present reviewer feels that the book should either have ended at about 1830 or have dealt more fully with the periodicals after that date. He feels that a book which gives twenty pages to the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian*, ten to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and fifteen to the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly*, should have spared for the *London Times Literary Supplement* far more than three-quarters of a page. Perhaps the ideal would have been a work in two volumes: the first not much different from the earlier part of the present work, though somewhat fuller, and more generous in its treatment of certain topics, such as the freedom of the press, which Professor Graham has had to slight; the second, while frankly recognizing the difficulty of speaking the final word now about the more recent periodicals, could nevertheless differentiate them as well as possible and indicate, not too briefly, the essential facts about their attitude, editors, contents, contributors, and so forth. As it is, the work, useful though it is, hardly answers all the questions that we have a right to ask of it or achieves the even, unified effect that the author must have desired.

Hitherto even our best scholars in the eighteenth century have usually known their books far better than their periodicals; and most treatments of prose fiction, literary criticism, poetry, and drama have accordingly lacked certain essential chapters. There are reasons for hoping that the next ten years may see improvement in this unsatisfactory condition. In that case, thanks will be due—among others—to bibliographers like Crane and Kaye, and to Graham for his pioneer work on the historical and critical side.

Harvard University

C. N. GREENOUGH

Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature. Vol. XI, 1930. Edited for the Modern Humanities Research Association by MARY S. SERJEANTSON, assisted by L. N. BROUGHTON. Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes, 1931. 7s. 6d.

Undoubtedly the first thing that will strike the reader familiar with this excellent bibliography will be the improved form in which it is now published. When it first appeared eleven years ago as a thin pamphlet, paper covers were natural and appropriate. But

when it grew to the proportions of a book of more than 200 pages many users felt the need for a more substantial binding. The society's experiments with stiff paper proved this to be inadequate and now the volume is put out in inexpensive but sufficient cloth covers that will undoubtedly add greatly to its life. The internal arrangement has undergone only one important modification from that of former years. This is the addition of a new section headed Topography and Genealogy. This, as explained in the preface, "will include local and family histories, and the like, and is subdivided into (a) Miscellaneous, (b) Counties, arranged alphabetically." Such a section, if adequately compiled, will add considerably to the labors of the editors, necessitating the examination of a large number of local historical and antiquarian societies. But it is all the more valuable to American subscribers since the publications of many of these societies are found here only in the larger centers and are sometimes slow in being received and catalogued. It is to be hoped that the editors will consider it within their province to include notices of all parish registers that are published in the course of the year.

As usual, the work of compilation has been thoroughly and carefully done. The reviewer has tested the present volume by a considerable number of references which he had by him and has found few omissions and only one error. Of the four omissions noted, only one should perhaps have been included, since it was omitted from the previous issue (J. Petrovič, "Byron and the Jugoslavs." *Slavonic Review*, VIII, 144-155). In item 1624 the reference to G. Wilson Knight's article should be to the *Hibbert Journal* rather than to the *Archaeological Journal*, an error due to the confusion of abbreviations. We congratulate Miss Serjeantson for maintaining the high standard of her predecessors and of her own previous volumes.

ALBERT C. BAUGH

University of Pennsylvania

BRIEF MENTION

Modern Language Notes extends its cordial greetings to the *Hispanic Review*, a quarterly journal devoted to research in Hispanic languages and literatures, that will make its first appearance on January 1, 1933. Under the editorship of J. P. W. Crawford there can be no doubt as to the high standard of scholarship that will be maintained. Dr. Crawford will be assisted by M. Romera-Navarro and O. H. Green. The associate editors are M. A. Buchanan, A. Coester, J. D. M. Ford, J. E. Gillet, H. C. Heaton, H. Keniston, R. Schevill, A. G. Solalinde, F. C. Tarr, and C. P. Wagner. To the first issue H. R. Lang will contribute "The Text of a Poem by King Denis of Portugal"; R. Schevill, "The Education and Culture of Cervantes"; W. Meyer-Lübke, an etymological note relating to *toca*; A. Cortés, biographical documents on Miguel de Carvajal, author of the *Tragedia Josefina*; the late Karl Pietsch, an article on some peculiarities of the Spanish expression of concessive ideas; A. F. G. Bell, an article on a Portuguese mystic, Frei Thomé de Jesus; J. R. Spell, an article on the theatre in Mexico City, 1805-6; A. H. Krappe, "The 'Tuti-Nameh' in Spanish Folk-Lore." Reviews will be contributed by Schevill, Buchanan, and G. W. Umphrey. The journal will be published by the University Press of the University of Pennsylvania. The business manager is E. B. Williams, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania. The subscription price is \$4.00.

THE EDITORS

Les Citations françaises, par Othon Guerlac. Paris: Armand Colin, 1931. Pp. 441. Fr. 40. Professor Guerlac has written a French Bartlett, listing familiar quotations from a multitude of authors. His list begins with the *Roland* and ends with Rostand and Péguy. He also gives maxims that cannot be attached to any particular author, as well as many that come from the Bible or other foreign sources. He has sought to collect not so much what might be cited as what has actually been cited. The phrases are arranged, in the main, chronologically, and the difficulty of locating those whose authors are unknown to the reader is obviated by an index of key-words. The work is carefully done, represents an immense amount of labor, and should interest all who seek the authors of well-known phrases, who wish to cite them exactly, or

who have a general interest in maxims. A few suggestions are offered for the author's consideration:

P. 29. *Jusqu'au feu . . . exclusivement* should be attributed to Rabelais rather than to Montaigne, who must have been imitating the former when he employed it. P. 29. The anecdote about La Rochefoucauld's parodying Du Ryer seems to have been first told by Voltaire, who might have been cited in place of Sainte-Beuve. P. 33. *Les gens que vous tuez . . .* must have been a popular saying before Corneille adopted it, for it is found, in only a slightly different form, in *la Comédie des Proverbes*, III, 3. P. 65. Auger pointed out that *Qui veut noyer son chien . . .* was used, before Molière, by Guérin de Bouscal; the form employed by both of them may well have been older than either. P. 67. *Reprendre mon bien*, or its equivalent, is not only, as M. G. notes, in Guérin, but in the *Astrée*, Part V, Bk. IV (ed. of 1630), L'Estoile's *Belle Esclave*, iv, 1, and Claveret's *Ecuyer*, iv, 6.

H. C. L.

Molière and Terence, a Study in Molière's Realism. By Katherine E. Wheatley. Austin: University of Texas, 1931. Pp. 124. (University of Texas Bulletin.) That Molière admired and imitated Terence was known in the seventeenth century, as Dr. Wheatley points out, but she believes that the tendency of recent scholarship has been to minimize the importance of the Roman dramatist's influence. She has accordingly reopened the question, examining in great detail *Scapin*, *l'Ecole des Maris*, and *la Critique de l'Ecole des Femmes*. There is nothing in her consideration of *Scapin*, long recognized as deriving from the *Phormio*, to which other students of Molière will object, but they may continue to believe with M. Martinenche that Mendoza was the chief inspiration for the *Ecole des Maris*, though they will doubtless allow Terence more credit in this connection than it has recently been their fashion to do. They may agree, too, that Terence's commentator, Donatus, or one of the latter's imitators may have been, to a certain extent, in Molière's mind while he was composing his apology for comedy in the *Critique*, but they will not accept Dr. W.'s conclusion (p. 117) that it is probable that M.'s "conception of comedy as a realistic *genre* and of comic character derives from the practice of Terence as analyzed and propounded by Donatus." For Terence was, after all, only a "halved-Mendander," which makes him, I think, much less than half Molière. To believe that this practical author, actor, and manager learned a lesson of this nature from so academic a source as Terence seems quite contrary to the probabilities in the case. Molière's first school was life; his second, the dramas of his contemporaries and immediate predecessors, which were acted by himself or his rivals. *Les Visionnaires*, for instance, is closer to his main ideas of comedy than is the work of Terence, while the play in which he imitated

the Roman most closely is a comedy, not of character, but of intrigue. While scholars will appreciate Dr. W.'s careful presentation of her material, they will refuse to follow her in locking Molière up in a study with Terence and Donatus.

H. C. L.

Dominant Ideas in the Works of Guy De Maupassant. By ROY ALAN COX. University of Colorado Studies, Vol. 19, No. 2. The sophomoric style and mechanical arrangement of this monograph would be more regrettable if it brought any essential contribution to Maupassant criticism, but this it does not do. It is a catalogue of the attitudes toward life expressed by Maupassant's characters and occasionally by himself, but the predominant *idea* of his work is left untouched. For he wrote, not to exude his materialistic pessimism, but to create art. Topical, usually brief, quotations are grouped under the rubrics: Conceptions of Man and Human Life, Of Society, Of God and the Universe, Subjectivism. When we have read them and labored through the commentary, we have only an impression of monotony. Without the dramatic setting, the philosophical inadequacy of these diatribes becomes painfully obvious. Now Maupassant never laid claim to metaphysical profundity, but, in spite of everything, he did find the world fascinating even as a butt of his satire. Mr. Cox's purpose seems to be to prove once more that he is less objective than some critics have supposed. The novelist's unqualified approval of Zola's definition of art, *life seen through a temperament*, suffices to settle that question, and a single phrase quoted from Jules Lemaître tells us more of Maupassant than the rest of these four score pages: "un primitif qui avait reçu de la nature le don de l'expression."

BENJ. M. WOODBRIDGE

Reed College